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MEMOIRS

HISTORICAL *and* TOPOGRAPHICAL

OF

BRISTOL

AND IT'S

NEIGHBOURHOOD,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME.

VOL. II.

BY

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BRISTOL:

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CHAPTER XII.

KING HENRY III.

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§ 1. ON the death of king John, those few Nobles who remained faithful to him, or at least who had refused to enter into any agreement with prince Lewis and the French, "held (*a*) a meeting at Gloucester. And because Westminster, which was the place usually appointed for the Coronation, was at that time besieged by the King's enemies, Henry the eldest son of the late King, at that time only nine years old, was anointed King and solemnly crowned by Gualo, the Pope's Legate, before the high altar of the conventual church in Gloucester, on Oct' 28 1216: after which most of the Nobles of the land in a short time returned to the young King, who had no wise offended them, and faithfully adhered to him. William Mareshall, earl of Strigul and Pembroke, was the person who principally contributed to these events; and he was appointed Regent of the kingdom, and the King's Governor. Immediately after the Coronation, the King attended by the Regent, and all his friends, came to Bristow, probably as being a place of greater security than Gloucester." "On St Martin's day [Nov. 11] the Legate held a Council, in which he compelled eleven Bishops of England and Wales, who were present, and other prelates of inferior degree, and Earls, and Barons and Knights, who were there met together, to swear fealty to king Henry." 'The (*b*) King continued at Bristow, and spent his Christmas here: while the Barons of his party actively exerted themselves in his favor, and took the castle of Hereford and many others; so that the Legate absolved them from the sentence of excommunication'

(*a*) Matth' Westm' and Ann' Waverley. (*b*) Matth' Westm'.

'denounced against them in the last reign; and the remainder of them who still continued in London, successively returned to their allegiance to their natural lord; to which the sentence of excommunication much contributed, which the English dreaded more than any other nation.'

§ 2. Robert of Glocester gives the following account of this affair: I translate his Anglo-saxon rhymes into plain English prose. 'Then began a new disturbance: for men liked their own natural lord better than Lowis of France; and by counsel of holy church, they began to annul the engagement, which they made with him, although they had brought him hither. Therefore the legate Galon and the barons of the land held a council at Martinmas at Bristowe. There the Legate absolved high and low from the homage which they had done to Lowis: and he made all the bishops present, who were no more than seven, and the earls and barons and knights, swear to the young King, that they would be true to him; and he excommunicated all the English, who were against him. Many persons soon had themselves crossed in their bare flesh, in token that they would live and die with him, and drive out Lowis. Some principal men of England, who were with Lowis, through natural affection had their hearts with king Henry.'

§ 3. Of the abovementioned synod holden here a more particular account may be redd in (*c*) our Church history. "After the coronation of Henry III, Gualo, the Pope's Legate, held a council at Bristow on the feast of St Martin; in which he compelled eleven bishops of England and Wales who were present, and other prelates of a lower class, and the earls, barons, and knights that were convened, to swear fealty to king Henry. He put all Wales under an interdict, because it held with the barons, and he excommunicated the barons with all their accomplices, in which Lewis was put at their head."

§ 4. Our historians usually call this Legate *Gualo*; but his true name and title is *Cardinal Guala Bicherius*. He was the Legate of

(*c*) Wilkins's Concilia, Vol' 1, p' 546; translated by Barrett, p' 668.

Pope Honorius in England A' D' 1216. My learned and excellent friend Benjamin H' Bright, Esq', writing from Milan, refers me to his life published there with the following title. "*Gualae Bicherii, Presbyteri Cardinalis S'ti Martini in montibus, vita et gesta; collecta à Philadelpho Libico. Mediolani.* 1767, 4*to pp'* 178. He was a native of Vercelli; and to the passion, which Italians have in common with yourself, to commemorate fellow-townsmen, we owe this piece of biography. The Author, however he may be concealed under an assumed name, has collected his materials from the best authorities, English and foreign, with which, as notes and extracts, he has filled the half of every page. The Council of Bristol is little more than mentioned:" the passage is transcribed in the (*d*) note; and from thence it appears, that the court of Rome considered the late King's resignation of his crown to be an actual transfer; and the Cardinal accordingly called together the national Council by the Pope's authority, appointed a guardian to the young King, intended to chuse a wife for him, by the privilege of feudal lords, and in the whole affair acted as Sovereign.

§ 5. While the young King continued at Bristow, he probably granted a charter to the town, authorizing the burgesses to choose from among themselves a chief magistrate called *a Mayor*, as Winchester, London, Lynn, and perhaps others, were allowed to do, some few years before. Adams's Calendar is as follows, "1216. This year the pope's legate convoked a synod in this city and excommunicated prince Lewis of France and all his adherents, who had been invited to England to"

(*d*) After the coronation at Gloecester, given chiefly from Matth' Paris, he writes "Heic autem substitisse providentiam Gualæ Bicherii, minimè puta: misso siquidem nuncio coronationis Henrici peractæ ad Honorium (vide epistol' Honorii 164, lib' 1 apud Raynald ad ann' 1217, num' 67 & 68) et tradito statim Henrico Rege custodiendo Guillelmo sive Willelmo, Comite Pembrocii, (non Glocestriæ, uti visum Spondano ad annum 1216 n' 5) duci fortissimo et regio castrorum magistro, cui ejiciendi Ludovici è Britanniâ provincia tunc quoque commissa; subiit Legato absoluturo munera Curatoris Regis, injuncta sibi vel à Pontifice maximo, congregare 3 Idus Novem' Bristolii Concilium, ut induceret XI Episcopos Angliæ et Walliæ, cæterosque venturos ad illud, ad pollicendam jurejurando fidem Henrico, hujusque hosteis et rebelles devovendos Diris; et etiam rogare Honorium vellet proponere puellam regiam aliquam nuptui tradendam Henrico indigo ----- Principis affinis auxiliorum ad obsistendum Ludovico, ac tandem hortari rebelles ad consilia saniora. Verùm Honorius &c.

"join the barons against the king. This year king Henry kept his Christmas in this city." Another is thus: "King John having greate troubles with his Barons dies, and leaves young K' Henry III ingulfed in the same: - - - - with his councellors and tutors he came to Bristoll as to a safe place; in which he permitted the town to choose a Mayor after the manner of London: and with him were chosen two grave, sad, worshipful men which were called *Prepositors*, there being neither Sheriffe nor Bayliffe." It is unquestionable that at this time leave was given to the burgesses to choose a Mayor annually; all our calendars assert it, they all name *Adam le Page* as the first Mayor, and *Stephen Hankin* and *Rainold Hazard* as the first Prepositors, and they continue the series without interruption from them, and from this time they contain a regular chronicle of events; yet so far as I can find, no charter for the election of a Mayor has been discovered, or quoted by any succeeding charter.

§ 6. About the year 1220 the Hospital and Church of the Gaunts was founded in the cemetery of the monastery of S' Austin, now *the College Green*, on the side opposite to that monastery. It was founded by Maurice de Gaunt, son of Robert, second son of Robert Fitzharding; which Maurice took the name of *de Gaunt* from the family property of his wife Alice de Gaunt.——And about the same time the two Orders of Friers were established and came over into England: but there is considerable variation among historians in settling the date. The Dominicans, oterwise called the *Friers-preachers* and the *Black-friers*, are said to have been established in 1215; one of our MS Calendars says that they came into England in A' D' 1220. They founded a large convent here (*e*) before A' D' 1228 or 1229 on a plat of ground between Rosemary lane and the Ware. About the same time or soon after (in 1220 as some say) the Order of the Franciscan fryers was established, otherwise named the *fryers-minors*, but generally called in England the *grey-fryers*. Some of our Calendars say that they came into England in 1223; one of them adds that it was on the feast of St Burien in that year; and that in 1226 St Francis, the founder of the

(*e*) Barr' p' 400.

order, came to Bristol, and that he himself founded the nunnery of Lacock in Wiltshire. The Convent of the grey-friers was in Lewin's mead, where the buildings occcupied the northern side of that street: and it being one of their chief houses in this country and built before (*f*) the year 1234, it might possibly have been founded by S' Francis himself, while he continued in this neighbourhood. Knighton writes, that 'the Friers-preachers came into England in 1217, and the Friers-minors on St Bartholomew's day 1224.' Leland (*g*) writes, "This year [1221] came the frere Preachers first into England. This year [1225] on St Boreheus day the frere Minors first came into the Realm. - - - - - This year began first the order of the Augustine Friers in England."

§ 7. The following account of the origin of these two orders is extracted from the Chronicle of Hemingford. 'In the time of King John two new Orders began, the Friers-preachers and the Friers-minors. St Dominic was the founder of the Preachers in the neighbourhood of Thoulouse, where he constantly preached against the heretics by word and by example. When he had been employed for ten years in preaching and collecting brethren [friers], he applied to Pope Innocent III to confirm the Order. While the Pope was hesitating and rather averse to the proposal, he saw in a dream the Lateran church in a state which threatened an immediate fall; whereupon the man of God, St Dominic, ran up and supported the tottering fabric on his shoulders. Leave was now given to proceed; and the friars at that time only sixteen, being themselves *Preachers* by name and in fact, chose the Rule of St Augustin, who was a famous preacher; and they took on themselves moreover the practice of a stricter life. The Order was confirmed by the Pope in 1216. He died at Bologne A' D' 1221; and before his death he pronounced his Will, saying thus: these are the things which I bequeath to you as to my sons; have love to each other; observe humility; keep a voluntary poverty: and he pronounced a terrible imprecation against any one, who should presume to defile the order of Preachers with the dust of earthly riches. They first came into England A' D' 1217.'

(*f*) Barrett, p' 400. (*g*) Itin' 7, 95

§ 8. 'The Order of Friers-minors was founded by St Francis in the city of Assisa in Italy, where he was born. Hearing one day the directions which our Saviour gave to his disciples, when he sent them to preach, (*h*) he determined on observing them all. He took off his shoes from his feet, he wore only one garment and that a mean one, he changed his leather thong for a cord [from whence they were called *Cordeliers*] and established his society of friers near the city Assisa A' D' 1206. Many persons noble and ignoble, clergy and laity, followed St Francis, despising worldly pomp, and keeping close to his footsteps: whom this holy father taught to fulfill evangelical perfection, to lay hold on poverty, and to walk in the way of holy simplicity. When he drew near to his last day, being worn out by a long sickness, he caused himself to be laid on the bare ground, and joyfully met death, hateful as she is, and terrible to others, and invited her to his house, saying, welcome, my sister death. He fell asleep in the Lord Oct' 4, 1226. The friers Minors came into England on St Bartholomew's day in the preceding year, that is in 1224.'—There is some inconsistency in the preceding dates; if St. Francis really came to Bristol, as our Calendars say, his visit could scarcely have been so late as in the year of his death 1226.

§ 9. Matth' Westm' gives the following account of the Friers-minors. "About this time [1207] the Preachers, who are called *the Minors*, by the encouragement of Pope Innocent issued forth and filled the land; dwelling in cities and corporate towns by tens and sevens, possessing no property at all, living by the gospel, exhibiting a true and voluntary poverty in their food and dress, going about barefooted, girded with knotted cords, they afforded a very great example of humility to all persons. Nevertheless they occasioned great fear to many of the Prelates; because they began to weaken their authority by their preachings, and at first by their private confessions, afterward by their open admission [*manifestis receptionibus*]." "Only nine (*i*) years after the foundation of the Order of Franciscans, there were found at a general Chapter holden near Assisa 5000 deputies from it's convents. Even at present,"

(*h*) Matth' 10.—Luke 9 and 10. (*i*) Encycl' Franc'.

"although the Protestants have removed a vast number of their Monasteries, they have still 7000 houses for men under different names, and more than 900 convents of women. There have been counted by their last Chapters 115,000 men, and about 29,000 women." The similarity, which exists in many respects between these Orders and the early converts to some of our own sects, cannot escape the notice of an attentive observer.

§ 10. In the year 8 Henry III [1225] the revenues of our town, which had been hitherto (*k*) let to farm to different persons were now let (*l*) to the burgesses themselves at a rent of £245 per annum: an advanced rent which marks an increased population and wealth; and which they must have paid willingly, because they now raised the money in the manner most convenient to themselves, and were thereby released from the exactions and the presence of a revenue-farmer. I translate the original authority, which may be worth the reader's perusal. "The account of Bristol [*compotus Bristolli*] from the feast of St Gregory [March 12] in the 8 year of the King to the feast of St Gregory in the 9*th* year. The burgesses of Bristol account for 245£ for the foresaid term out of the firm of their town, which town the King demised to them for that rent: so that they are to answer for two parts of that rent at Michaelmas, and for the remainder at the feast of St Hilary: Saving to the King, for the use of the Constable and his people in the castle of Bristoll, the prisage of Beer, as much as they want; so that the Burgesses may have the remainder; and saving to the King the Bailiwick of the Barton of Bristol, and of the chace of Brull *et de chascia Brull* [*ij*] of Keinesham and of the wood of Furches [*et de bosco de Furches*]; which bailiwick the King has retained in his own hand."

§ 11. On May 1, 11 Henry III [1227] the King being at Westminster signed a (*m*) new Charter to the burgesses of Bristol. It is

(*k*) See Chapt' IV, 51; and XI, 23, 24. (*l*) Madox Exch' Vol' 1, p' 333 note, (*s*), 2*d* edit'

(*m*) See the Charters of Bristol p' 12. I take this opportunity of correcting a mistake in the note of that page. Lord Coke had said that king John was the first of our kings, who used the plural style *Nos* in his grants; and I thought myself safe under his authority. But there is in Berkeley castle a

merely a confirmation of Henry II's charter, and was granted probably not at the request of the burgesses, but for the purpose of drawing money from them, as the King had done or was doing from all the Corporations in the kingdom; which afterward became a regular practice at the accession of every new King. It contains no confirmation of earl John's important charter; that was reserved for the purpose of a future exaction.

§ 12. The King's misconduct had set him at variance with the best and greatest of his barons. 'He (*n*) had imprisoned Hubert de Burgh, Chief Justiciary of England, in the castle of Devizes A' D' 1233 or 1234. "One night by the asistance of his Esquire who was his only attendant, he let himself down through the lattice by means of towels and napkins and took refuge in a parish church adjoining to the ditch of the castle, from whence early the next morning he was dragged out by his keepers and the garrison, and confined more closely than before. But the bishop of Salisbury, supported by all the other bishops, claimed the immunity of the church, and he was consequently carried back into the same church, where he was surrounded by the soldiers and the power of the county, and narrowly watched. Another Baron with whom the King was at variance was William Mareschall, earl of Pembroke, a person of excellent character, and a friend to the King and his country. Him and his adherents the King harrassed in every possible manner by seizing their lands, levelling their houses, parks and gardens, cutting down their woods, filling up their fishponds, and ploughing up their pastures; and they themselves were forced to take refuge on the other side of the Severn. Here they heard of the situation in which Hubert de Burgh was placed; and William Mareschal sent two of his friends to attempt his rescue. He had been in the church for some time, when early one morning Gilbert Basset and Richard Siward arrived with a'

grant to Lord Berkeley from Richard I in perfect preservation and of unquestionable authenticity, granted "when *we* were in the power of *our* enemies." In it the plural *Nos* is used throughout. There is also in Rad' Diceto p' 655 a charter of Richard I in the plural *nos;* and p' 669 another of the same king A' D' 1193 *et sæpe alibi;* and in Bromton; and one of Richard I in Matth' Westm' A' D' 1189 & *alib.*

(*n*) Chron' Wikes, and Ann' Waverley.

'good body of armed men, and going in, the guards not being able or not inclined to make resistance, they armed him in the church, mounted him on a mailed horse, and carried him away, against his will as was said, with a powerful hand across the country to *Austiclive* [Aust cliffe], and there crossing the arm of the sea in vessels provided for that purpose, they lodged him safely in the castle of *Strugoyl* [Chepstow] which is on the other side of the river; the guards and the whole county, who followed them with loud cries as far as the bank of the river, being forced to return with great confusion and disgrace.'

§ 13. Sept' 8, 1238, a villain attempted the King's life. Thomas Wikes's account of this affair is as follows. "In this year, 1238, one Richard came to the King's court, who was then abiding at Wodestock, and feigning himself a fool, for some days he made sport in the King's hall among the domestics in the manner of a jester [ad modum morionis]. At length one night when the King being ready wished to go up to his bed-chamber, he was found under the King's bed, lying hid in the straw, intending to kill him with a very long knife. Being taken he was drawn at the tail of horses from Wodestock to Oxford, and there hanged on a gallows. Afterward it was discovered that he had been sent for that purpose by William de Mareys, who had been outlawed for his crimes, and at that time was abiding in an island between Wales and Cornwall, called *Lunday*, where he maintained himself by plunder and rapines."

§ 14. Matthew Westm' thus relates the attempt to kill the King. "This year, 1238, about the feast of St Matthew, a man having the appearance of a clergyman, pretending to be a fool, until he could discover the secret passages in the King's court, one night at Woodstock privately entered the palace through a window. But the King and Queen, divine mercy protecting them, happening to sleep that night in another chamber, and one Margaret Byset, a very pious gentlewoman, who was sitting up according to her custom for the purpose of singing in her psaltery, and afterwards other young women, whom he found in the chamber itself, giving an alarm, the man was apprehended. Afterwards being bound with ropes, he confessed with his polluted mouth"

" that he had been sent thither for the purpose of killing the King and Queen. After a moderate space of time, he was torn by horses at Coventry limb from limb into four parts, which were sent to the greater cities of the kingdom, to be hung up in memory of so great a crime." This writer afterward relates the story of William de Mariseo at Lundy, but he does not speak of any connexion between him and the assassin abovementioned. His words are these: " while our lord the King was beyond sea, a certain noble person, an Irishman by nation, named William de Marsh, being an exile and a fugitive for some crime laid to his charge, went to the island *Londeie*, which is not far distant from Bristol, and employed himself in robbery and piracy. Being at last taken with his 17 companions he was condemned to a cruel death, and by the King's direction he was drawn with his 17 companions at the tails of horses to the gallows at London, there to be hanged. But his father, one of the most powerful men in Ireland, named *Geoffry de Marsh*, having heard this, fled into Scotland, hardly there finding a safe retreat: and not long after pining away with grief, he terminated a wretched life by a welcome death."

§ 15. The Annals of Waverley mention the affair in these words: " About the festival of St John Baptist A' D' 1242, William de Mariseo [de Marsh] was taken in the island which is called Lunday and many who were there with him, plundering on every side all who passed by them. Being carried to London they were there imprisoned until the vigil of St James the Apostle; on which day the said William having received judgement was drawn from Westminster through the principal streets of the city to the gibbet; and there being hanged and again taken down, his body was divided into four parts and sent to four principal cities (*o*) in particular. The others who were taken with him were drawn from Westminster to the gibbet and there most vilely hanged." Another narrative is (*p*) as follows. " A' D' 1242 one William de Marsh [*de Marisco*], an Irishman by nation, being banished from England, seized on the island Lundey, and plundered the merchants of Bristol. Being afterwards taken with 16 accomplices, he suffered punishment at"

(*o*) *Ad 4 Majores Civitatis*, lege *ad 4 majores civitates*. (*p*) Anon' apud Leland Coll' 3, 392.

"London."—One of our best MS Calendars gives a recital somewhat different. "William de Marisco, who by evill practices thought to have slayne the King in his bedchamber at Woodstock (as was said) being apprehended fled, and fortified the isle of Lundy in the channel of Bristoll, doeing much mischiefe by piracie; but was not long after taken with 16 of his accomplices and executed at London, though at his death he denyed the plott." On the whole it seems probable, that there was no connection between William de Marsh at Lundy, and the assassin at Woodstock, but that the annalists confused the two together.

§16. One of our MS Calendars has the following notice. "1242. This year grey soap was sold from this city to London to one John Lamb, who retailed it at 1*d* per pound, and black soap at a $\frac{1}{2}d$."

§17. In the year 1239-40 was the commencement of two public undertakings, which mark a very great degree of opulence and spirit. The quay was till now confined to a very short space, ships could load and unload only where the present Bridge-street stands, that is, on the bank of the Avon between the mouth of the river Froome and what is now St Peter's Hospital; which space lying immediately under the church of St Mary gave to that church the name which it still bears, *St Mary le port*, usually *St Maryport*. The small extent of this port, and it's inconvenience also (for the bank of the Avon was steep, and the bottom stony (naturally induced the merchants to seek a larger, safer and more convenient quay; all which improvements they saw to be attainable by digging a deep trench cross St Augustine's marsh, as a new bed for the Frome; the eastern side of which would then form a safe and extensive quay. This marsh however belonged to the abbey of St Augustine, part of the original grant of Rob' Fitzharding, probably parcel of the manor of Billeswick. It extended under the name of *St Augustine's Marsh* from the mouth of the Froom to the end of the Abbot's Park (now College-street) and of Canon's Marsh: and the north-eastern part of it, of which the townsmen wished to be possessed, and where they had already an ancient right to walk to and fro at their pleasure, consisted of one large field, called *Chanter's Close*, which

extended from the river Frome to the hill on which St Augustine's churches &c are built. This valuable and extensive piece of ground the Abbat and convent sold to the Mayor and commonalty, who thereupon undertook and executed that great trench which forms the present quay: after which the bridge was built across the river Avon; and then the inhabitants of the Redcliffe side of the river were incorporated as far as was practicable with the burgesses and commonalty of Bristow. The particulars of these three transactions, which follow each other in connected order, and the authorities for this interesting part of our history, are as follow.

§ 18. Adams's Calendar shall be copied first. "1247. This yeare was the trench digged and made for the river from *Gibtailer* to the key, by the consent of the maior and commonaltie; and as well of and by the consent and charges of the ward of *Redcliffe*, as by the towne of *Bristoll:* before which time the ryver or port was at the shambles that now is, and did run rownd about the castell; and therefore the church of our Ladies Assumption was and is called *St Mary le port*. And this yeare the bridge of *Bristoll* began to be fownded, and the inhabitants of *Redcliffe*, *Temple* and *Thomas* were incorporated and combined with the towne of *Bristow;* whereas before it was two townes and two marketts kept therein; thone at the high crosse of *Bristow*, thother at *Staleng* [al' *Stalling*] crosse in Tempell streat. And for the grownd on *St Augustine* side of the ryuer, it was given and graunted unto the cominaltie of *Bristow* by Sir Wm' Bradstone then Abbot for certaine money to him paid and to be yearely paid by the cominaltie; as by writings and covenants betweene them made may apeare."

§ 19. The greater part of the Calendars describe the matter, as follows. "1247. This year the mayor and commonalty of the town of Bristol concluded to build a bridge over the river Avon, with the consent of Redcliff and the governors of Temple fee, thereby minding to incorporate them with the town and so make of two, but one corporate town: for they passed by boat from St Thomas slip to St Mary le port to come to Bristol. For at that time the port was where now St Nicholas'

"Shambles are, and there the shipping did ride; for which the church is called the church of our Lady her Assumption, and the port of St Mary Port. At that time no water did run down the quay; but with one current it did run to the Castle, and so to Keynsham river; for the Marsh and St Augustin's side was one main close, called *Canter's close*, belonging then to the abbey of St Austin: and for the conveying the water from the point called the Gibb into the quay, the mayor and commonality as well of Brightstow (or Bristol) as of the Temple side bought so much ground, as is parted from St Austin's side, of Sir William a Bradstone the Abbot for a certain sum of money to him paid, as appeareth by an old writing made between him and the mayor with the convent. And then the trench was digged for bringing the river into the quay. For at that time the fresh river from behind the castle mills, did run down under Froome-gate-bridge, and so through Baldwin street, and it drove a mill called Baldwin's-Cross mills [*al'* a mill at Baldwin's cross]. And when the trench to the quay was finished, the water was stopped at the point against the red-clift; and all the while the foundations of the arches were laying and the masons were building the water did run under the bridges of Redcliff and Temple gates, being made for that purpose: and at Tower Harris the water was bayed, that it could not come down to hinder the building, but kept it's current that way. And so the bridge being built, the bays were broken down, so that the water did ebb and flow, as usual; and then the fresh river, that did run by Baldwin cross was dammed up and made a street. Thus these two towns were incorporated into one, both on the Somersetshire and Gloucestershire side: and that whereas they had usually on every Monday a great market at Stall-henge [*al'* Stallenge. al' Stalleng] cross. and in Bristol on every Wednesday and Friday at the High Cross, and it being much trouble for people to pass from one side to the other. the bridge being built, the markett was kept in High-street at the High Cross."

§ 20. Another Calendar contains the following account. '1246. Unto this time there was noe bridge over the Avon, but a ferry. Shipping alsoe lay at the place now called the Shambles, where the port was;'

"and therefore the church of our Lady the Assumption was called the *St Mary le port*. The river Frome ran along neere the place, where Baldwin street now standeth: but now a trench was cut, and the marsh of Bristoll separated from Channon's marsh, which for the city's benefitt was granted by William Bradstone, then Abbot of St Augustin's: there running through Channon's marsh but a small streame before; for which a rent was paid to the Abbot and Cōvent by the maior and cōmons."—The next paragraph in the same MS is thus. "1247. Now that the bridge went happily forward, the townsmen on this side of Avon and those of Redcliffe were incorporated, and became one town, which before was two; and the two places of markett brought to one (viz) that at Redcliffe side being kept at Temple Cross, als St Allege or Stallege Crosse: and also that from the Old Markett, neer Lawford's gate: and both being made one were kept where now it is, and a faire cross there built (viz) the High Cross, which is beautified with the statues of severall of our Kings."

§ 21. Mr. Barrett (p' 71) quotes other MS Calendars to the same effect. "Anno 1245 (Richard Aleyne, mayor, William Concord and John Northfolk, Prepositors) a trench was made and cast at Gibtaylor up to the brazen stock of the key, by the mayor and comonalty of the town."—"Another thus. Anno 1240, 24 Hen' III as Ricauts Calendar says, some say 1245, 1246, 1247, the trench or key was made from (*q*) Gybb Tailleur to the key-conduit: as well those of Redcliffe ward and of Temple-fee, as of the town of Bristol taking their turns in the labour and charge: the Frome running before along Baldwin street, where it drove a mill, called Baldwin's-cross-mill, and fell into the Avon, near a place, where now stands *the Back-hall*: then was the old channel dammed up, and formed into a street, to which there was an easy back passage and communication from St Leonard's church as far as St Nicholas' church, though in two places in St Nicholas street there was a descent by a flight of steps for foot passengers. Before this time,"

(*q*) *The Gibb* is that part of the bank of the Avon, which touches the lower part of Princes' street. "Whence the name is derived, is no where said: I find a man named *Gilbert le Tailor*, who might give rise to it." Barr' p' 71.—He was probably the owner of the land.

"Canon's marsh took in all those places, where are now the Key, Gibb Tailleur and Princes' street, and the ground next Marsh street; the scite of part of which formed what was called Chanter's Close, and was exchanged by the Corporation with Sir William à Bradstone, the Abbat, for the Trean mills, with reservation of the privilege of hunting the ducks there for the disport of the magistrates, as one MS declares; but another says, it was granted upon a reservation of a yearly rent; but the Calendar [*perhaps* Covenant] says in general, that it was purchased for a certain sum paid down at executing the grant."—Leland's account (*r*) of this transaction is as follows. "The ships of old time came only up by Avon to a place, called *the Bek*, where was and is depth enough of water; but the bottom is very stony and rough. Since by policy they trenched somewhat aloof by northwest of the old key on Avon anno 1247; and in continuance bringing the course of Froom river that way hath made soft and oozy harborow for great ships." Again (*s*) he writes thus, "Avon river about a quarter of a mile beneath the towne in a meadow casteth up a great arm or gut, by which the greater vessels, as main-top ships, come up to the town. So that Avon doth peninsulate the town, and vessels may come of both sides of it. I marked not well, whether there came any fresh water from the land to bete that arm." Once more Leland writes thus, copied (as he says) from a little book of the Kalendaries. "The (*t*) year of our Lord 1247 was the trench made and cast of the river from the Gybbe Taylor to the key, by the Commonalty as well of Redclyffe side as of the town of Bristoll: and the same time the inhabitants of Redclyffe were combined and incorporated to the foresaid town. And as for the ground of St Augustine's side of the river, it was given and granted to the commonalty of the said town by Sir William Bradstone, then being abbot of the same monastery for certain money therefore paid to him by the Commonalty; as it appeareth by writing thereof made between the Mayor and Commonalty and the Abbot and his brethren."

§ 22. I shall now endeavour to give a more exact account of these two undertakings than can be expected from our ancient MS Calendars.

(*r*) Leland Itin' 7. 93. (*s*) Lel' apud Barr' p' 71. (*t*) Leland Itin' 7, 95.

When the Convent agreed to sell a part of the Marsh, the following Covenant (*u*) was sealed by both parties.

CONVENTIO *facta* (*v*) *inter Abbatem et Conventum Sti Augustini Bristolliæ & Majorem & communiam Bristolliæ, de terrâ in marisco Sti Augustini versus aquam de Frome.*

HÆC est conventio facta inter dominum Willelmum de Bradestone, tunc abbatem Sti Augustini de Bristoll' et eiusdem loci conventum ex una parte, & Ricardum Ailard tunc maiorem Bristoll' & totam communam Bristoll' ex altera parte. SCILICET, quod dictus Abbas & conventus concesserunt pro se & successoribus suis in perpetuum maiori & communæ Bristoll' & eorum hæredibus totam terram illam in marisco Sti Augustini Bristoll', quæ jacet extra fossatum quod circuit terram arabilem dictorum canonicorum directe versus orientem usque ad marginem portus Frome: quod quidem fossatum extenditur a grangia dictorum canonicorum versus (*w*) Abonam SALVIS abbati & conventui prædicto (*x*) de terrâ proximâ prædicto fossato versus grangiam prædictam, ubi dicta communa (*y*) incepit fossare, septies viginti & quatuor pedibus terræ in latitudine; & in medio dicti marisci quater viginti & duodecim pedibus terræ in latitudine; & in exteriori parte dicti marisci versus Abonam sexaginta pedibus terræ in latitudine: super quam terram sic mensuratam (*z*) communa Bristoll' & eorum hæredes habere debent liberum iter suum, introitum, exitum et transitum ad naves suas &'ad spatiandum pro voluntate eorum, de die & nocte, longe & (*a*) prope, pacifice & sine contradictione in perpetuum, sicut semper (*b*) habere consueverunt. DEBENT autem prædicta communa & eorum heredes salvare abbati & conventui prædicto & successoribus suis eandem terram mensuratam; ita scilicet, quod (*c*) si cursus aquæ (*d*) ipsam terram deterioraverit, dicta communa illam debet emendare. RESIDUAM vero terram dicti marisci Sti Augustini Bristoll' ex (*e*) orientali & australi parte prædicti fossati debent prædicta communa et eorum hæredes integre habere et possidere, ad faciendum inde unam (*f*) trancheam & portum & quicquid dictæ communæ melius (*g*) sederit absque omni impedimento & contradictione in perpetuum. PRO hac siquidem concessione dederunt prædictus maior & communa Bristoll prædicto abbati & conventui novem marcas argenti: unde ut hæc concessio rata & stabilis permaneat, tam sigillum prædicti conventus quam (*h*) commune sigillum Bristoll' mutuo appensa sunt huic chirographo. HIIS testibus; (*i*) domino Johanne filio Galfridi: Thoma de Berkeleia: Rob' de Gourney: W' de Pycott: Ignatio de Clyfton: Rogero de Warre de Knolle: Johanne le Warre de Brixtulton; & aliis. FACTA autem conventio vigilia annunciationis beatæ Mariæ, anno regni domini regis H. filii J vicessimo quarto.

(*u*) Mr. Barrett first printed this Agreement which he probably received from the Council-house, where it stands the first title-deed in the Great Red Book: my transcript is from the Chartulary of St Augustin's fo' 205. I shall note the variations.

(*v*) The head or title here printed in italics is not found in the Chartul' Aug'.

(*w*) In chartul' August' *Abanam*. (*x*) *de* deest in libro Barr'.

(*y*) *incipit* in Barr.' (*z*) *communia* ap' Barr', et sic semper. (*a*) *proximè* ap' Barr.'

(*b*) *hæredes* in Barr', manifesto errore. (*c*) *in* pro *si*. Barr'. (*d*) *ipsam* deest in Barr'.

(*e*) *ex orientali parte & australi prædicti*. Barr'. (*f*) *trenchiam*. Barr'. (*g*) *serrierit*. Barr'.

(*h*) *quam sigillum communitatis Bristolliæ mutua appenda sunt*. Barr'.

(*i*) The names of witnesses are never copied in the chartulary, and seldom the dates: both are here transcribed from Barrett.

§ 23. The tenor of the foregoing covenant was as follows. The Abbot and Convent grant to the Mayor and Commonalty all the eastern part of St Augustin's Marsh, [that is, all that part which now forms Queen's Square and the adjoining streets]; from a certain ditch which bounds the arable land belonging to the abbey, eastward as far as the bank of the port of the river Frome; and this ditch extends from the Abbey grange [on the north] to the Avon [on the south]. But out of this grant the abbey still reserves to itself a strip of land adjoining to the ditch [on it's eastern side], 144 feet wide near the grange, 92 feet wide toward the middle, and 60 feet wide near the Avon. Nevertheless the commonalty are to have full right of ingress on the said strip of land by day or night to visit their ships or for any other purpose at their will, as as they always have had hitherto. And this breadth of land the Mayor and Com'ty are to secure to the convent, and if the current of water [in the new trench] shall damage it, the Mayor and Com'ty shall make it good. The remainder of the marsh, *viz* all which lies to the east and the south of the aforesaid ditch, the Convent grants to the Mayor and C'ty for the purpose of making a trench and harbour, and any thing else, which they please. The price was nine marks of silver.

§ 24. Several circumstances are observable in this transaction. It cannot be supposed that nine marks could be the real price paid for such a piece of land in such a situation. It is true, the townsmen had a customary right to walk there, as they pleased, for business or pleasure, which certainly lessened it's value: but still £6 sterling on any calculation of the value of money is a contemptible price. One of our MS Calendars quoted above says, that the town was to pay an annual rent; but the Covenant makes no mention of, nor have I found any other trace of it. Another MS quoted above says, that the Corporation gave Trin Mills to the Abbat in exchange for the Marsh. This account has great probability; for the Abbats and their successors have possessed an estate at Wapping close to Trin-mills ever since, and it is the only property which they had on that side of the river Avon; and it does not appear by what other means they could have acquired it. Perhaps also, the Abbey was *forced* to give way to a measure of great public utility.

Nothing is more probable than that Thomas Lord Berkeley *persuaded* the Abbey to a compliance : he was it's Patron, the Founder's Grandson, Lord of Bedminster and Redcliffe, and greatly interested in the prosperity of Bristow ; he was present as a witness to the sealing of the covenant, and was undoubtedly consulted in every stage of the transaction.

§ 25. The exact year in which this great undertaking was accomplished is subject to some doubt. All our Calendars say that the work was begun in 1247-8, and that Aylward was then mayor; the covenant proves that Aylward was mayor, but it is dated March 24, 24 Hen' III ; that is, March 24, 1239-40, at which time it says that the work was already begun: and certainly there is no error in the date of the covenant, because Thomas Lord Berkeley one of the witnesses died in 1243, and abbat Bradstone resigned in 1242. The date of the covenant under these circumstances is unimpeachable, and therefore I cannot but set down the beginning of the work to be in 1239-40, and that Aylward was then mayor; although our Calendars give *Robert le Beale* as mayor in 1239-40, and put off Aylward's mayoralty till 1247-8. It is possible indeed that le Beale might have died or resigned at the beginning of his mayoralty, and Aylward might have been elected in his room before the date of the covenant; in which case Aylward's name might not appear in the calendar : but if this be deemed improbable, it must follow that the list of officers in our Calendars is in this part of the series eight years later than it ought to be ; and with this suspicion, however unwillingly, I am inclined to coincide. (*j*)

§ 26. The extent and boundaries of the land thus granted require some annotation. The whole marsh is naturally divided into two parts, and the isthmus which divides them is formed by the hill (on which stands St Augustin's church) on the north, and the river Avon on the south : all to the west the Abbey retained, all to the east it granted to the Mayor and Commonalty. The exact limit across this isthmus was to be regulated by an ancient ditch which began on the north, probably

(*j*) Since writing the above, I have observed that Robert Ricart's list for 1240, 24 Henry III, is Richard Aylward, *mayor*, and William Tonarde, John Northfolke, *prepositors*, which is certainly right.

about the middle of Tombs's dock (as it now is) whereabout the Abbey-grange stood, and from thence the ditch proceeded southward to the Avon; and in digging the Quay-trench they were not to come nearer to this ditch than is expressed in the Covenant, leaving a strip of land of unequal breadth still belonging to the abbey. In the course of 600 years grange and ditch have disappeared, and the ground is occupied by houses, docks, timber-yards and the like, and we of this age can only suppose that the quay-trench, that is, the new bed of the Frome, was dug according to the covenant; and if so, the ditch must have been nearly where is now the road from Tombs's dock to the sea-banks, and in some places the ditch must have passed nearer to the present quay-water, (which is the Frome) than the road now is, for that river near it's fall into the Avon has encroached on the St Augustin's side. The Convent was afraid of this encroachment when it sold the land, and therefore covenanted, that the town should make good any damage which might arise from the new current of the Frome; and it was on this account probably that the convent excepted out of the sale and retained in it's possession the strip of land above-mentioned. But the Commonalty neglected to repair the encroachment; and in a great dispute which happened between the town and the convent in the reign of Henry VII one of the complaints of the Abbat (John Newland) is that (*k*) the "Mayor and Commonalty do not make any reparations about the shore [*littora*] of the water called *Frome*, which is wasting away [*devastantis*] the ground of the said abbat, as they are bound to do." After this grant to the town, the eastern part was always called the *marsh of Bristol*, and the western *Canon's Marsh*.

§ 27. It remains now to ascertain the boundary of the marsh on the side nearest to the town; which will require some further explanation, and give an opportunity of describing the course of the Frome more at large. See Chapt' VI, § 19, 20, 21, and VIII, 57; and Plate III, 64 and the Plate annexed to this present Chapt' XII, § 32. All our Calendars and other authorities inform us, and the general tradition of

(*k*) From p' 18, 6, and p' 36 of the Great White Book in the Council-house quoted by Barrett p' 69, 70.

the city to this day testifies, that the Frome once ran in or through Baldwin's street; and the same authorities add, that the channel there was filled up, when the present quay was dug about A' D' 1247, "and this (*l*) course of the Frome is not only proved by MS and authentic records, but by a whole boat having been of late years found in digging the foundation for a house in Baldwin-street, and by other remains of shipping and naval stores dug up there formerly." Nevertheless it is certain that Baldwin-street was inhabited long before that time. Harding lived there in the Conqueror's reign, and Fitzharding's large stone house, which he built on the Frome, (*m*) and a house of king John, and the house or school of Matthew the schoolmaster are all traditionally said to have been in that street; and therefore it is reasonable to suppose that the street occupied the same line as at present, and that the Frome ran on one side of it, and that the houses were built on the other side.

§ 28. It may be doubted perhaps on which side each was situate. The following reasons shew, that whatever houses existed there before 1247 were on the the lower or southern side. First, the tradition of the inhabitants of St Nicholas street is or was that the town-wall behind their houses was the boundary of the river: secondly, it is incredible that the burgesses would suffer a large stone house, or any house at all, to be built against the town-wall on the outside, which would have given a dangerous lodgement to an enemy: thirdly, the depth of 69 feet, which is the extreme distance from Baldwin's street to the town-wall, is scarcely a sufficient depth for the houses of Harding and his son: fourthly, the tradition (*n*) above-mentioned that Fitzharding's house was at the Back-hall seems at least to prove, that it was on that side of the street: and fifthly, there were in this street a house called *king John's house*, and a chapel called *king John's chapel*, of which further notice will be taken in the next §, and the house of Matthews the schoolmaster mentioned (*o*) above, all on the southern side of the street. It seems to me sufficiently proved, that before the year 1247 the houses were on the

(*l*) Barrett p' 52. (*m*) See Chapt' VI, 19, and VIII. 57. (*n*) See Chapt' VI, 21.
(*o*) See Chapt' VIII, 57.

southern side, and consequently that the river ran on the northern side of Baldwin's street close under the town-wall, and fell into the Avon near St Nicholas church.

§ 29. The course of the Frome therefore from Christmas-street bridge must have been thus; after passing the lower end of Small-street more nearly to it than at present, it must have turned round to the left close to the town-wall and rampart, on the ground now occupied by the houses on the left hand, in going toward Corn-street. At the lower end of Corn-street the river must have passed close to St Leonard's gate, where of course was a bridge, and from thence into Baldwin's street, as just now described. Nearly opposite to Blind-steps, which are the steps leading down from the market into Baldwin's street, was a mill, which alone proves that the river, or an arm of it, ran that way. The mill-house was standing within memory at the corner between Baldwin-street and Back-street, projecting into the street beyond the present corner house. The writer of this account saw about A' D' 1785 in the cellar of that house the thoroughs of the mill, which were two large perforations side by side in a thick stone, through which the water rushed upon the wheel: it was called *Baldwin's-cross-mill*, having that name from Baldwin's-cross, which stood adjoining in the street. From thence it ran to the Avon, as already mentioned. And there was probably an embankment near it's mouth, otherwise a mill would have been of little use.

§ 30. But although it be supported by undeniable testimony that the current of the Frome was through Baldwin's street, and no less strongly proved, that it ran on the *north* side of that street, yet it is not credible that this was the natural course and mouth of that river. It may be seen in the map, in which the course of the hills is carefully laid down, that the Froom coming out of the level space of Broad-mead and Lewin's-mead is confined between two hills, St Michael's hill on the right side and on the left that on which the town is built; and issuing from this pass that it has before it an uninterrupted level to the Avon: that a river in such a situation should for a long way wind round the *convex*

margin of a hill is unnatural and unexampled. It is common to see a river, although it has a free and open passage to it's mouth, yet choose to skirt the foot of a hill, continually wearing it away and making it more and more *concave;* but the case before us is of a different description. I therefore conclude that the current through Baldwin-street was formed artificially, as a town-ditch for the protection of the wall, and partly for the sake of the mill; that it was only an arm of the Frome, and probably called *the Pill* or creek, for the street which now passes from the end of Small-street to the end of Corn-street, being formerly on the margin of this stream was called (*p*) *Pylle-street.* I suppose this arm of the Frome to have been made before the Norman Conquest, probably at the same time when the walls were built, and to have been overarched and turned into a drain, when the quay was dug: such a drain was found in 1771 near St Leonard's church, when Clare-street was made.

§ 31. The *natural* current of the Frome must have been through the Marsh, which seems to have been originally formed by it's overflowings. Having been deprived of half it's water in the manner just now described, that which ran through the Marsh must have been but little. There was however enough to admit the small ships of early ages; for Leland writes "Some say (*q*) that ships of very ancient time came up to St Stephan's church in Brightstow." This channel of the Frome must therefore be considered as the boundary of the Marsh granted by the Abbot and convent to the Mayor and commonalty of Bristow thus expressed, "as far as the margin of the port of the Frome." The mill-stream in Baldwin-street could not be called the port of the Frome: neither did the land as far as that mill-stream belong to the Abbey; Fitzharding and his father had reserved Baldwin-street at least to themselves. It was in fact an inhabited suburb; and if the Abbot had granted it, it would certainly have been designated as houses. Neither is it probable that Harding, the Governor of the town, would have ventured to reside in Baldwin-street, nor his son to have built a costly mansion there, if it had been wholly open to the country, unprotected

(*p*) William Worc' pp' 171, 177, 195.

(*q*) Leland Itin' 7, 93.

by wall or river. And this division of the Frome into two channels, for which I have contended, will account for one expression in W' Worc', which would otherwise contradict a part of what was said above. He writes (*r*) that the Frome formerly ran on the *south* side of Baldwin-street. The main branch did so; and the houses in that street and the courts belonging to them extended to it backwards: and such a situation by the side of a navigable stream although small, was probably the cause, why Harding settled himself there.

§ 32. It seems therefore to be proved abundantly that there was a stream of the Frome both on the north and on the south side of Baldwin-street. If so, the intermediate ground must have been an island without further proof. There is however some traditional evidence of it. There was in Baldwin-street, although the entrance was in Back-street, a large house usually called *king John's house*, a good way retired from the fronts of both streets: it is now (1817) totally taken down, and a part of the great tobacco warehouse stands on it's site. The house was built on arches, the ground being low and liable to floods, and had good rooms, and apparently had been a respectable mansion. A very old man of good credit and recollection, Mr. Strickland, related, that when young about A' D' 1745-50 he lived adjoining to this house, and was well acquainted with it, and that the common report then was that in king John's time the house could not be entered [from Bristol I suppose] without crossing the water. He added, what I insert as a matter of curiosity, that at that time a garden and orchard belonged to the house, in which he had himself gathered apples. There was also standing within these last 50 years on the southern side of Baldwin-street about 80 yards from Blind-steps, in going toward Clare-street, a building which was always known by the name of *king John's chapel;* it had a groined ceiling and although in ruins the appearance of having been a handsome structure. Whether it had any conexion with the house last mentioned, I know not.

§ 33. After the lapse of so many centuries, it must be impracticable

(*r*) Will' Worc' p' 249.

to determine the exact course of this natural branch of the Frome and consequently the exact boundary of the Abbat's Grant. The probability is, that it fell into the Avon on the back, near St Nicholas' churchyard, and that when the new quay was finished, it was partly filled up. In an old map (*s*) of Bristow, which will be reprinted in the course of this work, there is a piece of water in the Marsh, apparently a part of this ancient channel of the Frome; and the same is in Hoefnagle's map, the one being probably a copy of the other. In process of time this old channel became a mere ditch or drain, called the ***Lawe-ditch:*** it is mentioned in many title-deeds, as the boundary backward of the houses in Baldwin-street, and the drains of King-street also run into it: it is of considerable size, and is now wholly overarched: it crosses Back-street about the middle of the street, where it is well known to the inhabitants.

§ 34. This great undertaking the digging through the marsh, and forming the quay (omitting for the present further mention of the bridge) executed by our ancestors without the modern aids of gunpowder and machinery, shew most decidedly the great increase of wealth and power, which Bristow had acquired at the beginning of the 13*th* century. Perhaps the whole breadth of the quay, as it now is, was not excavated at once; some might be left for the labor of succeeding times and some for the constant operation of the current: but notwithstanding this abatement, whoever duly considers the magnitude of the work, the trench being about 2400 feet long, that is somewhat less than half a mile, and about 40 yards wide, and 18 feet deep, taking both at a medium, and compares it with the smallness of the town in that age, must perceive, that our ancestors were not only opulent, but of an active, enterprizing spirit. From a note in the (*t*) great white book in the chamber of Bristol, it appears that the cutting this trench for the course of the Froom through the marsh, cost the commonalty of the city the sum of £5000. If it be multiplied by 15 or 20, the product will be a sum equivalent in modern times. It was the first improvement of the port, the foundation of all others in succeeding ages; it was the first attempt at

(*s*) See Preface, § I I II and III. (*t*) Quoted by Barrett, p' 72.

changing the natural form of the two rivers, and accommodating them to the purposes of a commercial people. If we compare this undertaking even with the enormous amount of labor and money, which has been expended for the same purpose within our own memory, bearing in mind the comparative resources of the two ages, we must acknowledge the sagacity, and spirit, and expenditure of our ancestors to have been equal to our own.

§ 35. The land being purchased in Aylward's mayoralty A' D' 1239-40, they began the work, first opening the ground below St Augustine's parish-church near Tombs's dry dock. How long a space of time was spent in excavating the trench, we are not informed; but it is probable that the date which our Calendars give for the beginning of the work was in fact it's conclusion, and that the trench was finished in 1247-8. Being finished and the water of the Frome now ebbing and flowing in it's new channel along the present quay, they began the second part of their undertaking, the building of a stone bridge across the Avon. And that the workmen might lay the foundations with perfect ease and security, they laid the whole bed of the river dry by turning the current into a temporary channel dug for that purpose, which began at Tower Harratz at the end of Temple-backs, and passed close to Temple and Redcliffe gates, where temporary bridges were built, and from thence to the Avon again at Redcliff backs. Great part of this channel may still be traced; for the town-wall, most of which remains, was afterward built on it's inward edge, and the new channel was preserved as a ditch to the wall, in some places still visible, in others arched over and used as a drain. At and near Tower-harratz it (*u*) is still so open, that if not excluded by a hatch, the tide would flow through it as high as Temple gate: the lane which passed on it's edge is still called *Back-avon walk;* from which we may suppose that this stream, while it lasted, was called *the Back-avon:* on the south side of Portwall lane it was within memory very evident, passing at the back part of the houses in Pile-street, which is (*v*) said to have derived it's name from having been a pill or creek at that time; and there is 'an (*w*) account of a boat'

(*u*) Barr' p' 76. (*v*) Barr' p' 76. (*w*) Barr' ibid'.

'and materials belonging to shipping having been dug up here in the gardens behind Pile-street.' From Redcliff gate to the Avon it is covered and used as a drain.

§ 36. After this, the raising two dams across the river, strong and high enough to resist the spring-tides rising 18 feet, must have been a work of great labour and expence. The upper dam was at Tower-harratz; the situation of the lower is not precisely mentioned, but it must have been higher up than the month of the new channel, somewhere across from the Back to the Redcliff side; and this lower dam must have been furnished with hatches. The bed of the river being laid dry they were enabled to proceed by a method different from modern practice; they dug and laid the foundation of the piers at leisure as of any ordinary edifice on land, and built them up of firm and solid masonry; which appeared in 1762 when they were partly taken down and partly examined by boring. There were four arches and consequently three piers; which piers were made so unnecessarily thick, that here, as in London, they much impeded the current, and caused a waterfall. But the architects of that age were not aware of the strength of their own masonry, to what an extent arches might be trusted. They were pointed in what is called the Gothic form, and the whole breadth of the bridge was nineteen feet.

§ 37. It has been made a question, whether any bridge over the Avon existed there, before the stone bridge was erected. Our Calendars recited above say there was none; but that the communication was by a ferry only, from a slip opposite to St Thomas-street, called *St Thomas slip* to another opposite to St Nicholas gate. This was no doubt the original place and manner of crossing the river; but there must have been a wooden bridge there long before 1247, and for such a fact as this we may safely depend on the extreme probability of it. A wooden bridge in that place, particularly if intended only for foot-passengers, was a work of no great difficulty or expence; and the passing being naturally frequent, it cannot be supposed that Bristol could ever enjoy ten years peace and prosperity without some building of that kind. There is

moreover positive evidence in opposition to that of the Calendars. Will' of Worc' (p' 366) has the following passage. "1215. The bridge of Bristol was first founded by John king of England, which contains in length 140 steps;" the same length which in another place he gives to the stone bridge over the Avon. If this account given by Will' Worc' could be relied on with assurance, the question would be determined; but his information and his expressions are usually so uncertain, that it is possible, that in the passage just quoted he means the stone bridge of his own time, which he might attribute to king John in 1215.

§ 38. Another argument for the existence of a bridge over the Avon before the year 1240 has been drawn from the three following charters. The first, that of Henry II, must have been granted after the date of the charter in (*x*) 1164, because the one refers to the other; and before the death of Rob' Fitzharding in 1170. It is here transcribed from Mr. Barrett's history, p' 663. "Henricus, rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ &c. Henry, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitain, earl of Anjou, to all barons, justices, sheriffs, and other his servants, English or Welsh, wisheth health. I grant that my men that dwell in my fee in the marsh near the bridge of Bristow have their certain customs and liberties and quittances through all England and Wales, as my burgesses, and namely those of Bristow, and through my land of the county of Gloucester, as my charter testifies; and I forbid that any one do them any injury or reproach on that account." But although the King as sovereign calls the men in the marsh *his* men, yet it is plain from the following charter that the marsh was Robert Fitzharding's fee, and that therefore the inhabitants were forced to procure a similar charter from him, as being their immediate lord. It is copied from Barrett, p' 73. "Robert, the son of Harding, to all his friends and to all men, present and future, health. Know ye that I have granted and confirmed, that my men, who dwell in my fee in the marsh near the bridge of Bristol, have their customs and liberties &c, which the men of Bristol have, as our lord the King has granted unto them: and I will that they remain to them whole and full during my time and that of my heirs. Witness, Richard."

(*x*) See the *Charters of Bristol* I. and these Memoirs IX, 5

"abbot of St Augustin, William the prior and others." From the names of the witnesses we may collect, that this charter was granted after Fitzharding became a canon in his own monastery. The third charter is one granted by Maurice de Berkeley, son of Robert Fitzharding, between 1170 and 1189, confirming "to *his men of Redclive* the customs and liberties which they had in the time of his father, and which were confirmed to them by his said father." It is as follows, copied from Barrett, p' 671. "Mauritius filius Roberti omnibus hominibus suis & amicis salutem. Sciatis me concessisse & hac carta mea confirmasse hominibus meis de Redclive omnes consuetudines, libertates & quietancias, quas habuerunt in tempore patris mei, & quas pater meus iis carta sua confirmavit. Hi sunt testes; Elias capellanus; magister Mauritius; Adam dapifer & alii." It is to be regretted that Mr. Barrett has not informed us, whence he procured these three charters, and that he has not given the originals of the two former; yet I see no reason to doubt their authenticity.

§ 39. From the two first of these charters it is manifest, that there was before the year 1164, and before Fitzharding's death in 1170, a bridge of Bristol; and it cannot be supposed, that it was one of the many little bridges over the Frome, which must have been here in the earliest ages; *the bridge of Bristol* must have been over the Avon. The two charters above-mentioned say also, that the bridge was near the Marsh: and the third charter shews that it was on the Redcliff side of the Avon, for *the men of Redcliffe* in this last charter are the same persons as *my men who dwell in my fee in the marsh near the bridge of Bristol*, in the first and second charter. This marsh therefore, on the Redcliffe side and near a bridge, could only be the low marshy ground of St Thomas, and St Mary and Temple parishes, adjoining the river; and from the nature of the place and from appearances, when the ground has been opened in later times, we know that it must have been *a marsh*, and it might very probably have retained that name, after houses had been built there.—It has been argued against the existence of a bridge, that it would have prevented ships from reaching St Maryport: but in answer it must be remembered, that most ships of that age could lower

their masts; and those few who could not do so, might lie below at the mouth (*y*) of the Frome.

§ 40. One more positive testimony in favour of a wooden bridge remains to be produced. (*z*) "When the old stone bridge was taken down in 1762-3, they found in the middle of Redcliff pier a sell of oak about one foot square and forty feet long, with two uprights near each end about nine inches square, and eight or nine feet high, morticed into the sell, supposed by the workmen, who had been down and examined it, to be the remains of the old wooden bridge first built on this spot: which decaying, a stone one was built in it's place; when these pieces of timber were not removed, but as they built such large piers at leisure undisturbed by the current, they walled them into the middle of the pier without the trouble of taking them up, but thinking perhaps that it might give some stability to the work." The fact last-mentioned, and the arguments stated above undeniably prove the existence of a wooden bridge before 1247 against the authority of our Calendars: and this being the case, Will' Worcester's account of king John's bridge in 1215 (*a*) becomes almost certain. The continual repairs of this structure were probably so vexatious, that after thirty years expense they determined to build one of stone.

§ 41. One more circumstance of probability deserves to be mentioned. Our Bristowan ancestors were apt to follow the example of London: the wars of king Stephen's reign had probably created a considerable rivalry between the two towns. In the whole affair of building this bridge London was their model. In that city there was originally only a ferry across to Southwark: afterwards in very early times before the Norman Conquest a bridge of timber was built a little lower down the river than the present London bridge; which being often broken wholly or in part, was repaired, or rather rebuilt of timber in 1163; and this also being insufficient, a stone-bridge was begun in A' D' 1176, 22 Henry II, and after 33 years labor was finished 11 John, A' D' 1209 or 1210. In London also the bed of the river was laid dry. "The (*b*) course of the"

(*y*) See § 31 of this Chapter. (*z*) Barrett, p' 77. (*a*) See above § 37. (*b*) Stowe's London, p' 28.

"river for the time was turned another way about by a trench cast for that purpose, beginning in the east about Radriffe, and ending in the west about Battersey."—There was also a chapel on London bridge, in which the men of Bristow copied the Londoners; as they did also in building houses which projected over the water and forming the bridge into a street. 'The Ouse-bridge at York was of the same date, and houses and a chapel were built on it.' We have still two bridges of this kind in Bristol, the Pithay-bridge, and that of Christmas-street: and in late years a new one of the same kind has been built at Bath.

§ 42. What was the date of our first wooden bridge, it is impossible to ascertain; but probably it was first built during the age of the Saxons. Their skill and labor were surely adequate to such a structure, and abundance of materials grew in Kingswood, and might have been floated down to the spot. Such a bridge might have been frequently destroyed by floods or by warlike operations, and frequently set up again. There is moreover some reason for suspecting that there was another wooden bridge over the Avon here, before that of stone was erected. The place of the ferry over the river, which used to be called *Countess slip*, is called in an ancient title deed in my possession *Pons Comitissæ*. I know not that the word *pons* ever signifies in any dialect *a slip*, *a stair*, *a descent*, but simply *a bridge;* and if so, there was a bridge between the castle and the end of East Tucker-street, which was erected by a Countess of Gloucester, probably by Haweis wife of William, about 1170, and called *Countess-bridge*, which being demolished, the ferry might continue to be called in Latin by the same name. However I would not rest too much on this evidence, because it is possible that a wooden stage or stairs extending a few yards down the bank on each side, for the purpose of making a secure landing-place, might be called *pons*. If there were a bridge there, which I believe to be the case, it may be the same, which Leland (*c*) mentions to have been built in the time of William earl of Gloucester.

(*c*) Aucta est a Saxonibus. Postremò ponte facto *Ruber clivus* ad sinistram Avonæ ripam urbi additus & muro septus forti, quo tempore Gulielmus Comes Claudinæ præfuit provinciæ. Leland Comm' in Cyg' Cant', voc' *Venta*.

§ 43. The old bridge being a building of as much curiosity as any in the kingdom, a minute description of it is here attempted; in aid of which I have been favored with a view of it, copied by the pencil of an antiquarian friend, partly from one which is on the side of Millard's map, and partly from a wooden print given by Mr. Barrett in p' 80. The latter is coarse and indistinct, but gives tolerably well the proportions of length and height, and thickness of the piers: Millard's is neater, but being confined to a small breadth, he has made the arches too narrow and the piers too thin. And that the difference between the accommodations of the 13*th* and the 18*th* centuries may be seen at one glance, I have added a View of the present bridge finished in 1768. In another Plate inserted in § 44 will be found a ground-plan or ichnography of the old bridge: wherein the darker shade denotes the piers and the solid part of the four-feet-wall: the lighter shade shews the arches: the strait lines are the timbers, on which the houses rest; and the projections eastward are two large buttresses. On the same plate is delineated a bird's eye view of the bridge and it's vicinity, copied from Millard's map; the original is coarsely engraven, but gives a sufficient representation of the place: the present copy is enlarged and amended. And for the purpose of filling up the plate I have added two views copied from the side of the same map; one, the large and famous house, belonging to the Rogers's, at the corner of Redcliffe-street and the bridge, taken down by the bridge-commissioners; the other is St Vincent's Rock, with the Hotwell spring, as it appeared about A' D' 1700.

§ 43. *b*. The old bridge was built with three piers on four arches "10 fathoms high," according to (*d*) W' W'; but it must have been about the same height, as the present building. He gives different lengths in several parts of his book, as 72 yards; 184, 140, 120, and 94 paces: which difference must have arisen from the different places of beginning the measurement: sometimes he reckoned the whole distance from St Nicholas gate to the corner of Redcliffe or Tucker-street's; at other times he endeavored to give the length of the actual bridge. The present breadth of water, i' e' the space from the inside of one abutment

(*d*) P' 175.

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to the inside of the other is (*e*) 153 feet; the breadth of water at the old bridge was greater, but by the excessive thickness of the piers the actual water-way was (*f*) reduced to 100 feet, which gives 25 feet for each of the four arches; and reckoning the center pier at 25 feet, and the two others at 20, the whole breadth of the water at the old bridge will be 165 feet; which cannot be far from the exact space. The narrowness of the water-way being, as mentioned above, only 100 feet, caused a dangerous waterfall here, as in London: so it is represented in Millard's map, and there is no reason to doubt it.

§ 44. Will' Worcester (*g*) makes the breadth of the bridge to be only five yards, and in another place he makes it nine paces, i' e' about 17 or 18 feet; but Mr. Barrett calls it 19 feet: probably 15 and 19 are both right: one is the distance between the fronts of the houses, the other was measured at the gate in the middle, were a wall on each side would reduce the breadth to 15 feet. These 19 feet were intended only for the highway, sufficient for the use of those who erected it, and for any increase of communication, which they could reasonably foresee: but their plan was after the example of London to build houses on each side, to make it a street as well as a bridge. For this purpose they built a wall about four feet thick on each side of the bridge, parallel with it, and about 16 or perhaps 18 feet distant from it, resting on the same starlings, and pierced with the same arches as the bridge itself: and it must be presumed, although there is no *certain* authority, that strong cross walls were built from each pier of the bridge to each pier of the walls, tying the two structures together as firmly as if they had been one. Large beams were then thrown across from the bridge to the parallel walls, and on them the houses were built. Certainly it would have been better and safer to have filled up the whole interval between the bridge and the walls with masonry, in other words to have made the bridge itself wider; but probably they were in want of pecuniary means.

§ 45. On the subject of these walls, a question of some curiosity has arisen, whether they, and the houses which rested on them, were

(*e*) Measured on Mr. Barrett's elevation. (*f*) Barrett, p' 77. (*g*) Will' Worc', pp' 166, 209.

built at the same time with the bridge, or afterward by a second thought. I will state to the reader, what has been said on each side. Mr. Barrett was of the second opinion, and he gives as a reason, that the bridge was built with semicircular arches, but the walls on the outside with pointed or Gothic. But old Mr. Allen, the Architect, who knew the bridge perfectly well, having been employed in working on it and overlooking repairs, assured me that all the arches were Gothic, those of the bridge being so much in the dark, that their form might easily be mistaken: and at the same time he expressed his decided opinion, that the whole work was erected at one and the same time. I think that he was mistaken in this opinion; but in defence of it, he might have said, if the walls were added afterward, the starlings must have been lengthened; for the builders would not have made them at first 50 feet long and more, for a bridge only 19 feet wide. Such an elongation must have been a work of greater magnitude and difficulty than the first foundation, and we have no account of any such a work. For this reason therefore Mr. Allen might have said, the starlings were made at first of their full length, and the whole fabric finished at once.

§ 46. On the other hand it may be contended, that the starlings might have been lengthened, and yet the memorial of that operation might not have reached modern times; or that the workmen of that age through excess of caution and doubting the strength of their own work, made at first the piers thicker and the starlings longer than was necessary; and then finding their work stronger and more secure than they expected, after some years they boldly raised those arched walls on the old starlings, and on those walls they built the houses. See more on this subject below, § 51. But be the date what it may, the fact is, that these arched walls were built on the same starlings as the bridge itself, and beams were laid from one to the other. The bridge in consequence became a dark and narrow street, from which the first step into a shop was on the timbers, where the floor alone was between your feet and the water; through the crevices of which the wind blew up in a manner, which would be intolerable to our warm modern shopkeepers: the ink has sometimes frozen in the pen of my informant in the counting room behind the shop.—

Neither were the owners contented with the space thus gained: for the beams projected beyond the walls, insomuch that they were supported by trusses from below, and on these trusses some raised the back wall of their houses, others had closets, bow-windows and other projections, each according to his fancy; whereby some gained a depth of 20 or 24 feet from the street; Will' Worcest' even says, that the depth of the houses from the side of the bridge was ten yards; which is surely too much. The ground floor contained a shop and a small room behind, the the staircase was behind the door. The first floor contained a parlor and usually the kitchen. The second floor two bedchambers; the same on the third floor, and then two garrets. Some had leaden platforms, and some a fourth floor, making five in all. Some also had cellars, contained in the piers of the bridge, the small windows of some of which are visible in the engraven plate. The windows which overhung the water were particularly useful; for it was commonly reported, that contraband trade was sometimes carried on there. The houses were built wholly of wood and covered with slate; no other material was allowed: such at least was the case in 1649 or thereabout.

§ 47. To those who read this description, the situation will seem not only inconvenient, but terrific, as a place of residence. Yet as far as can be collected from the conversation of some who lived there, and of many who knew it well, it was not so. As a place of trade it was particularly valuable, being necessarily a crouded thoroughfare: even to it's final demolition in 1763 the houses were let at the highest rents in the city, many of the wealthiest tradesmen lived there, and no small portion of some ample fortunes still existing was gained in them. The houses were not small, being four and even (*h*) five stories high, and the back part of them healthy and pleasant: and as for the terror of the situation, I never heard it mentioned by those who knew the houses best,

(*h*) In οικονομία harum domorum ridiculum quoddam liceat subjungere, ab Architecto illo sene supra dicto mihi narratum. In summo tabulato semper posita erat sella familiaris, unde per ferreos tubos sordes ad ima deducebantur. Ex quo sæpe factum est, ut qui sub hos arcus cymbâ navigarent, in summum periculum stercorationis incurrerent; & persæpe longos crepitus tonitruum ex istis ferreis tubis erumpentes audirent.

or acknowledged when mentioned by others. It has indeed occurred that the mast of a vessel came through a kitchen window and even rose up through a shop-floor, and that all the utensils of a cellar were afloat, and that an ox forced his way through a shop and window behind, and fell into the river unhurt, and the like; but such events were unusual: and when it is recollected that these houses continued inhabited and valuable for 400 years, it is manifest, that the situation was not objectionable.

§ 48. The middle of the bridge was crossed by a chapel, in imitation again of London bridge. In both places it is probable, that the endowment of the chapel, and the offerings there made, contributed to the repairs of the fabric. The floor of this chapel was so high, that carriages had room to pass beneath. Will' Worc' sets down (*i*) the length at 40 paces, that is 80 feet: and in another place (*j*) at 36 paces, that is 72 feet: and again he calls (*k*) it 25 yards. At the dissolution of religious houses, it was converted to secular purposes; and one, who lived in the adjoining house, and rented the chapel as a warehouse, informed me, that it was always considered by the inhabitants to be 70 feet long. The breadth Will' Worc' calls (*l*) 12 steps, that is 24 feet; and in another place (*m*) he calls it 7 yards. "The (*n*) height (he says) was 50 steps computed on the four stages;" the passage is certainly corrupt: but it seems to mean that the chapel was 50 steps (about 25 feet) high, and that the tower had four stages. By what contrivance our ancestors placed such a chapel, 70 or 75 feet long, on a bridge about 50 feet wide, may require some explanation.

§ 49. Opposite to the center pier about 20 feet higher up the stream, that is, to the eastward, they raised in the middle of the bed of the river, an oblong square pillar, strengthened by buttresses, and from thence they sprang a very strong arch, the other foot of which must have rested against the center pier of the arched wall described above; and on this very strong arch they built the eastern part of the chapel, which

(*i*) Will' Worc' p' 116. (*j*) Idem, p' 120 bis. (*k*) Idem, p' 166.
(*l*) Idem, p' 120. (*m*) Idem, p' 166. (*n*) Idem, p' 234.

was thus made about 25 feet longer than otherwise it could have been. Such is the general description of this extraordinary edifice, and some persons still live, and many there were within memory, to testify it's accuracy. Mr. Allen said, that he had frequently passed in a boat through one of the middle arches of the bridge, then turned and passed under the strong arch just described, and then returned through the other middle arch. The same description may be collected from Will' Worcester's (*o*) account, but it is so confused, that I prefer giving the original without attempting a translation. It was said above that this additional arch and building over it which sprang from the bridge at right angles were on the *eastern* side of the bridge, higher up the stream. W' W' in the passage last quoted, says that it was on the *western* side; but in this respect he was certainly wrong. Mr. Barrett, who knew the place perfectly, says it was *up* the stream; in Rocque's map the middle pier is longer than the rest on the *upper* side: and lastly, Mr. P' whom I lately consulted, who has been in it numberless times, when it was a pewterer's shop, and has a perfect recollection of it's situation and of every thing about it, is most positive that the elongation of the shop was on the left hand, in going toward Redcliffe; and that this elongation was peculiar to the center pier, not to be found in either of the others. This is conclusive that W' W' hastily reversed the words *orientalis* and *occidentalis*.

§ 50. The chapel (*p*) was dedicated to the B' V' Mary: it had on each side four large windows of three lights, four, no doubt, looking northward toward St Nicholas church, and four southward toward St Thomas-street: and we may suppose that the roofs of the houses, which adjoined the chapel, were kept low, in order to admit light to the windows: there was also a high east window, and no doubt, a western window. The windows were ornamented

(*o*) Capella pulcherrima cum voltâ largâ et altâ, archuatâ cum lapidibus subtus Capellam Beatæ Mariæ Virginis super medium locum pontis Bristolliæ, ac super pontem fortissimum archuatum cum magnis boteraces; cujus pons [*lege aut* CUJUS FRONS *aut* QUI PONS] extendit ab occidentali pontis Bristolliæ contiguè cum longo ponte Bristolliæ: et archus dictæ pontis brevis, respectu alterius pontis ad partem orientalem super aquam Avyn. Will' Worc', p' 228.

(*p*) W' Worc' p' 228. 224.

with stained glass, containing (probably with other things) the portraits of Helias Spelly, a burgess of Bristol, and of other principal benefactors, and of their wives. Behind the principal altar was a small Lady Chapel only 9 feet long, with an altar to the east. There was also a square tower built of stone and furnished with bells, which stood on the floor [*super fundum*] of the chapel; and it's height from the floor [*ab areâ*] to the bell-chamber was 15 fathom, to which if the height of the bell-chamber (3 fathom) be added, the whole height will be 18 fathom. A fathom [*brachium*] W' Worcester elsewhere (*q*) says, is six feet, which gives the whole height of the tower from the floor of the chapel up to the leads 108 feet without battlements or pinnacles. There seem to have been four (*r*) chambers or stages in the whole, and steps leading to the top. The exact situation of this tower is not clearly expressed: he only says, (*s*) that it was on the left of the church; which is unintelligible. It is manifest, that the builders, excessively cautious as they were, would not have trusted so great a weight as this tower on any part of the arches, but on the piers only. If so, no other place can be found for it, but over the groined ceiling of the gate-way; so that the tower stood in the middle of the street, fronting the passengers, who were going to pass under it.

§ 51. It remains to be inquired at what time this chapel was built. It is said to have "been (*t*) erected and founded by king Edward III and his queen Philippa, and called the chapel of the Assumption of the B' V' Mary. It must therefore have been built between A' D' 1328 and 1369: which certifies Will' Worcester's account, that it was consecrated 4 Feb' 1361, more than 100 years after the building of the bridge. This brings us back to the question mentioned above § 46, whether the parallel walls were built at the same time with the bridge. Arguing from the date of the chapel, it is reasonable to suppose that until that time there was no building at all on the bridge, and consequently no parallel walls; for the chapel is likely

(*q*) W' W' p' 241. (*r*) Will' Worc' p' 234. (*s*) Will' Worc' p' 224.
(*t*) Great Red Book in the Council house, quoted by Barrett, p' 78.

to have been one of the first edifices on it. And altho' it be but a negative argument, yet it may be worth mentioning, that the oldest title-deed, which I can recollet to have seen bearing on this subject, is one in French dated 1365, concerning a house *el suburbe de Bristuyt sur le pount Davene*. I am therefore at last, although with some hesitation, inclined to think, that the original structure was a long bridge, only 15 feet wide, such as we still see in many country places, having the pointed piers raised as high as the bridge itself, affording recesses for passengers on meeting cattle; and that the parallel walls and superincumbent houses and chapel were added to the original structure about A' D' 1360. It is possible that the starlings and piers were at first through excess of caution built so much longer than was necessary that the parallel walls might have been raised on the original starlings; but it is more probable, that for the purpose of raising them, they lengthened the starlings; and the experience of 100 years probably taught them how to do it much more easily than they were originally laid.

§ 52. There still remains one more difficulty relating to this chapel. We read, (*u*) that "in a letter from pope Sixtus IV dated April 10 in the 11*th* year of his consecration [that is A' D' 1482] this chapel is said to be built and well endowed by certain burgesses and commons of the town to the honor and under the name of the B' V' Mary. 'When (*v*) the bridge was taken down in 1762, a brass coin was dug up, as large as half a crown, with a Pope's head on one side, and on the other a bridge with four arches. *Obv'* SIXTVS IIII PONT. MAX. SACRI CVLTOR. *Rev'* over the bridge CVRA RERVM PVBLICARVM.' Whether the coin had any reference to the bridge of Bristol is uncertain. In the letter the Pope grants leave for ringing the bells, and performing all divine "offices therein, doing no prejudice to the rights of the parish church of St Nicholas, in which parish it was situated." Here it is said that the chapel was built and endowed by certain burgesses and commoners, whereas before king Edward and his queen were recorded as the founders. This however is easily accounted for: it was the usual

(*u*) Barr' p' 79. (*v*) Barr' p' 42.

practise to attribute the whole of any foundation to the King, if he contributed ever so small a portion to it, which was probably the case here. But the difficulty lies in this: how came it to pass, that the Pope should grant a licence to celebrate divine service in this chapel, more than 100 years after it's erection? I suspect that the east end of the chapel, and the additional arch on which it rested, were erected about 1460 or 1470, by the burgesses and commoners above-mentioned: in which case a new consecration and licence were necessary.

§ 53. It may be supposed that with all the buildings above described this bridge would have been sufficiently loaded: but other rooms remain to be described. The chapel extended across the street, being so high above as to admit carriages to pass beneath; the height of the floor therefore must have been about 12 or 14 feet above the street and the rooms under the chapel consequently of the same height. The passage under the chapel was a gatehouse, or like one, and the ceiling arched; under which were two gates or doors, one on each hand; from gate to gate was the breadth of the street, 15 feet. The gate on the eastern side opened into a large vaulted room of handsome workmanship, where the Mayor and Aldermen of the town (whom in another place W' Worcester calls *Consulibus et Juratis*) used to assemble: the length must have been about 40 feet, and the breadth 21. This room in another place (*w*) he calls a very beautiful chapel, most principal and most spacious, with a large and high vaulted ceiling, arched with stone, situate under the chapel of the B' V' Mary. (*x*) The door on the western side must have opened into a small room, which could not be more than 18 feet from east to west, and 21 from north to south. These two rooms now described as situate under the chapel were perhaps the same which were afterward converted into priests' chambers: for we read, (*y*) that "in 1649 the two stone arches, on which the priests' tenements formerly stood, which had been burnt, were granted to Walter Stevens and son, to be built on, from Sir William Birch of Westminster, and a chief-"

(*w*) Will' Wore' p' 228.

(*x*) He adds p' 235, that this room *continet tantam longitudinem sicut ecclesia cum navi:* which is inexplicable.

(*y*) Barrett p' 79.

" rent of £4 per annum for a house which went across the bridge at the top, called afterward *the chapel house.*" When the bridge was finally taken down in 1763, the two rooms just mentioned on the level of the street were used as shops, and the chapel itself as a warehouse.—Such was the singular structure, over which our ancestors passed for many centuries. The account here given of it was collected with great difficulty, and is (as I hope) accurate, so far as it extends: but some particulars still remain, uncertain and obscure, occasioned for the most part by the extreme negligence of Will' Worcester or (as I rather suppose) his transcriber. Let the reader turn to p' 209 " Portæ duæ---16 gressus," and he must at once acknowledge the difficulty of compiling a consistent narrative from such materials. The remainder of its history is reserved for another place.

§ 54. The cutting of the quay and the building of the bridge were transactions so important, that they must have given a new character to the town; they may be considered as forming an æra in it's history; and therefore the reader will probably be pleased to see the map, which I have drawn up as representing the town soon after these events, that is from 1250 to 1350 or thereabout. The references are as follow.—1. The Abbey church of St Augustine.—2. The Abbot's Lodging, now the Bishop's Palace, with the cloysters and the other parts of the Abbey.—3. Parish church of St Augustine the less.—4. Lower or inner Green.—5. The monastery of St Marks', situate on St Augustine's Green.—6. Chapel of St Brendan; it was on the highest part of the hill.—7. The monastery of the Carmelites: the road which ran through their garden on the north, above their house, is now *Trenchard-lane*, above which is their lodge, called the Red-Lodge; and still further is their Little Lodge, now Mr. Wright's.—8. The three kings of Cologne, or Forster's Almshouse.—9. The Priory of St Bartholomew's, now the city school: above them high up on the hill is their *White Lodge*.—10. The Grey Friers or Franciscans: their garden, &c. is separated from the Bartholomews by Johnny Ball's Lane. The small house in the corner, in St James's churchyard, is a small friery.—11. St James's Barton with the Grange.—12. The full moon,

apparently a very ancient hostellerie.—13. Broad Mead.—14. The Marsh-gate on the Back.—15. A part of the present King-street.—16. Marsh-street gate.—17. Viell's Great Tower.—18. The Bridge, now the Draw-bridge.—19. St Stephen's.—20. St Leonard's church and gate.—21. St Giles.—22. St Lawrence.—23. St John.—24. The Guildhall.—25. St Ewin.—26. Christ-church.—27. St Andrew.—28. All Saints and the Calendaries.—29. St Werburgh.—30. St Nicholas.—31. StMaryport.—32. St Peter.—33. Newgate.—34. St Martin in the Castle.—35. Earl Robert's great dongeon tower.—36. The great hall and chapel, and the rest of the Palace.—37. The Old Market.—38. The Austin Friers within Temple-gate. —39. Spycer's Hospital.—40. Burton's Almshouse.—41. Weaver's Hall and Hospital.—42. St Thomas's Church.—43. The Austin Friers of St John Baptist in Redcliffe Pitt, with a Chapel of theirs in Redcliffe Church-yard.—44. A Hermitage in the rock.

§ 55. The bridge being finished, our Calendars say that the incorporation of Redcliffe with Bristol took place *immediately*. But this requires explanation. Redcliffe was a subordinate manor dependent on the manor of Bedminster, which belonged to the Saxon lords, and from them descended to Robert Consul of Gloucester. At that time it comprehended the whole district, which lies on the left bank of the Avon, viz. the parishes of St Mary, St Thomas, and Temple. Of this estate Robert consul granted to the knights Templars that part which was afterward the parish of Temple, and which then became a separate manor called *Temple-fee:* the remainder still called Redcliff, partly within the bounds of the vill and partly without he sold to Robert Fitzharding. There must have been many inhabitants of Redcliffe and Temple-fee, before the building of the stone bridge, perhaps as many as the burgh of Bristow itself: the three churches were built, although not of their present dimensions, which proves a population in their immediate vicinity: Tucker-street from its' situation is likely to have been then inhabited and a great part of Redcliff and St Thomas-streets; and there was a market holden every Monday at the top of Temple-street at Stallage-cross. Maurice lord Berkeley granted a charter quoted above § 38, to his *men of Redcliff;* and there is little doubt that the other two charters

recited in the same §, refer to the men of Redcliff. They also joined the town of Bristow in the expence of building the stone bridge and making the new quay; our Calendars assert this, and the following mandamus from Henry III proves it. It is here copied from Barrett, p' 72, as translated by him from the original Latin: he does not say, whence he had it. "Henry by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy, Aquitain and earl of Anjou, to all my honest men dwelling in la Redclive in the suburb of Bristol, wisheth health. Since our beloved burgesses of Bristol for the common profit of the town of Bristol, as well as of your suburb, have begun a certain trench in the marsh of St Augustin, that ships coming to our port of Bristol may more freely and without hindrance come in and go out, which trench indeed they cannot perfect without great charges; we therefore command you, that since from the bettering the said port no small advantage will accrue not only to those burgessses but also to you, who are partakers of the same liberties, which our said burgesses have in the said town, and are joined with them both in scot and lot, that you lend the same asistance as they do, as it will be also very profitable and useful to you to have the work of the trench happily compleated, according to what shall fall to your share together with our burgesses; and so effectually, that the aforesaid work, which we regard as our own, receive no delay through defect in you. Witness myself at Wyndleshore 29 April, 24 year of our reign." This was in 1240, about a month after the signing the covenant quoted above § 22.

§ 56. Other proofs of the population and wealth of Redcleve here follow. When king John went into Ireland A' D' 1210, the towns contributed an aid. Glocester (*z*) paid 500 marks; Bristow paid 1000 marks; the men of Redcliff 1000 marks; and the men of the Templars of Redcliffe 500 marks. In 30 Henry II [A' D' 1184] we have an oppor-

(*z*) Auxilium villarum ad passagium yberniæ. Burgenses Gloucestriæ reddunt compotum de 500 marcis de eodem. Homines de Bristou reddunt compotum de 1000 marcis de eodem. Homines de Radecliue reddunt compotum de 1000 marcis de eodem. In thesauro 237£, 6*s*, 8*d*: et Engelardo de Cigoni 225 marcas ad ponendum in Thesauro Regis apud Bristou. Homines Templariorum de Radecliue reddunt compotum de 500 marcis de eodem. *Magn' Rot'* 12 *Johan'* ap' Madox Excheq' Chap' XV, 10, Vol' I, p' 606.

tunity of comparing the town of Redcliffe with two others in the same county, Axbridge and Ilchester: Redcliff (*a*) paid the King for a certain privilege 60*s*; Axbridge for the same 20*s*; and Ilchester paid 5 marks [66*s*. 8*d*]. It may be collected from these premises, that the town of Redcliffe was little, if at all, inferior to the town of Bristow in that age. —It remains to shew in what manner the union between the two towns was effected. The first step seems to have been taken by king Henry II and Rob' Fitzharding, when they granted the charters recited in § 38. The King must be considered as having only a remote interest in this transaction; the measure doubtless originated with Fitzharding, and was adopted at his request, who was desirous that the inhabitants of his lately purchased manor and town should enjoy the same privileges with Bristol; and the King therefore grants them as ample privileges, as the burgesses of any of his burghs, particularly those of Bristol then possessed, and this must have been done before the death of Fitzharding in 1170. These privileges granted to it as a vill placed it in fact on the same footing as a burgh. In the (*b*) Charter of Henry III A' D' 1247, the inhabitants are called burgesses. It had now (if not before) a market holden at the top of Temple-street, as before mentioned. It is called in one of the Calendars quoted above a corporate town, and there is no reason for doubting it. It must have had in the earliest time a Prepositus appointed by the lords of the Fee, for the collection of their dues: but after the charters of which we are now speaking, it's Prepositor must have been a magistrate similar to that of Bristol; for in ancient title-deeds belonging to houses on that side of the river, the *Præpositus de la Radeclive*, is as commonly mentioned as a witness, as the *Præpositus villæ Bristol* on the Bristol side. The following are all, which I have hitherto chanced to find. *Hugh Woltang* about 1240.—*Richard Draper* the elder 1274. —*Hugh de Opulle*, when Manegodsfield was mayor of Bristol in 1284 and 1298.—*Richard Draper* about the same time. Yet it does not appear from the words of these charters, that any union was hereby

(*a*) Villata de Radeclive reddit compotum de 60*s* pro eodem [id est, ut habeant respectum de placito Cambii, donec Rex veniat in Angliam] - - - - - Villata de Axebrige reddit compotum de 20*s* pro eodem: - - - - villata de yvelchestre r c de 5 marcis pro eodem. Magn' Rot' 30 Hen' II apud Madox F' B' 4, 1.

(*b*) See Charters of Bristol V.

effected: only the privileges of the two towns were identified, and an union rendered more practicable.

§ 57. The next memorial which relates to this subject is earl John's charter to Bristol; for he grants the privileges therein (*c*) contained to his burgesses of Bristol dwelling within the walls and without, as far as the bounds of the vill; which on the Somersetshire side he describes to be as far as Brightnee bridge in Bedminster, and the spring at Totterdown; which were without doubt the boundaries of the ancient vill of Redcliffe; thus comprehending within the same boundaries the two vills of Bristow and Redcliffe, as though they had been one vill. As far as John's authority could effect it, this was certainly an union of the towns, for the inhabitants of Redcliffe were made burgesses of Bristol, and it was actually a great step toward the union: but earl John had no authority over the townsmen of Redcliffe and Temple; they were not in his fee; the former belonged to Maurice lord Berkeley, the latter to the Templars; and although John wishing to incorporate them with Bristow communicated to them it's privileges, yet he could not force them to accept those privileges, much less could he break their separate jurisdictions, and subject them to that of Bristow; we shall find in the progress of these Memoirs that their own lords opposed such a design. Earl John therefore had no right except by leave of Maurice lord Berkeley, to include the vills of Temple and Redcliff within the vill or township of Bristol; it seems to have been inserted in the Charter in the hope that the inhabitants of these two vills would voluntarily drop their own separate townships, and become wholly burgesses of Bristow, of which John and the men of Bristow were desirous, and probably most of the Redcliff men: Maurice de Berkeley himself, the lord of Redcliffe must have consented to this part of John's Charter, for he appears as one of the witnesses to it: he saw no doubt the advantages of the union, and wished it to be effected *gradually:* many reasons may be supposed, why even *his* authority was not able to effect it *immediately*.

§ 58. Fifty years after John's Charter, that is A' D' 1240, the

(*c*) Charters of Bristol III, p' 5.

mandamus of Henry III quoted above § 55, contains something relative to this union. In it and in his (*d*) Charter of 1247 Redclive is stated to be in the suburb of Bristol: from whence it is evident that the influence of Bristow was predominant over the Somersetshire vills, however rich and populous. The cause of this superiority was assuredly the security and power arising from the strength of the walls and especially of the castle; under the protection of which the commerce of the Avon and the trade of the neighbourhood settled on that side of the river. It is said also in the mandamus above-mentioned, that the inhabitants of Redcliffe are partakers of the same liberties in Bristol as the burgesses of Bristol themselves. This was evidently the effect of John's charter; and the whole tenor of the mandamus seems to shew that the Redclivians had during the course of fifty years very commonly availed themselves of the liberties offered to them, had attached themselves in several ways to the borough of Bristol, and as often as they crossed the river, acted here as burgesses; in fact that the union was gradually taking place, as the interests of individuals directed them. The mandamus says likewise that the men of Redcliffe are joined with the burgesses in scot and lot. Whatever was the particular tax meant by these words, it appears hereby that in the levying of it the vill on the Gloucestershire side and the two vills on the Somersetshire side were usually comprehended in one common assessment: which may be considered as another step toward a compleat union: for in the examples given above § 56 in the years 1184 and 1210, Redcliff paid separately from Bristow. The mandamus was issued in 1240, at the time when they began digging the new quay; and in 1247 when it is probable that the stone bridge was finished, a charter was granted by king Henry III to the burgesses of Redclive, certainly at their own request, whereby they are permitted (*e*) in future to have their suits at law heard and determined before the King's justiciaries in the same manner and at the same place as the burgesses of Bristol, and not elsewhere. By a reference to earl John's Charter (*f*) it will be seen, that the burgesses of Bristol were to have their causes tried within their own walls; and when the men of Redcliff obtained the privilege of having their causes tried in the same place before the King's

(*d*) See the Charters of Bristol V. (*e*) Charters of Bristol, p' 14. (*f*) Charters of Brist' III, p' 6.

justiciaries, they could not but be pleased with the grant, as it saved them much attendance on the county courts, and brought the administration of justice more nearly to their own homes. And that the vills of Redcliff were by this time generally considered as part of the vill of Bristow is certain, if we may trust the following information contained in several of our Calendars: the meaning is plain, although ill expressed. "1248 or 1247. This yeare the Charter of the town was enlarged for the Corporation and liberties, and the shire-stones were set both on Glocester and Somerset shire sides, how far it should go," which bounds were afterward confirmed 47 Edward III. Yet after all, the separate jurisdiction of Redcliff in some degree still remained; and we shall find the lords of Bedminster, descendants of Fitzharding, stoutly upholding it, and quarrelling with the men of Bristow for encroaching on their prerogative, and with some of their own tenants, who favoured the cause of Bristow. So that our Calendars (quoted above in § 18) probably antedate the event, when they say, that *immediately* after the bridge was finished, Bristol and Redcliffe were incorporated, and formed but one corporate town; and that the Redcliff market was *then* removed from Stalling-cross in Temple-street, and incorporated with that at the High-cross in High-street. These events took place *afterward*.

§ 59. From the acquisition of that large spot of valuable land described above, the town doubtless began to enlarge itself by Back-street, Marsh-street &c: and in order to protect the inhabitants, the townsmen erected the wall of defence which I am about (*g*) to describe. It began on the Back at the river Avon, about 30 feet above King-street, i' e' nearer to the bridge; and here was a gate by the side of the river, called the Marsh-gate, which in Millard's map is represented as having a gatehouse built over it; but W' W' says (*h*) that nothing was built over it. The wall which, as the same author writes, was two yards thick, proceeded from the river at a right angle, and then crossed Back-street; here also was a gate, at which a remarkable circumstance took place, which will be related in A' D' 1527. The wall was here 33 feet distant

(*g*) See the Map. (*h*) P' 254.

from King-street; the springing of the arch of the gateway was visible in 1819. After crossing Back-street it passed behind St Nicholas Almshouse, and all along parallel to King-street at the same distance as before. It is the boundary between the public property of the city on the side of King-street, and private property on the other side. For the city granted to St Nicholas parish the ground on which the Almshouse above-mentioned stands: and the Theatre in A' D' 1766 was built on private property, but the entrance is holden under the Corporation. When the wool-warehouse at the back part of the Cooper's hall was built A' D' 1818, a considerable space of this wall was laid open, and some of it was taken down: it was exceedingly hard, and about six feet thick. Hereabout were "two (*i*) towers in the marsh-wall, and each tower contained 16 yards in roundness on the outside." One of these towers must have been at the Library: for the grant in 1615 (*j*) conveys "a tenement, and tower adjoining, on the town-wall near Avon marsh." The other tower was very probably near the theatre. I find the wall next at the top of Marsh-street, where was a gate having a way (*k*) over it, but no building: and Will' Worc' seems to mean that there was a tower there, containing 16 yards in roundness, which is inserted in the map. Thence it went toward the quay, turning to the right and passing between the houses of the quay and those of Marsh-street. Here, probably at the corner, was a round tower, near the place where (*l*) John Burton's ship was built, 16 yards in circumference; and another in the wall at the beginning of the grand quay, of the same dimensions; but their situation cannot be exactly ascertained, for Will' Worcester's words (at least in the printed edition) are so confused, that it is impossible to be sure of his meaning. One of these two last mentioned towers must be intended by the following entry A' D' 1655-6. "Item, a tenement, storehouse and door in the town-wall near the south tower on the Key, with other doors, windows, roofs, and gable-ends, built on the town-wall by Richard Johnson for 61 years, begun 1622; 3£ 7*s*."

(*i*) W' Worc' p' 254.

(*j*) In the book of Bristol Benefactions, MS.

(*k*) Chamberlain's Account A' D' 1655-6.

(*l*) Will' Worc' pp' 255, 174, 250.

§ 60. "Another (*m*) very noble tower there was also on this wall built by John Vielle, Esquire, containing more than 30 yards in circumference, situate on the first angle of the quay," probably opposite to the present Draw-bridge: an open space of ground still remaining there was called *Viell-place*. This line of wall may be still seen in the narrow passages, which lead from the quay to Marsh-street, having gateways and breaches through it; and I observe in the Chamberlain's accounts 1655-6, that the Corporation received a quit rent from the owners of houses on the quay and the Marsh for having doors and windows in the city wall. W' W' says that the height of it was by estimation 40 feet, and the thickness eight feet. When Clare-street was made in 1771, it was found under ground at the bottom of that street, not far from the river, five feet and a half in thickness. How much further it was carried we are not positively informed; certainly beyond St Stephen's church; for Leland writes (*n*) that "St Stephen's church was [*intra secunda moenia*] within the second walls;" I suppose therefore, that it joined the ancient wall at St Giles's gate.

§ 61. After the building of the bridge and the increased intercourse between the two sides, it is probable, that the Redcliffe side rapidly increased in extent and wealth; so that it was judged necessary to surround this district also with a wall, which was certainly built before the perambulation in 1373 and before 1325; inclosing a larger area than that of the old town, even with the addition of the castle. Thus secured it seems to have been entirely occupied by the great manufactories of cloth, soap, glass &c, which were almost exclusively carried on at Bristol from the 13*th* to the 16*th* centuries: it was probably on account of this superiority in extent and population, that the town was placed by ancient geographers in the county of Somerset: in the two last centuries the increase has been almost wholly on the Glocestershire side.

§ 62. It remains to describe the last part of the walls, those which are on the Somersetshire side of Bristol. The wall begins (*o*) at the

(*m*) Will' Worc' pp' 255, 256. (*n*) Itin' 7, p' 90. (*o*) W' W' Itin' pp' 204, 254.

river Avon beyond the eastern part of the chancel of the Austin friers, within Temple gate. From the river it went along the street called *Back Avon* till it came to Temple gate. From thence it went along Portwall-lane by the end of St Thomas-street, and so to Redcliffe-street, for the greater part of which way it is still to be seen: it crossed Redcliffe-street by a gate, and thence was carried to the river. This whole wall was called *Port-wall.* Leland (*p*) writes, "Portewall is the fairest part of the town-wall; the saying is, that certain butchers made a fair piece of this wall, and it is the highest and strongest piece of all the town-walls." W' W' says (*q*) that the whole thickness of the wall was eight feet, of which six feet made a way on which men walked, and two feet were built up as a breast-work or battlement. Some parts of it have been of those dimensions within memory, but of late years it has been much reduced. The number of towers erected in this line was great. Tower Harratz still remains; the walls and windows bespeak an ancient edifice, so much altered and enlarged as to render it doubtful, whether it was square or octagon; it might have been about 20 feet high, and as much in diameter: "in (*r*) 1722 it was converted into a gunpowder magazine, which cost the Corporation 143£, 18*sh*, 5*d*;" it is now a warehouse, or part of a manufactory. The town-wall was continued from it a little way into the river. From this tower the wall proceeded 100 paces, where was a square tower 12 paces wide; between which, and the third tower, was marshy ground 120 steps long: this third tower was square, nine yards wide. The wall proceeded 110 steps further, where was a fourth tower square, 10 yards wide. Then came a space of 94 steps, and then a round tower eight yards wide: at the end of 100 steps more was Temple gate. This gate had a square tower built over it, which is all we know concerning the original structure. The modern gate was built A' D' 1734 [or 1736] in the Grecian style, but of rustic architecture: under it was a broad carriage way, and a footway on each side, and was on the whole a handsome and respectable edifice. The great increase of carriages on that road did however sometimes render it inconvenient, and about the year 1810 it was taken down

(*p*) Leland Itin' 7, p' 95.

(*q*) Will' Worc' p' 204.

(*r*) Barrett, p' 697.

and destroyed: had it been removed to some spot less frequented by carriages, as to the middle of one of the squares, it might still have continued an ornament to the city. Beyond Temple gate was a tower six yards wide, and again opposite to St Thomas-street was another, six yards wide, and between that and Redcliffe gate a third, of the same breadth, whether round or square we are not informed. In Redcliffe-street were (*s*) two separate gates, having chambers built over them. The first, as W' W' calls it, was at the end of Redcliffe-street, close to a lane called Hounden-lane, leading to St Thomas-street, which can be no other than Portwall-lane: the second was 36 steps [54 feet] distant from the first, and was near the conduit, as one goes up Redcliffe-hill; but why there were two gates, and whether each had it's gatehouse, we are not informed: perhaps it was for the sake of including the Austin friers within the wall; if so, there must have been a wall extending from one gate to the other. The lower of these gates, that which joined Portwall-lane, remained until modern times, and was taken down to widen the street, about A' D' 1788. This wall was defended throughout by a broad and deep ditch, already (*t*) described, by which and by it's own strength this part of the town was nearly impregnable, and was so reputed by military men even so lately as the civil war of Charles I. In what age it was built is in some degree matter of conjecture. In the perambulation of 1373, Tower Harratz, Temple gate, and the common wall of the town of Bristol are mentioned: and in a petition quoted (*u*) below, dated A' D' 1325, Temple-street is said to be within the walls: it is probable therefore that they were built in the beginning of the 14*th* century.

§ 62. *b.* Leland's (*w*) account of all the gates and walls is worth inserting. "Newgate (as methinketh) is in the outer wall by the castle, and a chapel over it; it is the prison of the city. St John's gate, a church on each side of it. St John's church; it is hard on the north side of it, and there be *Cryptæ*. St Giles's gate be southwest of the Key, where Frome runneth. St Leonard's gate and a parish church over it. St Nicholas gate, where is a church *cum cryptis*. These be"

(*s*) W' W' pp' 196, 204, 206, 254.
(*t*) Chapt' XII, § 35.
(*u*) Chapt' XV, § 7.
(*w*) Leland Itin' Vol' 7, p' 89.

"the inner gates of the old town *cis* (*x*) *Sabrinam*, as the town standeth on the right hand bank of the Avon, when it runs downward [*defluentis*]. In the outer walls *Pety gate*. *From gate* in the outer walls. *Marsh gate*, near the Avon [è regione Avonæ]. The third is called - - - - - -. In the wall ultra pontem et Avonam be two gates Raddeclif gate and Temple gate, and a great tower called *Tower Harrys*, at the very end of the wall in ipsa ripa Avonæ, è regione pontis ad arcem supra *Frai* brachiolum." I now return to the regular series of events.

§ 63. In the year 1241 or 1242, the profits of the town were let out (*y*) to ferm on a lease for 20 years, granted to the townsmen at the annual rent of £250. And again ten years afterwards (*z*) the town was granted in the same manner to the same persons, at an annual rent of 400 marks [£266, 13*s*, 4*d*.] We may here observe a progressive improvement in wealth; and the practice of granting a new lease, before the former was expired.

§ 64. Five years after the preceding charter granted to the men of Redcliffe, that is, Aug' 17, 1252, the King granted another to the men of Bristow, in confirmation of that formerly granted by his father king John, when Earl; in which John's charter is repeated almost literally. One privilege is added, viz, an exemption from prosecution and punishment, in case any of the King's (*a*) vension should be found in the house of a burgess within the walls. The extraordinary measures, which our first Norman Kings took for the increase and preservation of their game, and the severe and even horrible punishments, which were inflicted on those who offended against the laws enacted on that behalf, made this clause of the charter a valuable grant.

§ 65. 'In the summer of (*b*) 1254 prince Edward, the King's eldest son, married Eleanor, sister of Alphonso, king of Castile: on'

(*x*) The Avon being here called *the Severn* is worthy of notice.

(*y*) Villa dimiss' ad firm' hominibus ejusd' pro 20 annis, pro annuâ firmâ 250£. Rot' Pat' 26, m' 3.

(*z*) Vill' commiss' ad firm' pro 400 marcis. Rot' Pat' 36, m' 1.

(*a*) See *the Charters of Bristol*, p' 19, note 2. (*b*) Matth' Westm' and Matth' Paris.

'which occasion Henry settled on the Prince and Princess, the province of Gascony, Ireland and Wales, together with the towns of Bristol, Stamford and Grantham, and other places;' so that after this the King himself seemed to be a little mutilated King [*Regulus mutilatus*]. The date given above is probably correct; but one of our Calendars expresses it thus. "1253. This year the King bestowed on his son, prince Edward, a grant of Ireland with the earldom of Chester, the town and castle of Bristol, and all his dominions on the Continent." Another says (*c*) "all the lands which he had in Ireland, Wales, and in the town of Bristol, except his royalty in Ireland."

§ 66. In the year 1256, our Calendars say was a great dearth: "wheat sold at 16*sh* a bushell. People fought for the carcasses of dogs and other carrion."—In this same year king Henry came to Bristow on a visit to his son, who was now possessor of this town and castle, as mentioned in § 65. We learn this fact from the historian of Berkeley. "King (*d*) Henry in July in the 40*th* yeare of his reigne had stayed fower dayes in Bristoll at the charges of prince Edward his sonne; which cost the Prince 34*li*, 9*s*, 1*d*, and seven hogsheads of wyne. And in his passage thence toward Gloucester, he was entertained at Berkeley by this lord Maurice [the second of that name.] In recompence whereof, *pro honoribus & curialitatibus* [courtesies], *quas Mauricius de Berkel nuper fecit regi in transeundo per patriam suam versus Gloucestriam*, the King doth pardon him and his tenants of Berkeley and of Radeclyve street their breaches of the assize of merchandizinge and measures, belonginge to the Kinge (as supreame clarke of the market) by reason of his passage through those parts." It is probable that the King and the Prince came into this neighbourhood for the purpose of checking an incursion of the Welsh, who this year ravaged the borders. The townsmen took the opportunity of solliciting a new (*e*) charter, which the King signed July 24, 1256 at Gloucester. The time of his continuance here was perhaps not sufficient for getting the charter ready, and the officers of the Corporation followed him to Gloucester for that

(*c*) Leland Coll' 1, 243. (*d*) P' 118. He quotes *Claus'* 40 *H' III, pars* 3, *m'* 7.
(*e*) It is in the printed *Charters*, p' 21.

purpose. The chief substance of it was, to enable the burgesses to choose a Coroner among themselves; for the purpose *particularly* of attaching and presenting pleas of the Crown to the Justices-itinerant, when they came into those parts of the country; and *generally* for doing all things belonging to the office of a Coroner. That officer was a person of much greater consequence than at present, and the appointment of a separate coroner for the town may be considered as the first step toward making it a separate county. Before this time the Coroners of Gloucester and Somerset shires, it must be supposed, executed the office. This incursion of the Welsh must have continued until the next year at least: for we find that (*f*) Summons, dated at Wodestoke 18 July 1257, 41 Henry III, were sent to all the border-chiefs to meet the King or the leader of his army and march against Llewellin son of Griffith, prince of Wales. The northern forces were to meet at Chester, on the day of St Peter ad Vincula [Aug' 1] and the southern at Bristoll, on St Paul's day.

§ 67. Another privilege granted by this charter (*g*) was, that the goods and chattels of burgesses, who might decease any where within the King's land and power, whether they were intestate or had made a will, should not be confiscated, but that their heirs should enjoy them. The same privilege in effect had been already granted by the general charters of Henry I in 1100, and of John in 1215: and the Statute Westm' 2, 13 Edw' I [1285], whereby the goods of intestates were distributed by ecclesiastical authority, confirms it. Such was the law and practice of England; and we learn from Matthew Paris that it was the same in Normandy: for among the benefits granted to the church in that country by king Richard I, A' D' 1190 is the following "Item (*h*) distributio rerum, quæ in testamento relinquuntur, auctoritate ecclesiæ fiet; nec decima pars (ut olim) subtrahetur." In another part of the King's dominions however it was not so; for we find by the following

(*f*) Rymer's Foedera, Vol' I, p' 635.

(*g*) See the Charters of Bristol, VII, p' 22, and the Note there.

(*h*) Matth' Paris, A' D' 1190, p' 161.

case published by Prynne (*i*) that the goods of intestates in Bourdeaux A' D' 1330 devolved to the King; whether for possession or distribution does not appear: and he adds that it was the ancient custom of the Marches of Wales and of Gascony. I give it in an abridged translation. 'The King to his Constable of Burdeaux, health. Alesia who was wife of Reyner de Burfrei, and executrix of his will, has shewed us, that whereas her late husband in crossing the sea toward the aforesaid Duchy, in a ship called *the Leissot* of Bristol, of which *Richard Pynnock* was master, for the purpose of trafficking in the said Duchy, died a natural death on board that ship, which arrived at Bourdeaux with the goods of the said Reyner; you pretending that he had died intestate caused all his goods and chattels found on board the said ship to be taken into our hand according to the ancient custom of Gascony with regard to seizing the goods of intestates: whereupon she has besought us to cause the said goods and chattels to be delivered to her, as executrix of her husband's will. And whereas it appears by letters patent of R' Bishop of Bath and Wells, that the said Reyner made his will on Tuesday next after the Exaltation of the Cross [Sept' 14] 1330, and appointed the said Alesia principal executrix of his will, and that the Bishop has granted administration of effects to her; we hereby command you to deliver to her or to her attorney all the goods and chattels of her late husband. Dated at Westm' Dec' 8' [1330]. It is singular that in this case no appeal was made to the charter of Bristol: perhaps Reyner de Burfrey was not a burgess.

§ 68. A' D' 1258 happened a prodigious inundation. Matth' Westm' writes thus: "On the eve of St John Baptist [June 23] this year such a violent tempest of rain fell on the waters of the Severn from Shrewsbury toward Bristol, as has not been seen in our days: from which inundation bursting forth (as it was reported) from the hidden recesses of the deep, all the meadows near the Severn, and all the corn-fields were utterly spoiled. By this violent flood some men were"

(*i*) Prynne 4 Inst' p' 232. Rot' Vasc' an' 4 Edw' III m' 3 intus. Pro Alesia, quæ fuit uxor Reyn' de Burfrei.

" destroyed, many children, and innumerable animals of various kinds. In that same summer many thousands of men died in London and elsewhere starved with hunger. And the ripening of corn in autumn followed so slowly on account of the abundance of rain, that in many parts of the kingdom the harvest was gathering in on All-Saints day."

§ 69. In the year 1263 the discord which had subsisted for many years between the King and his Barons broke out into open war, of which some of the first occurrences happened at Bristol and in the neighbourhood. The early historians take part, as may be supposed, some on one side and some on the other. Matth' Westm' certainly inclines to the cause of the Barons, but is apparently an unprejudiced writer. He writes thus. "The Barons of England, being bound by oath to the observance of the Statutes of Oxford, having obtained the advice and powerful asistance of Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, a very noble person and very skillful in warlike affairs, no longer delayed to effect what they had long intended. First and principally they carried on war against all foreigners, whom they suddenly and unexpectedly plundered all over England; for the King and Queen and even their son Edward were unreasonably fond of them, and in contempt of the native English had every where promoted them to very high stations. Moreover the Barons attacked the King's counsellors, as enemies, and all who, as far as they knew, any wise supported them, and every where furiously assaulted their manors, demeans, castles and towns, and their goods ecclesiastical as well as worldly. Thus Peter bishop of Hereford, a Burgundian by nation, was taken in his own Cathedral church and carried to the castle of Erdesley; and the treasure, which he had in abundance, and his farms were given up to plunder and confusion: moreover the Canons secular, his countrymen, whom he had introduced into that church, being in the same manner apprehended, were sent with him and delivered into custody. From thence that army proceeded as far as Gloucester, and besieged the castle for four days, in which one Matthias de Besill, a foreigner, to whom the government of the county and of the castle had been entrusted by the King, had shut himself up with some few persons: and he maintained himself therein, obstinately"

"refusing to surrender to the besieging army, until the first gate toward the city being burnt, and afterward by the the treachery of some prisoners, who were released out of prison for the purpose of giving their asistance, a postern on the other side of the castle being thrown open, the Barons suddenly entered. Hereupon Matthias was forced to flee into a very strong tower, fortified with a triple iron door and very strong locks. And even this entrance being violently broken open with iron mallets and axes, the men of war entered, and Matthias was taken, but would not be prevailed on to surrender himself even by the fear of death or the threats of his enemies; which was mentioned to his praise even by his opponents. He was therefore carried to the Bishop above-mentioned to be treated in the same manner."

§ 70. "Afterward that army went to Worcester, which it entered without any impediment, although the citizens had received the King's letters for guarding the vill and the city. The army having received a pledge of fidelity from the citizens, marched on to Bruges [*Bridgenorth*] and there took the royal town; which the citizens gallantly defended on the first day, refusing admittance to the Barons: but at last an agreement being made between them they surrendered on the day following, fearing lest the Welsh should enter, of whom there was an innumerable multitude, assaulting the city on the other side. After this the Barons directed their march to the southern parts of the kingdom, taking with them the aforesaid Earl as their General, by whom they were commanded. The number of their fellow-soldiers was daily increasing: for now almost all the more powerful and noble persons in the kingdom had flocked to them, and they miserably raged against the foreigners by plunder and rapine, all in their several provinces. It was melancholy for the friends of the foreigners to see their confusion; for whoever could not speak the English language [*Anglicum idioma*] was vilified and scorned by the common people; so that many foreigners both religious and others fled out of the kingdom clandestinely, fearing the punishment of death or an expensive captivity." - - - - -

§ 71. "In the mean time while Simon de Montfort, Consul of Leicester, and the Barons, were employed on the coast, prince Edward came to the castle of Bristol," intending to secure it; and he began to store it with provisions and other necessaries, and to levy contributions on the town and neighbourhood. The townsmen, who as well as the Londoners, and the greater part of the commonalty of the kingdom, favoured the Barons, opposed the Prince's measures; so that "when he had remained in that town some days, fortune favouring him in no respect, there arose a violent sedition between his soldiers and the townsmen; so great indeed, that the whole city, which ought to have been of his demean, wholly withdrew itself from it's fidelity and obedience, and the citizens being now ready to besiege him were sure of taking the castle. The Prince therefore considering the affair on all sides, and perceiving that every thing was turning out ill for him, because all England had united against him and the friends of the foreigners, or would not oppose the Barons, was exceedingly indignant. Sending for Walter, bishop of Worcester, who was an envoy from the Barons, he declared under a cloak of hypocrisy that he wished to make peace with them. And when the Bishop, having taken security, as he thought, was conducting him to the performance of his word, he broke the agreement, which he had made. For when he was on his journey toward the court in order to confirm his promise, he threw himself into the castle [of Windsor] with the foreigners."

§ 72. The consequence of these disputes between the King and his Barons, was what might be expected, an excessive licenciousness among the common people. The following is the account which Thomas Wikes gives of the state of England under the year 1263: let it however be premised that he writes with partiality in favour of the King and his ministers, and against the earl of Leicester and the Barons. After relating how the Earl raised the city of London against the King, and refused him entrance, he proceeds, "from this impudence therefore a detestable custom grew up through the whole realm of England, that in almost all the cities and burghs a conspiracy was made of *Ribalds*, who publicly called themselves *Bachelors* [conjuratio Ribaldorum, qui"

" se Bachilarios publicè proclamabant], and oppressed the chief men of cities and boroughs by their violent attempts. Wherefore through the whole kingdom the rigour of the law was relaxed, and right and wrong marched with equal steps." This writer takes every opportunity of attributing the excessive licentiousness of the times and the war which followed, to the opposition which the Barons made to the King and his friends. The writer of the Annals of Waverley defends the opposite cause, and represents the misconduct of the King and his ministers and favourites to be the cause of all the evils of the country. Under A' D' 1258 he writes thus. " So many foreigners of different languages had now for many years been multiplied in England, and were enriched by so many rents, lands, towns and other possessions, that they held the English in the greatest contempt, as being inferior to them. - - - - - The four brothers of the King, Almeric bishop elect of Winchester, William earl of Valence, Guy and Geoffry, being raised beyond measure in dignities and wealth above the other foreigners, raged against the English with intolerable pride, and treated them cruelly with many injuries and insults: nor did any one dare to oppose their presumptuous deeds for fear of the King. And what is more to be lamented, the English themselves rising against the English, that is, the greater against the lesser, and being inflamed with covetousness, endeavoured to take away each man's property by law-suits and amercements and taxes and exactions and various other troubles. The ancient laws and customs were either very much corrupted or wholly abolished and annihilated, and each man's tyrannical will was to him for law, and justice was never done but by means of money. At length the Earls and Barons and Archbishops and Bishops and other Chiefs of England, being this year providentially roused as it were from sleep, seeing the wretched degradation of the kingdom, all with one consent confederated together and took courage. And first they violently drove out of the kingdom the aforesaid brothers of our lord king Henry, who were foreigners, and afterwards they began to renew and reinstate the ancient laws and customs." With such dispositions and such a spirit of hostility on both sides, no wonder that a regular civil war was the consequence.

§ 73. 'After (*j*) the battle of Lewes, which happened on 19 May 1264, wherein the King and prince Edward and most of their family and friends fell into the hands of Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, and the associated Barons, the King wrote a letter to the commander of the castle of Tunbridge, ordering him to refrain from any further hostilities, and send away his men, every one to his own home. But the garrison was unwilling to despair of the royal cause, and instead of disbanding they marched across the country, and took refuge in the castle of Bristow,' which must have been still in the possession of prince Edward's garrison. Thus reinforced they made an attempt to release prince Edward, who was a prisoner in the castle of Wallingford. The two following are the only authors, so far as I can find, who mention this transaction. "This year (*k*) [1264, after the battle of Lewes] Guaride de Bassingburne, and Robert Walerand, keepers of Bristow [castle *probably*], made out suddenly an host to Wallingford: but they prevailed little there."

§ 74. But the fullest account is in Robert of Gloucester, whose rhymes are here again reduced to plain prose. 'They who held with the King and were not taken prisoners, went about here and there, wherever they best could. At last they came to the castle of Bristowe as many as seven banners, and there they kept themselves firmly, viz [*here one name is omitted, probably* Robert Walrand] and Sir Warin de Bassingbourne, and Sir John de Muchegros, Sir Pain de Chaus, and Sir Robert Tipetot and many others and their wives, who did not like this state of things; and there they held themselves on the defence either to live or die, until they should see better times. When the Queen saw, that it was but a weak guard, which was kept about her son in the castle of Wallingford, she sent word to Bristowe, that the knights might with little strength win him out of that castle. Whereupon the knights took counsel, and with 300 horse they went to Wallingford well armed, on a Friday just as the sun rose. They assaulted the castle in a wonderful manner against All-hallows church; and took the first ditch, and broke through the outermost wall, and got within. They that were within defended the castle well, and shot at them with cross-bows and other warlike weapons;'

(*j*) Knighton. (*k*) Packington ap' Lel' Coll' 2, 458.

'and said to them without, that unless they would retire, they would with pleasure bind Sir Edward [the Prince], and cast him to them out of an engine, and *so* they might take him with them. Sir Edward himself also came upon the wall within and spoke to them, and bade them go home again, otherwise he should be put to death. When they heard this they went away,' and returned to Bristow.

§ 75. 'Meanwhile (*l*) the pride and power assumed by the earl of Leicester disgusted many of his friends. Sir John Giffard was the first who left him; he went into the forest of Dene where he raised men, and was joined by many chiefs. Soon after, the earl of Gloucester, under pretence of securing his lands in Wales, which Llewellin the prince had invaded, left London, and meeting Sir John Giffard in the forest, they concerted measures against the earl of Leicester.' 'Sir (*m*) Roger de Mortimer also was in his own land in the neighbourhood of Wigmore, where he kept himself on the defensive, ready to raise his banner, when he should see opportunity. The seven banners also, that were in the castle of Bristowe in hostility against Sir Simon de Montfort, kept themselves firmly safe in that place, viz Sir John de Basingbourne a man of great value, Sir Robert Tipetot, Sir John de Mussegros, Sir Pain de Chawurthe and Sir Patric his brother, and many other bannerets and knights. Often did the King send his letters, commanding them to deliver up the castle to Sir Simon; but they refused to obey. At last letters came from Sir Edward himself, ordering them to surrender the castle and depart: with which order, no longer daring to remain, they in great sorrow at length complied, and every man went his own way.' The townsmen of course, who had always favoured the Barons, took possession of the castle: and being now free from all apprehension of the King's party, and knowing that they had on several occasions been guilty of rebellious practices, thought this a convenient opportunity for suing out a pardon. This the King (*n*) granted, being in no condition

(*l*) Knighton, and Rob' Glouc'.

(*m*) Robert of Glouc' metaphrased as before: this author is very circumstantial in relating the events of this time, but is evidently partial to the cause of the earl of Leicester.

(*n*) Perdonatio pro burgens' Bristoll' de rebellionibus. *Rot' Pat'* 49, *m'* 10.

to refuse any petition, which the town might present, enforced (as it must have been) by the authority of the Barons.

§ 76. 'The earl (*o*) of Leicester carried the Prince in a kind of free custody before many strong castles, and by his extorted authority obtained possession of them as he had of Bristol before.' When at length the Prince made his escape from the Earl's custody, 'he (*p*) went first to Wigmore, the castle of Roger Mortimer, with whom and the earl of Gloucester he began an active warfare against Simon de Montfort. With a great force they went to Worcester, and thence to Gloucester, which they assaulted and won, breaking through the wall on the northern side of the town, between the North-gate and St Oswald's gate, and entering through the Abbat's orchard. Sir Grimbaud Pauncefoot, the warden, with difficulty retired into the castle, which he and his garrison defended for three weeks, and then surrendered on good terms. The Prince and his army then crossed the Severn in pursuit of the earl of Leicester; and they broke down all the bridges and removed all the ships and boats which were in the Severn and the Wye; fearing lest Sir Simon should escape that way, particularly lest he should be able to reach Bristowe; "for Bristowe was all in his hand, the castle and the town." The conclusion of this affair was, that at the battle of Evesham, fought Aug' 4, 1265, the earl of Leicester was defeated and slain, and the King delivered from his captivity.'

§ 77. A more detailed account of this transaction, such as it may be collected from Wikes and the Annals of Waverley, is as follows. 'Early in the year 1265 Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, who was generally reported to be the bravest warrior of his age, renounced the party of Simon de Mountfort, earl of Leicester, and retired to the West, where his lands and authority chiefly lay, and raised a large body of Marchmen on the borders of Wales. The earl of Leicester marched against him, still carrying the King and prince Edward with him in a sort of open custody, and doing all the acts of government in the King's name. When they came to Gloucester, the earl of Leicester found it'

(*o*) Knighton (*p*) Rob' Glouc'.

'necessary to fortify himself strongly, because the earl of Gloucester was in the Forest of Dene [Dean] with a large army. After staying here some time, they marched to Hereford on or about May 13, where the earl of Gloucester still watched them, and in a manner blocked them up in that city. Here the Prince escaped by the swiftness of his horse from his attendants, and being joyfully received by the earl of Gloucester, he went to Wigmore and soon after to Ludlow. The news of the Prince's escape presently collected a large army about him, with which he first took Worcester without resistance: from thence he marched to Gloucester, where he took the city in two days; but a party of about 300 young gentlemen throwing themselves into the castle, defended it for three weeks till near the beginning of July; and when at last they were forced to surrender for want of provisions, the Prince generously dismissed them on favorable conditions.'

§ 78. 'From hence the Prince and the earl of Gloucester crossed the Severn, and marched westward to fight the earl of Leicester; and in order to prevent his escape, they destroyed the bridge of Worcester, and broke up or secured in a military manner all the fords of the Severn and other rivers, by which he might pass, and drew up on land all the boats. Meanwhile finding the tide of the war unexpectedly turned against him, the earl of Leicester sleighted Hereford [*spretâ Herefordiâ*] and retired to Monmouth; where Sir John Giffard, who had early joined the earl of Gloucester, a chief esteemed inferior in bravery to none but to the earl of Gloucester himself, pursued him with his own men only, and pitching his tents before the town blockaded him there, offering him battle every day. Quitting Monmouth, the earl Simon de Montfort took possession of the castle of *Hulks*, [probably *Usk*], which was slightly garrisoned: this castle, which was part of the earl of Gloucester's own demean, that Earl and the Prince recovered in three days and continued the pursuit. "Hereupon the earl of Leicester going on seized without resistance a certain maritime town called Neuport, which also belonged to the earl of Gloucester by hereditary right; and he sent messengers to Bristoll, ordering them to send to Neuport without delay all the ships"

" of burden which they could procure, that he with the King and the army which was with him might convey themselves to Bristoll on board the ships. The earl of Gloucester having discovered this intention placed at anchor [*appendebat*] three pirate ships which he had, commonly called *Gallies*, at the entrance of the harbour, where the ships must land; and with the sailors he put on board a very large number of fighting men; who seeing the fleet coming from Bristol approaching the coast, attacked them very violently in the sea, took or sunk eleven of them, and forced the rest to return. The earl of Gloucester and the lord Edward proud of having gained so great a victory, raising their standards and setting their troops in array, went out to battle to the bridge which leads into the town, hoping to enter it with their adversaries, and there to fight. But the others after making some resistance on the middle of the bridge, and being violently driven back, seeing that they were not able to resist, threw fire on that part of the bridge, which was nearest to the Earl's town and burnt it, and so prevented the enemy from entering."

§ 79. 'Hereupon the earl of Leicester being in a great strait applied to Llewellin prince of Wales for permission to carry the King and his army through his territories; to which that Prince consented, on condition that the King should restore to him by charter all the possessions which his predecessors had ever enjoyed, and surrender to him five castles of the King's demean: all which was soon done, and Llewellin immediately levelled to the ground some of the castles, which were most injurious to him. This concession was ruinous to the marchmen; for being now delivered up to the spoil and violence of Llewellin and the Welsh, as they before had been to the two English armies, their property was absolutely annihilated. The English army however under Simon de Montfort was soon tired of it's Welsh friends: that wild nation was accustomed to live on flesh and milk alone without bread, whereas the English were used to bread; and most of that army being from London, wished by any means to return to that place, which they had indiscretely left, weary of the rocks and woods and mountains of Wales. Again therefore they got possession of Hereford, and from thence August 1'

'crossed the Severn near Kemsey and marched to Evesham, the Prince giving them no interruption, because his attention was by this time wholly occupied with opposing another army under Simon de Montfort, the son.' On Aug' 4, 1265, was fought the battle of Evesham, as related by all our historians.

§ 80. About (*q*) the time when the battle of Evesham was fought, Sir William de Berkeley, knight, with some Welshmen, entered Somersetshire at Minehead, in a hostile manner. But he was put to flight by Adam Gurdun, keeper of the castle of Dunster, and was drowned. After this we are informed, that in 1265 (*r*) prince "Edward took Bristol castle from the Barons, and the town was fined £1000."

§ 81. On 16 Nov' 1272 died king Henry III.

(*q*) Lel' Coll' 1, 177.

(*r*) Barrett, p' 672, probably from some MS Calendar.

End of Chapter XII.

CHAPTER XIII.

EDWARD I.

1. *Accession.*—2, 3, 4. *War with the Welsh: capture of Prince Llewellin's Bride.*—5. *A new Coinage.*—6, 7. *War with the Welsh: the King visits Bristol: the princes Llewellin and David slain.*—8. *King visits Bristol.*—9. *Disputes between the Constable and the Citizens: the King seizes the Charter and restores it.*—10. *The King's daughter Eleanor married in Bristol.*—11. *Two ships illegally seized.*—12. *Simon de Bourton builds Redcliffe Church.*—13. *The King grants a Charter: imposes a talliage.*—14—22. *Separate jurisdiction of Redcliffe: quarrels with lord Berkeley.*—23. *War in Scotland.*—24. *Death of king Edward I.*

§ 1. EDWARD I, eldest son of the late King, "often (*s*) called *Edward-with-the-long-shanks*, succeeded his father."

§ 2. The King found it necessary to carry on war against Llewellyn, prince of Wales. In the latter part of the year 1276, "to check (*t*) the incursions of the Welsh in the neighbourhood of Bristol, Montgomery and Chester, he sent 300 mailed knights [*equites loricatos*]." He himself probably came here with them; at least it is certain (*u*) that he was here Sept' 22, 1276. It must have been about this time, that he went to Glastonbury. One of our Calendars has the following article. "1276. King Edward with his Queen, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, went to Glastonbury, and tooke up the bones of king Arthur to view them."

(*s*) MS Chron'. (*t*) Matth' Westm'.

(*u*) On that day he issued an order concerning the navigation of the Avon, between Bath and Bristol.

During his preparations against the Welsh this year, some ships of Bristol had the good fortune to take prisoner Eleanor, daughter of the late Simon de Montfort by his wife, a sister of the late king Henry III. Adams's Chronicle relates the matter thus. "The (*v*) Countesse of Leicester, wife of Simon Mountford, which remained at a nunnery in France, sent her daughter to Wales, to marry with Llewellin the prince, with her brother and a great company more; who fearing the English coasts, kept their course to the iles of Silly; where by chaunce four ships of Bristow met them, set uppon them, and tooke them, and brought them to king Edward, who entertained the lady honorably, but imprisoned her brother &c."

§ 3. The narrative of this affair in Wikes and the Annals of Waverley is as follows. "1275. About this time Emeric [or Almeric] de Montfort with two knights of France and two Friers preachers, sailing through unfrequented parts of the sea was bringing his sister Alienor daughter of the late Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, to Wales, that she might be married to Llewellyn prince of Wales, to whom she had been affianced during her father's life. As they sailed near the port of Bristol, the citizens of that town taking particular notice of the ship judged that there was something unusual in her, and taking possession of her and all her lading, they brought them against their will into the port of Bristol, and presented them, no ignoble prize, to their lord the King with triumphant joy. The King considering that he should receive great damage from the said marriage, if it should be effected, ordered the noble captives to be confined in separate prisons, assigning them separate guards. By the intervention of messengers from the king of France, the friers and the knights were soon released, and returned into France."—Matth' Westm' says "Almeric, son of Simon de Montfort, late earl of Leicester, and his sister Elionora, a very elegant young lady, who was about to be married to Leoline, prince of Wales, were taken on the sea near Bristol, and brought to the King, who said, that this had happened by God's providence, who would not allow, that his cousin should be married to his adversary." Matth' Westm' dates this event in 1275.

(*v*) He dates it in 1277; but I suppose it ought to be in 1276.

§ 4. In the preceding narratives it is strange, that this ship should be represented, as sailing near the port of Bristol: if this be correct, the place where she was taken could not have been the isles of Scilly on the coast of Cornwall, but might have been the little isle of Silley on the coast of Wales.—It may also be observed, that the King himself was probably in Bristol, when the prize was brought in: the words of the preceding narratives seem to have that construction; and it was mentioned above, that he certainly was here in Sept' 1276. After all, the conclusion of the affair was, that in 1278 the King (*w*) permitted the lady to marry Llewellin, who had by this time made his peace with him.

§ 5. 'In the (*x*) year 1247 king Henry changed the money, for the old was so clipped that it was of no value; and then came out a prohibition of taking the clipped money. Next year the King borrowed from his brother earl Richard a large quantity of silver, and with it he coined money not only in the greater cities, as usual, but likewise in all the towns.' The evil however still continued, and it is probable that the greater part of this newly coined money was soon spoiled: for "in (*y*) Nov' 1278 all the Jews in England were arrested in one day and imprisoned in London, for clipping the King's coin: and very many Christians, goldsmiths and others, were accused by the Jews, as consenting to their wickedness, and particularly some of the principal [*nobiliores*] of the Londoners. On this account 280 Jews of both sexes were hanged in London, and in other cities a very great multitude; and for the release of the Christians the King received an infinite sum of money; yet some of them were hanged. - - - - - Next year [1279] about the feast of St Peter-ad-vincula [Aug' 1] the coin was changed for the better: for whereas the penny used to be broken into two parts for half-pennies, and into four parts for farthings, it was ordained, in order to take away the opportunity of diminishing, that pennies, half-pennies, and farthings should be made round." The Ann' Waverl' have the same account almost literally. One of our Calendars says, that "Edward I altered the coynage of money, causing it to be made round and entire:"

(*w*) Matth' Westm'. (*x*) Chron' Wikes.
(*y*) Matth' Westm' and Wikes.

" whereas before pence were made on purpose to be broken into half-pence and farthings. Of this new coyne

The King's side, was his head and his name written ;
The cross side, what city it was coyned and smitten."

Another of our Calendars says, that "the new coinage of half-pence [in silver] was brought to this city in the year 1280." If it be meant by the preceding accounts, that all the money of England was till then deeply indented with a cross for the purpose of being broken into four, it is manifestly false, being contradicted by thousands of the coins of our earliest kings still remaining: and if any written proof be required, we may find it in Florence Worcest', who says, that in A' D' 1108 Henry I coined round half-pennies and farthings. But the whole account of these indented pennies is discredited by modern antiquaries.

§ 5. *b.* Mention was made above (*z*) of one Sturmis an usurer of Bristol, who lived in 1176. Another of the same name occurs in 1286, probably a descendant of the former, and like him under the King's particular protection. The Record says, (*a*) whereas Robert Sturmy was bound to Isaac, son of Deulecres, a Jew of Norwich, in 15 marks, and the said Jew demanded from him various pains [*poenas*] and usuries beside the principal debt; the King being willing to procure [*obviare*] his indemnity, remitted and pardoned the said pains and usuries, and commanded the Barons to grant him a termination [*terminum*] with regard to paying the said debt to that Jew. By the King's special favor.

§ 6. Prince Llewellin's restless spirit still accompanied him, and in 1282, the war broke out again, and continued until Dec' 11 of that same year, when Llewellin was slain and his head was struck off, and set on the walls of the tower of London. One of our Calendars says, that the King came to Bristol on the following Christmas. "In 1282 king Edward I came to Bristol and kept his Christmas, and he did the same also in 1285." It is however strange that the King who was at

(*z*) Chapt' IX, § 14,

(*a*) 14 and 15 Edw' I, Rot' 7 *b*, apud Madox Exch' Vol' I, p' 252. This Robert Sturmy was certainly not a Jew, whatever his predecessor in 1176 might have been.

Ruddland (*b*) Nov' 12, 1282, and again near the same place (*c*) in March and April 1283, should pass the intermediate Christmas in Bristol: it must have been the Christmas of 1281, as we reckon (*d*) it, which he spent in Bristol, preparing against the Welsh: and in like manner, when the Calendar here mentioned says that the King spent Christmas 1285 in Bristol, it means *that* Christmas, which was at the end of 1284; which he undoubtedly (*e*) spent here. David, Llewellin's brother, still continued hostilities; but before the end (*f*) of June 1283 he was taken prisoner and carried to Shrewsbury, where the Court and Parliament then were. The King continued in Wales and on the borders for some time; and April 25, 1284, prince Edward was born at Caernarvon.

§ 7. The following account of these transactions is translated from the Annals of Waverley. "This year A' D' 1283 after the death of Llewellin, his brother David, an inventor of mischief, a cruel persecutor of the English nation, a deceiver of his own people, fleeing from place to place in search of hiding-places, seizing and killing whomever of the English nation he could find, was at last taken in a certain marsh, where he lay hid, by some Welshmen who were loyal subjects to our lord the King: and with him were taken his two sons and seven daughters, and all were brought to the court of our lord the King; but he would not see them. Afterward it was debated in the King's court by the principal men of the kingdom, what kind of death he ought to suffer, who had so often brought such and so many evils on the kingdom. At last by the advice of discrete persons he was adjudged to a fourfold death: he was drawn about at the tail of horses through the streets of Shrewsbury; then he was hanged; then beheaded; and then his dead body without the head was divided into four parts, and his heart and bowels were burned. The head being adjudged to the city of London, [was set up on a pole over the tower of London, near his brother's. Matth' Westm']. There was a contention between the burgesses of Win-"

(*b*)(*c*) Several original Papers printed in Rymer's Foed' prove this.

(*d*) See the Preface, § 13, p' xiv. (*e*) See below, § 8.

(*f*) Blakeway's Shrewsbury, p' 146 from Trivet. An Original printed in Rymer proves, that prince David was a prisoner 28 June 1283.

"chester and York, which of the two should have the right hand quarter. It was at length allotted to the citizens of Winchester, who having gotten it quickly returned home; the other quarters were sent to York, Bristol, and Northampton:" being, it may be presumed, the five principal towns in England. The meeting of chief men above-mentioned was summoned by various (*g*) writs to meet at Shrewsbury Michaelmas 1283, to deliberate on the punishment to be inflicted on prince David, then a prisoner. Among the persons summoned were the Mayor and Bailiffs of Bristol, and the Constable of the Castle.

§ 8. After the final conquest of Wales, and the birth of prince Edward of Carnarvon, the King quitted Wales. Walsingham says, that he passed all through west Wales in 1285 [it was in (*h*) 1284] to Glamorgan, where he was sumptuously entertained by the earl of Glocester, and conducted to the very end of the land; and thence he went to Bristol. One of the Chronicles says (*i*) "that A' D' 1284 before the feast of Christmas, the King having appointed guardians in whom he particularly confided, to govern the principality of Wales, which he had won by war, not without immense expence and labour, came to Bristol and was there at the festival of (*j*) Christmas day:" [in the palace no doubt within the castle above-described] "and having celebrated the usual solemnities, and there holden a parliament, not general or universal, but as it were particular or special, with certain Magnates of the realm, and having left his children in the same place, whom he brought with him out of Wales, he went to London, which he had not entered for almost three years, where he was received by the citizens with great exultation and honor." All our Calendars mention this visit of Edward I to Bristol. One is in the following words. "1284. This yeare king Edward kept his Christmas at Bristol with much content; and the next he kept at Exeter with much mourning; where Alfred Duport, the late mayor of the said towne and four more were hanged for the death of Walter Leathlate; because the south gate was left open that night, and the"

(*g*) Rymer's Foedera.
(*h*) All Walsingham's dates hereabout are wrong by one year.
(*i*) Chron' Tho' Wikes.
(*j*) See above § 6.

" murtherer escaped." And another decisive proof there is, that the King was here at the latter end of the year 1284. The historian of (*k*) Berkeley writes, that " on 30 Dec', 13 Edw' I, [which was unquestionably A' D' 1284 according to the modern computation] the King was at Bristol, and granted a favor to Thomas lord Berkeley." After this " the (*l*) king of England having quitted Bristol and having arrived at Canterbury prepared to pass over into France ; but having received news of the sickness of his mother, he returned to Ambresbury."

§ 9. Some time before this royal visit to Bristol, there must have happened certain quarrels and contentions between the townsmen and the Constable of the castle, which had induced the King to seize on their charter and deprive the town of it's privileges ; probably not forgetting the violence with which they besieged him in his castle and took him prisoner some few years past. This was the manner whereby the Kings of England repressed the sedition and turbulence of their towns : London frequently felt these exertions of royal displeasure ; in A' D' 1284-5, the King (*m*) seized it's charter, for some cause unknown, and turned out the mayor for his unlawful practices with the bakers. One of our Calendars has the following sentence, which is my authority for saying above, that the King deprived the town of it's charter. " 1285. This year the King came to Bristol, and restored to the citizens their charter, which they had forfeited by encroaching on the rights of the Constable of the castle." This writer dates the event in 1285, because it happened at Christmas 1284, as we now compute ; but which he reckoned the beginning of the year 1285. One cause of quarrel between the townsmen and the Constable, was concerning provisions to be furnished for the use of the garrison. It had been an ancient custom of the Crown, that a certain part of every cargo of fresh fish, which arrived in the port, should be delivered to the Constable. There must have been some disagreement

(*k*) John Smythe, p' 150.

(*l*) Walsingham. This journey from Bristol to Canterbury was certainly in 1284-5, soon after Christmas : but Walsingham dates it in " 1286, which is 13 Edw' I." Here appears the cause of the mistake ; the year 13 Edw' I is right ; but the corresponding A' D' is 1284, not 1286.

(*m*) Chron' Fabian.

between the fishermen and the Constable, concerning the quantity to be delivered: for about this time, and probably while the King was in Bristol, an order (*n*) was issued, regulating the number of fish of each kind which every boat should pay to the Constable.

§ 10. The next transaction on record in which Bristol was concerned, is the marriage (*o*) of Eleanor, king Edward's eldest daughter, who was here married to the earl of Barr, a Frenchman, about the middle of Sept' 1293. There is a Writ dated (*p*) 21 Edward I [between Nov' 16, 1292 and Nov' 16, 1293] to the Chief Justice of Chester, commanding him to invite the principal knights of that county to attend the marriage of his eldest daughter Elianor to the earl of Barr at Bristol; and another of the same date addressed to the bishop of Carlisle to attend on the same occasion: "Quia Alionoram filiam nostram primo genitam nobili viro H Comiti Barr volumus maritare, et festum maritagii illius apud B' die dominicâ proximâ post festum exaltationis Sanctæ Crucis [Sept' 14], Domino concedente, honorificè celebrari; vobis (*q*) mandamus &c.—In the Pat' and Close Rolls, 21 Edw' I, are several writs and grants bearing date at Bristol 23 and 30 Sept': from Winterbourn (6 miles from Bristol) Oct' 1; from Sodbury Oct' 2; from Tetbury Oct' 3; from Woodstock Oct' 8; marking the King's progress from Bristol toward London. There is an order dated from Winterbourn Oct' 1, for the payment to the earl of Barr of his daughter Eleanor's marriage portion of 10,000 marks, on his giving a receipt for it by his letter patent.

§ 11. The Rolls of Parliament furnish us with a transaction which occurred about this time. One Walter Hobbe of Bristol seized a ship belonging to Hugh Mulard a merchant of Holland, and kept it and the goods on board in his own possession. This was done on Trinity Monday, 22 Edw' I, 1294. Mulard brought his action against Hobbe for damages;

(*n*) De custumâ de quâlibet batellâ pisces frescas portante in villa B' regi debitâ; quot pisces de quolibet genere piscium quilibet battellus debet reddere Constabulario Castri. *Inquis'* 13 *Edw' I.*

(*o*) Grafton.—Leland Collect' 2, 356 in 1293.

(*p*) These particulars are communicated by S' Lysons Esq'. See Archaeolog' Vol' 15, p' 348.

(*q*) See Sandford's Genealog' Hist' p' 139.

during the process of which the Constable of Bristol delivered up the ship to it's former owner, and the defendant Hobbe was committed to the custody of the Constable. Afterward, when the cause came before the court probably at Winchester, the defendant asserted that he had bought the ship half of one person and half of others; but he wholly failed in his proof: so that the fact appears to have been a mere piratical enterprize. And since it appeared that the defendant only sought by protracting the suit to weary out the plaintiff, and it being a thing of great danger at those times, (as the record expresses it) and such as might occasion a war, to suffer alien merchants, particularly those of Holland and Brabant, to depart without having justice granted to them, therefore it was ordered that Walter Hobbe should make full satisfaction to the plaintiff, and be kept in prison, until it should be paid: and a mandate was issued to the Count of Holland, that he would cause inquisition to be made by good and legal men and merchants of his own country, what goods and wares were put on board the ship, when it sailed for England. In fine, this dishonest townsman of ours Aug' 24, 23 Edw' I [that is, 1295] paid or gave security for 65 pounds of silver to the plaintiff, in full for damages sustained; for part of which money he was obliged to William Randolf who was next year mayor; and then he was released from prison at Winchester.—The same book, p' 327, will furnish another example of the violent and illegal practices of our ancestors. In 8 Edw' II (i' e' 1314 or 1315) William de Huntyndon complains to the King that while his ship lay in the harbour of Dublin, and he himself was paying the custom to the Bailiffs of that city, John le Lung of Bristoll and some other rogues and pirates seized and carried off his ship, with all the goods and merchandize on board, and afterward burnt the ship. Order was given to the Justiciary of Ireland to make inquiry into the facts, and return the Inquisition into Chancery. It cannot well be supposed that the mariners and merchants of Bristow were in general more addicted to piracy than others; it is probable that such rencontres were not unfrequent during the middle ages: yet when it is considered that this John le Lung was probably a merchant of some consequence, having been Senester in the years 1297 and 1306, and that the time when this act of piracy was committed, was in the height of the *Great Insur-*

rection hereafter related § 11, it is certainly to be suspected that the burgesses of Bristow added piracy by sea to rebellion by land.

§ 12. It was about the year 1293 or 1294 'that (*r*) Simon de Bourton, a person of wealth and consequence who was Mayor of Bristol in that year, and bore the same office six times, built the church of St Mary Redcliffe, where the eastern end now is:' and also the Almshouse in the Long-row.

§ 12. *b*. Gilbert de Clare [the second of that name] died at Monmouth, and was buried at Tewkesbury. His widow, Joan d' Acres, daughter of king Edward, in 1296 married (*s*) Ralph de Monthermer, an esquire of her late husband. The King incensed at her clandestine marriage, seized her lands, and sent Monthermer to prison at Bristol. But he was afterwards somewhat reconciled, and restored the lands; and Monthermer was summoned to Parliament, as earl of Glocester and Hertford.

§ 13. It does not appear that this King granted any new charter to Bristow until March 28, 1300; when being at Westminster he signed a charter of confirmation; which contained also some few exemptions and this additional privilege, that the Mayor should in future be presented to the Constable of the castle for approval, before he entered on his office, instead of being presented at the exchequer, as had been the custom until that time. For this charter the town paid (*t*) a fine of 300 marks [£200].—After the King's return out of Scotland, which was late in the summer of 1304, in the autumn or winter of that year he imposed a talliage (*u*) of the sixth penny on his demean cities and boroughs. Some of our Calendars thus express it. "Edward I taking a talliage of all cities, buroughs and towns, the town of Bristol gave 400 *li* for a fine before the Treasurer."

§ 14. It was mentioned in the last chapter, § 56 &c, that the union

(*r*) MS Calendars.
(*s*) Sandford's Genealog' Hist', p' 142.
(*t*) Rot' Origin' 29.
(*u*) Chron' Abingd' ap' Rapin.

between Bristol and Redcliffe was not compleat. It is true that the burgesses of Redcliffe were burgesses of Bristol, and were talliaged with them; and the place was considered to be within the vill of Bristol, and a suburb of it; had it not been so, Simon de Bourton would scarcely have built his church and almshouse on that side of the river: and it will appear below, that the Mayor and burgesses of Bristol held court also in Redcliffe-street, and had a prison there; and they prevented or endeavoured to prevent any market from being holden on that side of the river; and used all the means in their power to abolish the remaining distinctions between the inhabitants of the two sides. The object however was not wholly in their power, inasmuch as the local jurisdictions of Redcliffe were not taken away. Many proofs occur, that the lords of Berkeley, who were the lords of Bedminster and Redcliffe, denied the jurisdiction of the town of Bristow on their side of the river, and continued to exercise the rights of holding court, civil and criminal, in Redcliffe-street, and of having a prison there, and a pillory and the like. I shall quote the words of John Smythe (p' 116) in proof of this. "And like complaynt against this lord [Maurice the 2*d*] did the jury in Somersetshire make touchinge his hundred of Portbury; who presented that he used to take wreck of sea, but not knowne by what title: and that hee in Hareclyue hundred and his sonne Thomas in Bedminster manor and hundred used divers liberties other than they ought: and that hee had taken measures of bushells, gallons and other measures, and broken them, and put upon the inhabitants other measures by their owne standard: and at his pleasure amerced the freeholders and tythings in their absence; for which they knew noe warrant that he had."

§ 15. The following extract proves, that these rights were acknowledged even by the King's Justices; it relates to the same Maurice lord Berkeley, as before. "The xxij (*v*) of June following [45 Henry III, i' e' 1261] the King farther pardons to this lord an amercyament of 100*sh* set upon him by Gilbert de Preston and his fellow Justices-itinerant at Bristoll, for the escape of a felon out of his pryson in Radeclive in"

(*v*) John Smythe, p' 119, who quotes at the beginning of this extract *fin.* 45 *H'* 3, *m.* 8: and at the end of it *Claus'* 45 *Hen'* 3. *m.* 2.

" Bristoll ; and for the same hath his writ afterwards to the Barons of the Exchequer, dated the sixt of October the same yeare." And the following extract from the same book, p' 169, gives most convincing evidence of the same rights. " Richard Hayward, accused about a stolen piece of blue cloth, affirmed that he bought it of Margery wife of Ralph Slip, which in the court of this lord in Radecliffe-street she denied. Whereupon the free-suitors then gave judgement upon his (*w*) life, and forthwith hanged him without any trial by jury, against the law and custom of England : for which false judgement the suitors were now fined 40 *sh.*" The note (*x*) contains recorded proof of the same claims. " Mauricius Dominus de Berkeley, obiit seizatus de Maner de Berkeley, & inter alia Radeclive strete Bristoll, et Bedminstere." " Inquis' 15 Edw' II, 1322. Thomas Dus de Berkeley ob' seizat' de Redclive strete, & Bedminster, cum assiz' panis & cerevisiæ, et Cur' ibidem valet £28 per annum." A jurisdiction so extensive and exercised so violently could not but interfere with the claims of the Mayor and burgesses of Bristol, as above described, and in consequence various frays and quarrels took place at different times ; until at last in the years 1303 and 1304 the affair broke out into what might be called a civil war between the two sides of the river, wherein each harassed the other with armed forces, and sometimes crossed the river in a military manner, and invaded each other's territories. Thomas lord Berkeley (the 2*d* of that name) with his son Sir Maurice were at the breaking out of these disturbances with the King in Scotland, having been with him at the siege of (*y*) Caerlaveroc in 1300 : but they returned perhaps with the King in the summer of 1304, time enough to take an active part in these transactions ; and it will be seen that our townsmen in resisting these conquerors of Scotland appear to have been by no means deficient in military spirit. This part of our Memoirs has never yet been transferred into any printed History, national or local : and therefore I shall endeavour to bring forward every circumstance and every document relative to it.

(*w*) He quotes in this place *Assis.* 15 *Edw' I in rec' Scaccarij.*

(*x*) Inquisit' post mortem, 9 Edw' I, 1281.

(*y*) See an account of this siege in the Antiquarian Repertory, Vol' 2.

§ 16. Smythe's account, p' 169, taken as it appears from the record which he quotes, (*z*) is as follows. "Maurice, eldest son of this lord [Thomas 2], had by the grant of his father, among other possessions, upon his marriage sixteen years now past, the manor of Bedminster by Bristol, (*a*) with the street called (*b*) Radeclyve street adjoining thereto, as a member of his said manor; which street by the maior and inhabitants of the city of Bristol was reputed a part of their city; and as far as the united wisdom of a great corporation could extend, had obtained of the crown to have it severed from that manor and county of Somerset, and to stand united to the city, as divers records do declare. This Maurice (than whom a more martial knight and of a more daring spirit, of the age of 24 years, the kingdom nor scarce the Christian world then had) held himself, and much more the lord his father, incroached on and partly thereby disinherited, especially in the liberties and regalities which they claimed and had long used to have therein, and about which many former questions and quarrels had arisen: Maurice having the time and matter also, as he supposed, now serving, addresseth his petition to the King; shewing that whereas his Majesty had taken him, his men, lands and goods, and all that he had, into his protection and defence while he was with him in Scotland in his wars, inhibiting all men under his seale from doing him any damage or wrong; notwithstanding, Thomas de la Grove of Bristol and 23 others (who in the record are named) and many other malefactors and disturbers of his peace, called together by the ringing of the common bell of Bristol, in hostile manner came to his manor of Bedminster, assaulted and entered into, and the doors and gates of the house brake, and his goods to the value of 500 marks from them [him] did take and carry away, and violently rescued one Robert of Cornwall, attached by the baillies of him the said Maurice for the death of Joseph of Winchelsea there slain; not permitting him, his men or tenants to hold court, or to do suit to his manor of Radeclive street, nor to distrein them for their defaults, nor him nor his to buy or sell'

(*z*) Pat' 33. E. I. in dorso. (*a*) Claus' 11 Hen' 3, pars 1 m' 20.—Claus' 32 Hen' 3.

(*b*) Mr. Smythe is certainly in an error, when he confines the manor and jurisdiction to Redcliffe *street:* it extended over the whole parishes of St Mary and St Thomas. In the record copied below the words are 'in Redclivestr' & aliis vicis annexis'

" there corn, victuals, or any other wares &c. Whereupon the King grants forth his commission to Walter de Gloucester and William de Bello-fago, dated the 12*th* of March in the 34*th* of his reign [i' e' A' D' 1305-6], giving them power and authority to enquire by a jury of freeholders in Somersetshire of the truth of these matters, (*c*) and to determine the same, and to punish as they found cause. What was done upon this commission I find not."

§ 17. " But forthwith after, another petition was exhibited to the King against this lord and Maurice his son, (*d*) by persons worthy of credit (saith the record), shewing that they had usurped to themselves fee and dominion as well in the street of Radeclyve and in the town of Bristol, as also in the water of Avene ; and had with great multitudes of horse and foot enforced the burgesses there to do suit to their court of Radeclyve street, and had beaten those that refused ; and drawing many of the burgesses out of their houses, that refused so to do, had cast them into a pit ; and those wives and maidens that came to help their husbands and mistresses did in such sort so cast and tread under their feet, that many of them were wounded and died. And afterward meeting a bailly of Bristol in Frampton upon Severn, who defended the cause of the said town, so assaulted and wickedly wounded him, that shortly after he died. And how afterwards they came to Tetbury fair, and there with an armed rout of people took and beat all that were burgesses of Bristol there found, and imprisoned and most wickedly them there intreated. And further took from the said maior and burgesses three lewd thieves and wicked persons, whom at Bristol they had imprisoned, and by a corrupt jury at Somerton in the county of Somerset caused them to be tried and acquitted of the robberies that apparently they had committed, and so by subornation and practice caused them, as honest men, to be delivered. And furthermore entered upon certain ships being in their water at St Katherine's Pill within the bounds of the said town expecting a fair wind, cutting their ropes, anchors and sails under color of distresses, as though the dominion of that water to them and not to the maior and"

(*c*) *Pat'* 33 *Edw' I, pars* 1 *in dorso m'* 9 *and* 10. (*d*) Eodem m' 10.

"burgesses of Bristow nor to his majesty appertained." "And at the same time was also a second petition exhibited to the King (*e*) against this lord and his said son Sir Maurice by Adam the cheesemonger, a burgess of Bristol, shewing how this lord and the said Sir Maurice, William Parker, clark, and others, had assaulted him in his house at Bristol, beat, wounded and dragged him from out of his house, and cast him into a pit &c."

§ 18. "Also at the same time William Randelph, late mayor of Bristol by a third petition (*f*) informs the King, that this lord and his said son, usurping to themselves fee and jurisdiction in Radeclyve street, which is in the town of Bristol, had taken and beaten divers men of that town, because they would not do suit to their court nor appear there: and that he, the mayor, defending the said men and burgesses, as he ought, for the honor of his majesty and according to his office, the said lord and his son Maurice and 26 others particularly named, at Dundry fair in the parish of Chewe in the county of Somerset, - - - - - - assaulted the said Adam the cheeseman, and brake his legs in such pitiful manner, that the marrow came out of his shin bones."—"And at the same time at the Parliament, which began the 17th of Feb' in the said 33 year of the King, the then maior and burgesses of Bristol exhibited their further petition to Parliament, (*g*) the original of which will be found below, praying to have remedy of divers wrongs offered them by this lord and his son Maurice; setting forth how that by reason of their tenements, which they have in the street of Radeclyve in the suburb of Bristol, they appropriate to themselves fee and jurisdiction there to the disinheritance and prejudice of the King and his crown; and do attach and distrein the said burgesses to answer before them in their turnes in Radeclyve street and other streets annexed, against the state of the King and of the said towne: and of this, that because the said burgesses do not permit the said injuries, they beat and evil intreat them, as well within the said town as without; so that they cannot go out of the said town to follow their merchandizing. And especially they complain of this, that William"

(*e*) Membr' 10 prædict. (*f*) Membr' 10 præd'.
(*g*) Lib' Parl' in Aree Lond' 33 E' I. fol' 107.

"Randolf, maior of the said town, at (*h*) Dundry fair about 9 of the clock was by them and others by their procurement beaten and shamefully wounded, resisting the keepers of the said fair, whereby they could not give succour: and likewise of this, that they beat and maimed William le Lunge, the King's servant, as he came from Gloucester towards Bristol in the King's high-way: and of this, that they beat, wounded and evil intreated in like manner Adam the cheesemonger and William Bird, two burgesses of the said town, because they would not do suit at the aforesaid court; and they do not cease to continue and do the like contempts, injuries and damages in all fairs and markets in the neighbourhood: and of this, that certain persons indicted of robbery and who had been imprisoned in the said street, and those who were taking (*i*) cognizance of their crimes before the Coroner, by force and arms they carried away from the same place as far as their manor of Bedminster, and from thence as far as Somerton; so that there by persons unknown they were delivered as honest men: and of this, that the said Maurice takes distresses in ships lying in the Avon, where none can distrein but only the King by his officers: all which things were done (say they) by this lord and his son Maurice during the time when the King was in his wars: whereof they pray remedy."

§ 19. "The answer of the Parliament was this, saith the record: The King wills that two good men and of sound understanding be assigned together with the Constable of Bristol castle, to hear and determine the said complaints; and if any difficulty arise, which they cannot determine without the King, then they shall make a report to the King at the next Parliament. The King wills that John de Bottetort, William Haward, and Nicholas Fermebrand, constable of Bristol, be assigned to heare and determyne all the offences aforesaid in form aforesaid."

(*h*) Dundry fair is Sept' 12 N' S', that is Sept' 1 O'S'; this fray therefore happened on Monday Sept' 1, 1262. J' H'.

(*i*) Having the subjoined Latin before me, I have in this place and others corrected Mr. Smythe's translation.

§ 20. A copy of the original Latin of the two last sections, as published (*j*) in the Rolls of Parliament here follows.

"*No* 81. *Bristol A' D'* 1304. 33 *Edw' I.* Ad petitiones diversas Maioris & Burgensium ville Bristoll', petentium remedium de diversis injuriis eis (ut dicunt) illatis per Thomam de Berkele et Mauricium de Berkele, viz; quòd ratione tenementorum que habent in vico de Radeclive in suburbio Bristoll' appropriant sibi feodum & dominium in exheredationem & prejudicium regis & corone sue &c: Et quòd attachiant & distringunt dictos burgenses ad respondendum coram eis in turnis suis in Redeclive-str' & aliis vicis annexis contra statum regis & dicte ville &c: Et de hoc, quòd quia ipsi burgenses injurias predictas non permittunt, ipsos tam infra villam quàm extra verberant & malè tractant, ita quòd non possunt dictam villam exire ad mercandum &c: Et maximè se conqueruntur de eo quòd Willielmus Randof, maior dicte ville, in nundinis de Doundrey circà horam nonam per predictos Thomam & Mauricium & alios per ipsos ad hoc procuratos verberatus & turpiter vulneratus fuit, resistendo custodibus dictarum nundinarum, quod non potuerunt succursum adhibere &c: Et similiter de eo, quòd Willielmum le Lung, servientem regis, in veniendo de Gloucestriâ versus Bristoll' in regiâ stratâ verberaverunt & mahemiaverunt &c: Et de eo, quòd Adam le Chismonger & Willielmum Brid burgenses ejusdem ville consimili modo verberaverunt, vulneraverunt & malè tractaverunt, pro eo quòd nolebant facere sectam ad curiam predictam &c: Et hujusmodi contemptus et injurias et dampna in omnibus feriis & mercatis circumjacentibus continuare non cessant &c: Et de eo, quòd homines indictatos de latrocinio et in dicto vico imprisonatos, & iniquitates suas cognoscentes coram Coronatore, vi et armis de eodem loco usque manerium suum de Bedminster, & deinde usque Somerton duxerunt &c; ita quòd ibidem per ignotos tanquam fideles deliberantur &c: Et de eo, quòd dictus Mauritius facit districtiones in navibus de [in] Avene jacentibus, ubi nullus distringere potest nisi tantùm rex per ministros suos &c. Que quidem omnia premissa dicti Thomas & Mauritius fecerunt tempore quo dominus rex fuit in guerris suis; unde petunt remedium &c."

§ 21. "Ita responsum est. Rex vult quòd assignentur duo boni & sensati homines unà cum Constabulario de Bristoll' ad audiendum & terminandum querelas supradictas; & si fortè aliquid difficultatis inveniant, quod sine Rege terminare non potuerint reportent regi ad proximum Parliamentum. Rex vult quòd Johannes Botetourt, Willielmus Haulward & Nicholas Fermband [Fermbaud] Constabular' Bristoll' assignentur ad audiendum & terminandum omnes transgressiones &c in formâ predictâ."

§ 22. John Smythe proceeds thus in his narrative. "And thereupon three commissions were the *7th* of April in the same 3 and 30*th* year made to them under the great seal by direction of the King and his counsell; into which also was put Peter Malore another judge, belike at the further request of the one partie. Thus was this lord and his sonne rebutted with fower petitions insteed of their one." And it appears from the Rolls of Parliament, Vol' 2, p' 432, that the Manour of

(*j*) Published by Mr. Astle under the following title: *Rotuli Parliamentorum; ut et Petitiones et Placita Parliament'*. No printers name nor date: they begin with Edw' I, and end with Hen' VII. 6 Voll' folio.

Bedeminster with Radelyvestret juxta Bristuit with the Hundred, was by the judgement of these Judges seized into the King's hands, and not restored until 1 Edw' III. "What the sequel of this angry busynes was, let the deed of this lord Thomas (*k*) enrolled in Chancery, dated the 11*th* of July the yeare following, tell in his own words: that whereas his lord the King had pardoned him and Maurice his son and their men those offences, whereof before John de Bottetort and his fellow-justices they were lately indicted in the county of Gloucester, and for which before the King's counsell they were after fyned at 1000 markes, he now promiseth to serve the King in his present warr of Scotland with tenn armed horsemen under his son Thomas or some other fit captayne at his own charges against Robert le Brus and his complices, the King's enemies, from St Lawrence day next (anno 34 Edw' I), as long as the King shall be in Scotland in his own person: to the performance whereof he binds himself and all his lands, goods and chattels in England." (*l*) Nevertheless, in p' 154, Smythe writing of this great controversy says; "upon often hearing and examination whereof both in Parliament and before the King and his council, and the Justices itinerant at Gloucester, this lord and his son and their men were fined at 3000 marks. This fine and those foul misdemeanors the King in July in the 34*th* year of his reign pardons" &c as before. After all, no record or other evidence appears, to prove that the grand question, which occasioned all these disturbances, was then determined; the two concurrent jurisdictions were left as before, and (*m*) again produced the same tumults as those which have been now described.

§ 23. Robert Bruce having raised the whole realm of Scotland against the power of the English there, king Edward in the latter end of the summer of 1306 entered Scotland with an army, and having caused many of the leaders of the revolt to be seized, he sent them to prison in different castles of England. The earl of (*n*) Marr's son and heir

(*k*) Claus' 34 Edw' I in dorso.

(*l*) In confirmation of this termination of the quarrel Smythe (p' 172) quotes *Pat' 34 Edw' I, mem' 14.—Trin' rec' cum rem' thesaur' in Scaccario 34 Edw' I.* (*m*) See Chap' XV, § 3.

(*n*) Rymer's Foed' tom II, p' 1012 &c. and see below XIV, § 43.

he sent to the castle of Bristol. The following writ was issued for his safe custody:

Item, that the child who is the heir of Mar be sent to Bristend, and there guarded in the Castle of that place: providing that he shall always have liberty to go into the garden of that castle, and elsewhere within the Close: and that the Constable shall appoint some trusty and sufficient man, who may take charge of him: and that the Constable of the Castle shall be charged with the safe custody of the the said child, so that he may not escape by any means; but that he shall be out of irons, on account of his tender (*o*) age.

§ 24. King Edward I, "marching toward Scotland falls sick of a flux, and dies on Friday the 7*th* of July 1307, when he had reigned 34 years, 7 months and 20 days: and the same day Edward II his son was (*p*) proclaimed."

(*o*) See further on, Ch' XIV, § 35.

(*p*) MS' Calendar.

End of Chapter XIII.

CHAPTER XIV.

EDWARD II.

1. *The King recalls Gaveston and accompanies him to Bristol.* —2. *The beginning of the Great Insurrection.*—3—9. *Roll of Parliament.*—10. *Another Latin Document.*—11. *Description of the two parties.*—12. *The King takes on himself the government of the town.*—13. *The Barons in arms: the King sends letters to the Mayor and the Constable.*—13.*b*. *Baddlesmere is appointed Custos: his character: progress of the insurrection.*—14. *Petitions to the King from both parties.* —15. *The Rebels defend themselves.*—16. *They still persist; weakness of the government.*—17. *The town besieged by a large army: the siege raised.*—18. *The Burgesses convicted of rebellion.*—19. *Conditions offered to them, which they refuse.*—20. *The town is reduced by force.* —21. *Lord Maurice Berkeley appointed Custos.*—22, 23. *Smythe's account of the late Insurrection, and the moderation of lord Berkeley.*—24. *The King restores the privileges of the town.*—25. *The great Insurrection overlooked by historians.*—26. *A famine.*—27. *Singular aspect of the Sun.*—28. *The Ferm of Bristow.*—29. *King at Bristol: orders for keeping the peace.*—30, 31. *Further orders for keeping the peace.*—31. *King grants a Charter: battle of Burrow-bridge: many put to death.*—32. *Some account of Bartholomew Baddlesmere; his execution.*—33. *Popularity of the Baron's cause.*—34. *Roger Mortimer the elder dies; the younger escapes.*—35. *Tyranny of the Spencers; disloyalty of the Queen: she lands in England: the King retreats to Bristol.*—36, 37. *The Queen enters London, and pursues the King to Bristol, which she takes: old Sir Hugh Spencer executed. The King escapes.*—38. *The Conspirators meet at Bristol, and usurp the Government.*—39. *The King in Wales is taken prisoner; the Queen returns to London.*—40. *Hugh Spencer*

the younger treated cruelly and executed.—41. *Cruelty to Chancellor Baldoc and others.*—42. *The earl of Arundel executed.*—43. *The Castle of Bristol surrendered: the King sent to Kenilworth.*—44. *He is imprisoned; resigns his crown, and is sent to several Castles.*—45. *He is carried finally to Berkeley.*—46. *Lord Berkeley is removed from the government of his Castle: the King is murdered: his funeral.*—47. *Particulars of the funeral.*

§ 1. **IMMEDIATELY** after his Accession, the young King recalled his unworthy favourite Pierce Gaveston from banishment, and conferred on him many unprecedented honours and emoluments. Gaveston however being soon after indignantly driven out of the kingdom, "took shipping (*q*) at Bristol, king Edward himself conducting him towards Ireland, of which land he made him governor, and gave him the revenues thereof:" and another MS Calendar says "the King accompanied him to this city on his way to Ireland:" and so says an other and accurate (*r*) author. "A' D' 1308, 2 Edw' II, Peter de Gauston was banished by the Nobles of England, but against the King's will. The King took him as far as Bristolle, and sent him to Ireland, and assigned to him all the profit of that country, where he lived like a King but next year about the Nativity of St Mary [Sept' 8] he was recalled in hope of a better [uberioris] peace; and then the King met him at Chester."

§ 2. The tumultuous and warlike spirit of the townsmen of Bristow, which lately shewed itself in their opposition to lord Berkeley's claims, broke out about the year 1312 into intestine divisions, which at length produced armed violence and *the Great Insurrection*. This singular event not only interesting to our own city, but of some general importance also, has escaped the notice of all our historians, national and local, except that Mr. Carte has bestowed one single line upon it; and what is more extraordinary, it is not noticed in any of our MS Calendars, not even in Robert Ricart's; an omission, which gives no favourable opinion of those compilations. There are two printed authorities for these events:

(*q*) MS Calendar.

(*r*) Incertus quidam Latinus scriptor ap' Lel' Coll' 246.

and both books being somewhat scarce, my readers will probably be pleased to see the passages copied word for word; from which a regular narrative shall then be formed.

§ 3. The first document is that contained in the Proceedings of the Parliament which met at Lincoln Jan' 30, 9 Edw' II, that is A' D' 1315-6. It is printed in the (*r*) Rolls of Parliament: the original is in the Tower of London.

" Memorandum, quòd cum Dominus noster Rex pro eo quòd ex frequentibus querelis Bartholomei de Badelesmere, Constabularii castri Regis Bristoll' & Custodis sui ejusdem ville, ac aliorum plurimorum, sepissimè ad notitiam suam pervenit, quòd Communitas ville predicte sibi & prefato Constabulario ac Custodi dampna quamplurima & contemptus non modica prius fecerat, & indies facere non desistebat: & pro eo quòd exparte predicte Comm'tis Regi similiter ostensum fuit, quòd occasione quarundam dissensionum inter dictum Constabularium & com'tem pred' in dictâ villâ subortarum per ipsum Const'um et alios de suis dampna quamplurima dicte Comm'ti fuerant irrogata: Dominus Rex volens super premissis pleniùs informari, et ipsa de consilio suo fine debito terminari, per breve suum sub datâ tricesime diei Martii anno regni sui nono mandavit Comm'ti dicte ville Bristoll', quòd sex de discretioribus hominibus ville illius, alios quàm de illis, qui per aliqua recorda et processus in curiâ Regis sunt utlagati, venire faceret coram consilio Regis apud Westm' die Veneris prox' post clausum Pasche tunc prox' futur' cum plenâ et sufficienti potestate pro seipsis et comm'te predicta ad informandum dictum consilium Regis pleniùs de premissis et ad faciendum et recipiendum ea que tunc per idem Consilium ibidem in eisdem contingeret ordinari. Ad quem diem Veneris Comm'tas predicta returnavit Breve suum coram Consilio Regis apud Westm', et misit ibi sex homines de dictâ villâ, alios quàm de dictis Utlagatis. viz Nich'um de Roubergh, Joh'em le Hunte, Joh'em Keys, Rogerum de Thornhill, Rob'tum de Hampton, et Vincentium Gower, cum literis patentibus sigillo Comm'tatis ville predicte signatis, ad faciendum ea, que dictum Breve requirit. Et Gilbertus de Tondeby, Will'us Herle, et Galfr'us le Scrop, qui sequntur pro Domino Rege, dixerunt: Quòd cum D'nus noster Rex tricesimo die Sept' anno regni sui sexto commisisset prefato Barth'o custodiam dictorum castri et ville habend' quamdiu Regi placeret pro certâ firmâ annuâ inde D'no Regi reddendâ; et per Breve suum mandasset tunc Majori, Ballivis et probis hominibus ville predicte, quòd eidem Barth'o tanquam Constab'o dicti Castri et Custodi ville predicte in omnibus que ad custodiam eorundem castri et ville pertinerent essent intendentes et respondentes; quod quidem Breve liberatum fuit dictis Majori, Ball'is et ho'ibus in dicta villa Bristoll sexto die Octobris anno &c sexto; ipsi predicto mandato aut prefato Barth'o seu ejus attornato in hâc parte obedire noluerunt, causam fingentes, viz, Pro eo quòd per dictum Breve non scribebatur Comm'ti predicte; et quòd preter hoc prius habebant in mandatis a dicto D'no Rege, quòd ipsi villam predictam salvò ad opus D'ni Regis custodirent, propter quod prefato Barth'o aut ejus attornato in hac parte in premissis intendere non deberent. Et licet D'us noster Rex postmodum pluries per Brevia sua mandasset Majori, Ball'is et Comm'ti ville predicte firmiter injungendo, quòd non obstante aliquo Mandato eis priùs directo de dictâ villâ custodiend', prefato Barth'o vel ejus attornato predicto nichilominùs intendentes essent in formâ supra dictâ, et quòd exitus de castro et villa predictis a predicto

(*r*) Vol' I, p' 359. See Chap' XIII, § 20.

tricesimo die Sept' perceptos sibi integrè liberarent, ita quòd D'no Regi inde posset ad plenum respondere. Et postmodum pro eo quòd ipsi mandatis illis non obediverunt, D'nus Rex pluries per brevia sua mandasset eis, sub forisfacturâ omnium que sibi forisfacere possent districtiùs injungendo, quòd prefato Barth'o et ejus attornato predicto intendentes essent, et exitus perceptos a predicto tricesimo die Sept' sibi liberarent in forma predicta, dicta comm'tas predicto Barth'o vel ejus attornato predicto in aliquo obedire vel exitus aliquos sibi liberare contempsit et adhuc contempnit; et predictum Constabularium et custodem ac alios ministros per ipsum deputatos ad colligendum et levandum redditus, custumas et alia proficua in villâ predicta et portu ejusdem, de quibus firma ejusdem ville levari deberet, colligere aut levare, vel placita in eadem villâ, prout ad ipsos pertinuit, tenere, seu exitus inde provenientes in auxilium firme predicte percipere, vel custodiam prisone ville predicte habere, vi et armis impedivit. Et in eâdem villâ Majorem et Ball'os autoritate suâ propriâ fecit, absque eo quòd D'no Regi vel Constab'o suo predicto sacramentum fecissent, ut deberent; et per hujusmodi Majorem et Ball'os quedam Placita in eâdem villâ tenuit, sic sibi regalem jurisdictionem minùs providè usurpando; et quosdam Ball'os et Ministros D'ni Regis in villa predicta vi et armis cepit et imprisonavit per tempus non modicum; videlt Galfridum Justice et Laurentium de Kary per septem septimanas et amplius; et ipsos postmodum ac Alexandr' de Overton, Henr' de Kaerwent et Walterum de Beyfeld, Servientes Regis ibidem extra dictam villam fugavit; et Adam du Temple, Ric'um de Langeton' et Joh'em Swyft, Servientes Regis in villâ predicta cepit et imprisonavit, et adhuc detinet in prisonâ, per quod D'nus Rex servitium dictorum servientium suorum per tempus non modicum amisit. Et quendam murum in villâ predictâ in vico de Wynche stret ex opposito castri predicti fecit, et hominibus Regis in castro predicto existentibus per murum illum et alia loca in villa predictâ hostiles aggressus per vicos dedit, quarellos et alia nociva in dictum castrum mittendo. Et predictis hominibus in castro illo existentibus alia gravamina inferendo, non permittens homines illos dictum castrum exire ad vietualia seu alia necessaria querenda, vel aliqua negotia facienda, nisi pro voluntate dicte comm'atis. Preter hec cum D'nus noster Rex nuper suscepisset in protectionem et defensionem suam Will'um Randolfe, Joh'em Snowe, Joh'em atte Celer Petrum le Fraunceys, Laurentium de Cary, Rob'tum de Otry, Reymundum Fermbaud, Joh'em de London, Martinum de Horncastel, Will'um de Kaerdyf, Will'm de Hanyngfeld, Ric'um de Camera, Steph'um de Sarum pistorem, Joh'em le Parker, Will'm Gylemyn clericum, Joh'em Servientem Laur' de Cary, Joh'em Wodelok, Adam du Temple, Rogerum de Stanes clericum, Joh'em Russel, Henr' filium Petri le Fraunceys, et Joh'em de Chen, burgenses dicte ville Bristoll, homines, terras, res, redditus et omnes possessiones suas, inhibens omnibus et singulis, ne quis eis inferret injuriam, molestiam, dampnum aliquod seu gravamen; comm'tas predicta dictum Will'm Randolf et ceteros supra nominatos a dictâ villâ Bristoll et libertate ejusdem ejecit sine causâ: et licet D'nus Rex dictum Will'm Randolf et ceteros supradictos ad libertatem predictam restituisset, et prefate com'ati mandasset, quòd ipsos tanquam comburgenses suos inter se reciperet et favorabiliter pertractaret, eadem comm'tas dictum Will'm aut alios supradictos inter se recipere contempsit; et vina, sal ac alia bona et catalla predicti Will'i Randolf et ceterorum prenom' orum ad valentiam duorum millium librarum in eâdem villâ vi et armis cepit, consumpsit et voluntatem suam inde fecit; ac uxores et liberos predicti Will'i Randolf et sociorum suorum predictorum et eorum homines et tenentes in villa predicta ab eadem villa ejecit. Ad hec dicta Comm'tas in Thomam de Berkele, Joh'em de Wylynton, Magistrum Ric'um de Abyndon et Joh'em de Button, Justic' Regis ad quedam negotia in dicta villa audiend' et terminand' per Regem assignatos in eadem villa cum ingenti multitudine malefactorum &c insultum fecit et ipsos imprisonavit, et alia enormia eisdem justiciariis ibidem intulit, non permittens eos facere ea, que ad ipsorum officium pertinuit in hàc parte, in contemptum D'ni Regis et exheredationem corone sue et contra pacem suam. Que omnia predicti Gilbertus, Will's Herle et Galfridus parati sunt verificare pro D'no Rege, prout et quando." &c.

§ 4. "Et predicta Com'tas per attornatos suos predictos defendit &c. Et dicit quòd ipsa non fecit aliquid in contemptum D'ni Regis, nec exheredationem corone sue, nec in lesionem pacis sue. Dicit etiam quòd a tempore primi mandati D'ni Regis Majori, Ballivis et probis hominibus dicte ville directi, de intendendo prefato Barth'o tanquam Constab'o &c vel ejus attornato, dicta Com'itas semper parata fuit obedire D'no nostro Regi et ejus mandatis, ac intendere predicto Barth'o tanquam Constab'io dicti castri et custodi ville predicte et ejus attornato predicto in omnibus que ad custodiam dictorum castri et ville pertinent: et quòd sic obedivit et intendit: et quòd non impedivit aliquos ministros D'ni Regis in dicta villa facere et exequi omnia et singula, que ad ipsorum officium et commodum D'ni Regis pertinuerunt facienda: et quòd ipsa Majorem vel Ballivos aliquos non fecit, nec aliquam jurisdictionem regalem sibi usurpavit, nec aliquos ministros regis cepit aut imprisonavit, nec detinet in prisona: et quoad dictum murum in vico de Wynchestret, dicit quòd pretextu mandati D'ni Regis sibi directi de dictâ villâ ad opus Regis salvò custodiendâ, ut superiùs dictum est, pro securiori custodiâ ejusdem ville dictum murum ibidem fecit, et non pro aliquo nocumento dicto castro D'ni Regis aut hominibus in eo existentibus inferendo: et quòd per murum illum aut per aliquam aliam partem ville predicte versus dictum castrum aut homines in eo existentes quarellos seu alia nociva non emisit, nec homines illos impedivit quominus dictum castrum liberè exire potuerunt ad victualia et alia necessaria querenda et sua negotia facienda: et quoad predictum Will'm Randolf et socios suos predictos dicit, quòd quidam homines de Comm'tate predictâ, ipsorum benevoli, intellecto quòd quidam stulti in dictâ villâ conversantes dictum Will'm et socios suos predictos dampnificare volebant, ipsos inde amicabiliter præmunierunt; et idem Will'us Randolf et socii sui predicti eâ de causâ et non pre timore communitatis illius, aut per compulsionem aliquam, dictam villam gratanter exiverunt: adjiciens quòd Com'tas illa dictum Will'm et socios suos a villâ predictâ seu libertate ejusdem non ejecit, nec per eandem com'tatem stetit quin idem Will's et socii sui predicti ad eandem villam redivissent, si voluissent. Dicit etiam eadem Com'tas, quòd ipsa aliqua bona dicti Will'i Randolf aut sociorum suorum predictorum nec cepit, nec consumpsit, nec uxores aut liberos, seu homines vel tenentes suos a dictâ villâ fugavit. Et quoad dictos Justic' dicit, quòd tempore quo dicti Justic' sedebant in guildâ aulâ ville predicte pro officio suo faciendo oriebatur quedam contentio ante ostium ejusdem aule cum clamore magno, cujus pretextu plures de eâdem villâ ibidem accesserunt pro contentione illa sedandâ: adjiciens quòd ipsa Com'tas dictos Justic' non imprisonavit, nec aliqua enormia eis intulit, et hoc parata est verificare &c."

§ 5. "Ideo ven' Jur' et super hoc datus est dies dicte com'tati coram Consilio Regis apud Westm' in crastino Ascensionis D'ni prox' futur', et preceptum est Vicecomiti Glouc', quòd ad diem illum venire faciat ibidem XXIIII tam milites quàm alios &c de Ballivâ suâ, per quos &c. Set predicti Gilbertus, Will's et Galfridus, qui sequntur pro Rege dicunt, quòd quicquid dicat Jur' de hiis que tangunt officium dictorum Justic', eorum Recordo stari debet. Ad dictum diem Vic' returnavit Breve suum et nomina Juratorum, set Juratores non veniunt; ideo datus est dies dicte com'tati coram consilio Regis apud Westm' a die Sancte Trinitatis in XV dies, et precept' Vicecomiti, quòd distringat Jur' &c, ita quòd habeat &c. Ad quem diem Vic' retornavit Breve suum et Jur' venerunt. Et Jur' dicunt super sacramentum suum, quòd Major, Ball'i et Com'tas dicte ville mandatis D'ni Regis eis dudum directis, ut est dictum, viz, quòd intenderent prefato Barth'o tanquam Constab'o dicti castri et custodi dicte ville, aut ejus attornato predicto obedire, aut eidem Barth'o vel ejus attornato intendere non curarunt, et quòd com'tas ville predicte adhuc non facit, set inde est omnino rebellis: et quòd eadem com'tas exitus de predictis castro et villa cum pertin' a predicto tricesimo die Sept' anno &c sexto usque ad ultimum diem Maii prox' sequent', viz, per triginta et quinque septimanas percepit, nec quicquam inde prefato"

"Barth'o, aut ejus attornato predicto liberavit; et quòd eadem com'tas predictum Constab'um et Custodem ac ejus attornatum et alios ministros per ipsum deputatos redditus, custumas et proficua in dictis villa et portu provenientia colligere aut levare per vices hactenus impedivit et adhuc impedit; et eosdem redditus, custumas et proficua aliquando ad opus suum proprium levat et colligit, non permittens dictum Constab'um et Custodem aut ejus attornatum predictum seu ministros predictos quicquam inde levare, nisi pro voluntate comm'atis predicte: et quòd dicta comm'tas predictum Constab'um et Custodem et ejus attornatum predictum ac ministros predictos custodiam prisone ville predicte habere non permisit, sed ipsos inde contra tenorem mandatorum D'ni Regis eidem Comm'tati inde directorum vi et armis impedivit; et in eâdem villâ Majorem viz Joh'em le Tavern'r, et Ball'os viz Joh'em de Horncastel ac Ricardum Legat, ac Joh'em Hasard Coronatorem auctoritate suâ propriâ contra voluntatem dicti Constabul'i fecit, absque eo quòd D'no Regi vel ejus Constab'o predicto saeramentum fecissent, ut deberent; et per hujusmodi Majorem, Ball'os et Coronatorem quedam placita in eâdem villâ tenuit, et alia officia exercuit: et quòd Com'tas predicta predictos Galfridum Justice et Laurentium de Cary, ministros Regis, cepit et imprisonavit, et ipsos postmodum ac predictos Alex'um de Overton', et Henr' de Kaerwent et Walterum de Boyfeld, Servientes Regis ibidem ab eadem villa fugavit; et predictos Adam du Temple, Ric'um de Langton et Joh'em Swyft, Servientes Regis ibidem vi et armis cepit et imprisonavit, et adhuc detinet in prisonâ: et quoad dictum murum in vico de Wynchestrete levatum dicunt, quòd Com'tas ville predicte murum illud levavit pro nocumento castri predicti, et ut se defenderet melùs contra homines in dicto castro existentes, et ut Com'tas illa non justiciaretur per predictum Const'um aut ejus attornatum, ut deberet: et dicunt quòd homines in dicto castro existentes versus villam predictam, et homines de eadem villâ versus dictum castrum et homines in eodem castro existentes, hinc et inde quodam die sagittabant: set qui inceperunt, utrùm viz illi de castro vel illi de villâ, ignorant. Dicunt etiam quod quidam malefactores de villâ predictâ quadam nocte sagittabant versus quosdam homines in dicto castro noctis vigilias facientes; sed dicunt quod hoc non fecerunt de assensu Comm'tis ville predicte. Dicunt etiam quòd com'tas predicta non permisit homines in dicto castro existentes castrum illud versus dictam villam exire ad negotia aliqua facienda nisi ad voluntatem dicte comm'atis. Et quoad Will'um Randolf et ceteros socios suos superius nominatos dicunt quòd comm'tas predicta ipsos a dictâ villâ et libertate ejusdem ejecit; et quod postmodum ipsos vel eorum aliquem ad libertatem ville predicte inter se in eâdem villâ recipere non curavit, licet Dominus noster Rex eidem comm'tati pro eis mandata sua specialia firmiter injungendo pluries direxisset, sed comm'tas illa sibi postmodum bona et castella dicti Will'i Randolf et sociorum suorum predictorum apropriavit et partem inde consumpsit et de residuo voluntatem suam fecit, sed ad quem valorem bona et catalla illa attingebant, ignorant. Dicunt etiam quòd eadem comm'tas uxores, liberos ac homines et tenentes prefati Will'i Randolf et sociorum suorum predictorum ab eàdem villâ fugavit sicut predictum est. Dicunt etiam, quòd comm'tas predicta prefatos just'os d'ni Regis communi campanâ pulsatâ, cum ingenti multitudine malefactorum et terribili clamore impedivit, quominùs iidem just'ii officium suum in dictâ villâ, prout eis incumbebat, facere potuerunt. Dicunt etiam quòd predicti Nich'us de Roubergh, Johannes le Hunt, Joh'es le Veys, Rogerus de Thornhull, Rob'tus de Hampton', et Vincentius Gower, sunt de com'tate predictâ, et de consensu et assensu dicte com'tatis in omnibus maleficiis et contemptibus supradictis, et eorum abettatores. Et id'o ad judicium. Set quia premissa tangunt D'num Regem et prejudicium corone sue, ideo loquendum est cum Rege."

§ 6. "Postea die Veneris proximâ post festum Sti Nich'i, anno &c decimo recordatum fuit coram Consilio D'ni Regis apud Westm' per D'nos Joh'em de Hothum Elien' epise'um et Adomarum de Valentiâ Comitem Pembr' quòd placuit dicto D'no Regi, quòd predicta Comm'tas faceret finem cum D'no Rege pro benevolentiâ suâ et perdonatione transgressionum et contemptuum Regis factorum in dictâ"

"villa et suburbio ejusdem, et pro aliis que ex eis sunt secuta. Et super hoc venerunt Will'us Randolf et ceteri burgenses dicte ville Bristoll subscripti coram Consilio Regis et exhibuerunt literas Patentes sigillo Communi ville predicte signatas in hec verba:"

§ 7. "Excellentissimo et Reverentissimo D'no suo, D'no Edwardo, Dei gratiâ Regi Anglie illustri, ac honestissimo et sapientissimo ipsius Consilio Com'tas ville Bristoll' quiqcuid fidelis obsequii, debite subjectionis et reverentie poterunt et honoris. Ad tractandum, interloquendum ac finem faciendum super quibusdam contemptibus, inobedientiis, transgressionibus, utlagariis, libertateque nostrâ rehabendâ, ac super aliis negotiis arduis predictam villam tangentibus, dilectos comburgenses nostros Will'um Randalf, Thomam de la Grave, Rogerum Tortle, Henr' le Mariner, Rob'um de Horhurst, Rob'um Otry, Joh'em Welesshote, Ric'um le Wythe, Joh'em de Axbrugg, Joh'em de Romeseye, Ric'um de Wodhull et Gilb'um Pokerel, plenam habentes potestatem ad omnia premissa nomine nostro prosequenda et perficienda vestre illustrissime regie dominationi ac Consilio vestro discretissimo duximus transmittendum. Unde vestram in hâc parte gratiam benignam humiliter et devotè imploramus, ut dolorem, angustiam ac inopiam nostram considerantes, divine caritatis intuitu et predicti municipii salvacionis et restitucionis, placeat vestre regie majestati ac Dominacioni potentissime et Consilio vestro prudentissimo et sapientissimo nobis subditis vestris gratiam, favorem, juvamen et remedium impendere. Ratum etiam habentes et gratum quicquid predicti comburgenses nostri in premissis et in omnibus aliis in quibus viderint et poterint ad honorem et utilitatem predicte ville expedire duxerint ordinandum et faciendum. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras sigillo nostro communi signatas eisdem comburgensibus nostris fieri fecimus patentes. Dat' apud Bristoll' die Sabbati xx° post festum Sancti Andree Apostoli, anno regni illustrissimi Regis Anglie D'ni nostri ligii Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi decimo."

§ 8. "Tandem Comm'tas ville predicte per dictos Attornatos suos finem fecit cum Rege per quatuor millia marcarum pro pardonatione habendâ de omnibus contemtibus, transgressionibus et inobedientiis per eandem Com'tatem aut aliquos de eâdem Regi et ministris suis quibuscunque factis in eadem villâ et suburbio ejusdem, a secundo die Febr' anno regni Regis nunc quinto; et pro remissione habendâ de omni indignatione et animi rancore, quos D'nus Rex erga dictam Comm'tatem seu aliquos de eâdem hiis occasionibus conceperat; et pro pardonacione habendâ de utlagariis in quosdam homines de dictâ villâ promulgat', pro eo quod non venerunt coram Henrico Spigurnel et sociis suis Justic' Regis ad predictos contemptus, transgressiones, et inobedientas, et ad transgressiones Barth'o de Badelesmere et aliis in dictâ villa similiter factas audiendum et terminandum assignatis, inde responsuri; et pro pardonacione habendâ de receptamento hujusmodi utlagatorum, arrectorum et indictatorum; et pro libertate ville predicte in manu Regis quibusdam de causis existente rehabendâ. Ita tamen quòd eadem com'tas de eo quod nuper durante tempore quo homines de eadem communitate Regi inobedientes fuerunt, de quadam custuma Regis, que vocatur *Coket* in eâdem villâ recepit; vel quod ad opus Regis de eadem custumâ recipi debuit, occasione earundem inobedientiarum receptum non fuit, Regi ad plenum respondeat: exceptis Joh'e de Taverner, Thoma filio ejus, et Rob'to Martyn, qui pro quibusdam feloniis in regno Regis perpetratis utlagati sunt, quibus Rex non intendit gratiam ad presens facere quovis modo. De quibus quatuor millibus marcarum dicta Com'ta solvet Regi duo milia marcarum ad certos terminos in rotulo Finium de Cancellar' Regis, ubi Finis ille irrotulatur, contentos; et residua duo milia marcarum remanebunt super gestu com'tatis dicte ville erga D'num Regem et ministros suos."

§ 9. "Et preceptum fuit ibidem ex parte Regis D'no J' de Sandale, Wynton' Epo', Canc' Regis, quòd ipse sub magno sigillo Regis faceret pro predicta Com'tate et predictis utlagatis cartas et literas de premissis in forma competenti."

§ 10. The next document is contained in one of Tho' Hearne's valuable publications, usually called *Annales de Trockelowe;* certain Annals of England under that title being the first part of the Book. The narrative which relates to Bristol is in the second part of the book, entituled *Monachi cujusdam Malmesburiensis vita Edw' II: e codice MSto penes Jacobum* Westum *Armigerum.* Oxonii, MDCCXXIX.

"Jam pridem orta fuit dissencio in villa Bristolliæ, super consuetudinibus in portu maris et in foro, super privilegiis et aliis rebus, in quibus quatuordecim de majoribus ejusdem villæ videbantur prærogativam habere. Obstitit communitas, asserens, burgenses omnes unius conditionis esse, et ob hoc in libertatibus et privilegiis pares existere. Super hujuscemodi rebus frequentes inter se habuerunt altercationes donec in Curia Regis impetrarent Judices, qui de caussa cognoscerent, et ipsam debite terminarent. Porro, quatuordecim illi prædicti procuraverant, in inquisitione forences associari. Credebantur insuper et ipsi conducti et ad partem illorum quatuordecim totaliter inclinati. Allegavit communitas, libertatibus villæ fore contrarium, causas intrinsicas ventilari Judicio forensium; unde nec libertatibus in [*l.* nec] privilegiis eorum in hoc deferebant. Videntes ergo majores communitatis exceptiones suas repelli, jus eorum favore potius quam racione confundi, conturbati nimirum exierunt ab aula, ubi de consuetudine tractantur Judicia, nunciaverunt que plebi dicentes, *Venerunt Judices adversariis nostris faventes et in præjudicium nostrum forenses admittunt, unde et jura nostra sine fine peribunt.* Ad hæc verba vulgus insipiens in sedicionem vertitur, et totus populus præ tumultu timore concutitur. Redeuntes denuo cum multo comitatu venerunt in aulam, ubi jus eorum jam vertunt in injuriam. Nam pugnis et fustibus obviam sibi turbam invadere cæperunt, et ipsa die subito fere viginti homines fatuè peremerunt. Timor namque non vanus nobiles et ignobiles tantus invasit, ut plures per fenestras de summo solarii in plateam exilierunt, et crura vel tibias in terram decidentes enormiter læserunt. Timebant et Judices humiliter petentes in pace recedere quos Major villæ, plebis insaniam vix tandem compescens, illæsos fecit abire.

"Indictati fuerunt super hoc quasi octoginta viri, et habita inquisitione diligenter coram Justiciariis Regiis apud Gloucestriam, condempnari postea de comitatu exiguntur et non venientes neque parentes, exules fieri præcipiuntur. Ipsi vero bene muniti continuerunt se intra villam suam; non parebunt Regis mandato, nisi per manum validam.

"Quatuordecim illi prædicti, qui adversabantur communitati, domos et redditus relinquentes a villa recesserunt. Nam sub tali tempestate morari cum adversariis inutile censuerunt. Per duos annos et amplius duravit ista rebellio communitatis Bristolliæ et tamen, ex parte Regis pluries sunt moniti, ad pacem venire. Maluit enim Rex pœnam grassantium, si vellent mitigare, quam, plenam vindictam expetendo, bonam villam destruere. Perstiterunt autem ipsi semper rebelles, mandatum et præceptum Regis semper contempnentes. Non venerunt vocati, non paruerunt moniti, causantes, omnem processum contra eos habitum injustum, quia privelegiis et libertatibus eorum omnino contrarium.

"Nolens ergo Rex malitiæ eorum ulterius satisfacere, Milites et majores de Comitatu Gloverniæ vocantur Londonias, quibus injunxit, in virtute sacramenti ibidem præstiti, caussam Bristolliæ et cujus esset injuria patenter edicere. Qui omnes dixerunt, communitatem Bristolliæ partem sinistram favere, et octoginta viros auctores injuriæ. Misit ergo Bristolliæ Adolmarum, Comitem de Pembrock, qui vocatis majoribus communitatis, dixit eis ex parte Regis: *Dominus Rex* inquit *caussam vestram ventilans, vos reos invenit et ut juri parcatis vos monet et præcipit. Homicidas et reos illos tradite et vos et villa vestra in pace manete. Promitto, quod si sic feceritis, Dominum Regem erga vos satis placabilem et*"

"*miserecordem invenietis.* Respondit communitas; *Nos injuriæ auctores non fuimus, nos in dominum Regem nichil deliquimus. Quidam nitebantur jura nostra tollere, et nos sicut decuit econtra defendere. Iccirco, si dominus Rex ea quæ nobis inponuntur remiserit, si vitam et membra, redditus et prædia, nobis concesserit, sibi ut domino parebimus, et omnia, quæ cumque voluerit faciemus; alioquin persistemus, ut cæpimus, et libertates et privilegia nostra usque ad mortem defendemus.*

"Audiens Rex contumaciam eorum et considerans rem esse mali exempli jussit villam obsideri et non recedere donec caperentur obsessi. Et statim obsessa est villa, municiones contra eam et propugnacula facta. Mauricius de Berkell observat viam maris. Aderat Johannes de Cherlton Regis Camerarius, Rogerus de Mortimer, Johannes de Wylinthōn et alii barones et milites quam plurimi, et Bartholomæus de Badesmere procurator locius negocii. Erant eciam in castro quod est villæ contiguum, viri cum petrariis et aliis machinis facientes assultum. Per aliquot dies obsessi nitebantur villam defendere, quia sperabant exteriores non longam moram facere, tum quia Comes Gloucestriæ dudum prius sic villam obsesserat, set infecto negotio tandem recesserat; quia tum sciebant regem in Scotiam tendere, et suorum procerum auxilio indigere. Fefellit eos spes vacua. Non recedent nec [*l.* nisi] villa subjecta. Nam petraria castri vehemencius acta conquassabat muros et edificia. Quod videntes opidani turbati sunt, et timore concussi timentes totam villam in dedicionem; et majores capti missi sunt in carcerem. Puniri non potuit tota multitudo, set multis grassantibus opus est exemplo.

"Jam sciunt Bristollienses se male errasse, et rebellionem suam nichil profecisse. Si conditionem pacis oblatam prius acceptassent, tota fere communitas et bona eorum tuto remansissent; set quia malo sunt usi consilio, relicti sunt omnes regis Judicio. Inutile quidem fuit consilium, dum utilitas privatorum transit in commune dispendium. Sane meminisse debuerunt obsessorum apud Bedeford finem desolatum, et eorum pariter, qui apud Kenelesworth contra regem tenuerunt castrum: illi quidem capti et omnes fere suspensi, isti vero vel carcerem detrusi, vel in exilium deportati. Quid est regi resistere nisi propriam vitam contempnere et omnia bona &c &c."

what follows is merely reflections on the folly of rebellion &c. Two leaves were wanting in the MS, which might perhaps have contained some further information. And beside the preceding authorities, a quotation from John Smythe of Berkeley (vide § 22) contains some few other particulars.

§ 11. It remains to form a regular narrative from these documents. It appears that the greater part of the burgesses had long been exceedingly dissatisfied with an authority, which Fourteen of the principal persons among them had assumed in the collection and management of the revenues of the Corporation: they complained that these Fourteen assumed to themselves a prerogative and a superiority, although all the burgesses in fact possessed equal rights and privileges. They were not the mere vulgar only, who held this language; the leaders of the opposing malecontents are called principal men of the commonalty [*majores communitatis*]; which title *majores* seems to have been commonly used in

that age to signify the principal persons. Will' Worcest' speaks (*s*) of "discordia damnosa inter Majores Jernemuth 1359;" and again "discordia inter Majores et Communes villæ 1374;" and these persons were evidently supported by the main body of the townsmen. The Fourteen however were also some of the principal persons of the town, and were probably such as had borne the mayoralty and other offices of the borough, and who might have formed among themselves a certain voluntary association for the management of public affairs: for as yet there was no Common-Council. The names of the Fourteen and their partizans, as far as may be collected from the preceding papers, were these: William Randolfe, Mayor in 1296, 1306, 1310 and 1315, who seems to have been the chief of the party; John Snowe, Mayor in 1297 and 1307: John at Celer, the same person probably, who is set down as Mayor in 1311, and and there called *du Cella* with various orthography: Peter le Fraunceis; of which family many bore offices about this time, but no one called Peter: Laurence de Cary, who was Senestor in 1313: Robert de Ottery, who was Senestor in 1293 and afterwards: Raymund Fermbaud, of the same name as he who was Constable of the Castle in 1304: John de London: Martin de Horncastle: William de Caerdiff: William de Hanyngfield, who was Bailiff in 1320: Richard de Camera: Stephen de Salisbury, the baker: John le Parker: William Gylemyn, clerk: John, servant of Laurence de Cary: John Wodelok: Adam du Temple: Roger de Stanes, clerk: John Russel: Henry, son of Peter le Fraunceys: and John de Chen, all burgesses of the town.

§ 12. These fourteen were certainly persons of consequence and respectability, and they were supported by a considerable party, although not the most numerous; but that on which they chiefly relied was the protection of the Constables of the Castle, who seem systematically to have upheld the assumed authority of these Fourteen against the greater body of the commonalty. The discontent and ill-humour of the Commons on this occasion had probably been long fermenting in secret; but the immediate cause of this alarming tumult appears to have been the imposing of certain tolls in the market, and a custom called a *Cockett*, to be

(*s*) W' Worc' p' 344.

levied on the shipping for the King's use. Some open act of violence was committed Feb' 2, 5 Edw' II, that is A' D' 1311-12; and the town still continuing in a state of tumult and danger, the King did what by his prerogative he was empowered to do, and what had been frequently done toward the citizens of London, he took the government and revenues of the town into his own hands, and appointed a Custos, whose authority was for a time to supersede or to controul the regular administration. This was done in 1312 soon after July 7, the King's accession-day.

§ 13. Beside the uneasiness which the King must have felt for the situation of Bristol in *particular*, there was at that time a *general* danger: the Barons had violently put to death Gaveston, the King's favorite, in June 1312, and were still in arms with large bodies of their retainers, threatening an open rebellion: the King therefore 24*th* July 1312, sent circular letters to the Constables of castles and Mayors of towns enjoining them to be on their guard against persons, who are collecting together companies of men without his authority. The letter sent to the Constable of Bristol castle was as follows. (*t*)

"Rex constabulario castri sui Bristoll', salutem. Dum diligenter in mente revolvimus, qualiter aliqui à progenitoribus nostris se retroactis temporibus subtraxerunt, et que mala exinde regno nostro et ejus incolis provenerunt, ex precedentibus periculis volentes fieri cautiores; cum aliqui ejusdem regni se segregantes à nobis, congregaciones et conventicula faciunt, ex quo possent pejora prioribus evenire, nisi periculis imminentibus celeriùs obvietur;

"Nobis in fide et dilectione quibus nobis tenemini, firmiter injungimus et mandamus, quatinùs castrum predictum ita salvo et securè custodiri faciatis, quod nobis vel dicto castro non posset aliquod periculum imminere: et hoc sicut honorem nostrum et vestrum diligitis, et vestrum et tocius regni periculum vitare volueritis, nullatenus omittatis.

"T. R. apud London', xxiiii. die Julii. "Per ipsum Regem.

"*Consimiles littere diriguntur constabulariis castrorum subscriptorum; videlicet,*

"Castri de Norwyco.—Castri de Monte Gomeri.—Castri Gloucestr'.—Castri de Devises.—Castri Wynton'.—Castri Exon'.—Castri Corff'.—Castri de Shireburn'.—Castri de Porcestr'.—Castri de Leeds.—Castri Hereford'.—Castri Oxon'.—Castri Lincoln'.—Castri Salop'.—Castri Novi Castri super Tynam.—Castri de Tykhill'.—Castri de Sancto Briavello.—Castri Karlioli.—Castri de Skipton' in Craven.—Castri Eborum.—Castri de Odiham.—Castri de Foderingeye.—Castri de Hertford'.—Castri de Pevenes'.—Castri de Brigges'.—Castri de Orford'."

(*t*) For these two documents, and two others which follow next, I am obliged to the kindness of the Rev' Dr' Adam Clarke.

The letter to the Mayor was this:

" Rex Majori, probis hominibus et com'tati ville Bristoll', salutem.

" Dum diligenter, &c *usque ad* obvietur.

" Vobis in fide et dilectione quibus nobis tenemini, firmiter injungimus et mandamus, quatinus villam vestram predictam faciatis taliter custodiri, quod aliquis vel aliqui hujusmodi congregaciones et conventicula facere nequeant in eâdem, et quod per aliquos insidiatores, emulos vel contrarios, non possit nobis, vobis, vel ville predicte aliquod periculum evenire: et hoc sicut honorem, &c, *ut supra*.

" Teste *ut supra*.

" *Eodem modo mandatum est majoribus, probis hominibus, et communitatibus villarum subscriptarum; videlicet,*

" Ville Stanford'.—Ville Gloucestr'.—Ville Wynton'.—Ville Exon'.—Ville Hereford'.—Ville Oxon'. Ville Lincoln'.—Ville Salop'.—Ville Novi Castri super Tynam.—Ville Karlioli.—Ville Eborum.—Ville Cicestr'.—Ville de Leim'.—Ville Norwyci.—Ville de Sancto Edmundo.

" A. D. 1312. An. 6 Edw. II. Claus. 6 Edw. II. m. 31 d. In Turr. Lond."

§ 13.*b*. Bartholomew de Baddlesmere, Constable of the Castle, was appointed Custos of the town on Sept' 30, 6 Edw' II, that is, 1312, and the firm of the town was at the same time granted to him at an annual rent; and he was authorized to collect all the rents, customs and profits whatsoever, to hold pleas, to keep the prison &c &c. and a Writ (*u*) directed to the Mayor and bailiffs of Bristol, informing them of this appointment and requiring their obedience and asistance, was delivered Oct' 6. Baddlesmere was appointed Constable 1 Edw' II, as I believe; (*v*) but the choice of such a man as Custos of Bristol at that time was unfortunate or ill-judged. He was a Baron of very great power and property, particularly in Kent. A list of all his estates may be seen in the Rolls of Parl' Vol' 2, pp' 420 and 430; for his widow in the 1 Edw' III petitioned for a restitution of his lands, which the late king had seized. His brutish behavior toward the queen in the civil tumults which followed, makes it probable, that when the writer transcribed above calls him the authour of the whole mischief [*procurator tocius negotii*], he was not far from the truth. John du Sellar, the late mayor, being one of the fourteen, would surely if possible have obeyed the King's writ above-mentioned; but his successor, William Hore (as I suppose) who entered on office just at this time, was either disinclined or through the violence of the tumult unable to obey; so that neither Badlesmere nor

(*u*) Rot' pat' 6 Edw' II, m' 12 & 13. (*v*) Vide Rot' Origin'.

any person deputed by him were ever able to enter the town for the purpose of collecting the rents, profits &c above-mentioned, nor to hold pleas, nor to take possession of the prison; the mayor, bailiffs &c returning as the reason of their disobedience, that they had already received orders to keep the town safe for the King's use, and this they continued to do, notwithstanding repeated mandates to the contrary, threatening them with the forfeiture of every thing, which might be forfeited to the King. Such must have been the state of the town in May 1313; at which time the King sent a mandate to the sheriff of Gloucestershire, ordering him no longer to make a return of Writs to the mayor and bailiffs of Bristol. The indorsement is this;

"*De libertatibus villæ Bristol' in manum Regis captis pro quibusdam contemptibus et injuriis per Majorem, ballivos et commun' factis. Rot' Chart' Edw. I, 6, m' 6.*"

The Writ here follows;

"Rex vicecomiti Glouc', salutem. Cum pro quibusdam contemptibus et injuriis nobis per majorem, ballivos et communitatem ville nostre Bristoll' factis, libertatem ejusdem ville capi fecerimus in manum nostram; tibi precepimus, quod returnum brevium nostrorum tibi exnunc dirigendorum et villam predictam tangencium, prefatis majori et ballivis nullatenus habere facias donec aliud à nobis indè habueris in mandatis.

"T. R. apud Westm' secundo die Maii "Per ipsum Regem.

"A. D. 1313. Claus. 6. Edw. II. m. 6. d. in Turr. Lond."

§ 14. Meanwhile various petitions and complaints being presented both by the Constable and the townsmen, concerning injuries offered by each to the other, the king appointed Thomas de Berkeley, the same (I suppose) who in 1304 had been at enmity with the men of Bristow, together with John de Wylyngton, Richard de Abingdon, a priest, and John de Button to be his judges or justices for the purpose of settling the privileges of the burgesses and commonalty, and of putting an end to the disturbance. These Justices met in the Guildhall; but the more numerous party objected to their jurisdiction, because (as they said) the fourteen had procured foreigners to be associated with them in this inquisition, and they said that it was not right, that questions relating to their local rights and privileges should be submitted to such persons as judges. Finding however that their objections were not attended to, the

principal men of the party went out of the Hall, and told the multitude, that the judges were wholly in the interest of their adversaries, that they had brought in foreigners to be judges of their rights, that the matter would be determined by party-prejudice and not by reason; and that there was great probability, that their liberties and privileges would be utterly lost. The consequence of this imprudent harangue was an instant tumult: those who were without doors collected together the whole body of burgesses and commonalty by ringing out the common town bell, and raising a horrible clamour, they put a full stop to the business in hand; and then bursting into Guildhall, attacked those of the opposite party with fists and sticks. Nearly twenty men were killed on the spot; and so great was the terror, that many rich and poor indiscriminately made their escape out of the Hall through the windows, and by leaping down into the street from the top of the pentise or leads [*de summo solarii*] broke their legs, and were otherwise grievously wounded. The Judges were in extreme danger; but at length the Mayor so far restrained the madness of the populace, that they were suffered to depart unhurt: the commonalty was accused of imprisoning them; but this part of the accusation does not seem to have been proved.

§ 15. About eighty persons were indicted for this riot before Henry Spigurnel and his fellows the King's Justices at Gloucester, and refusing to make their appearance were outlawed: trusting however to the strength of the town, they had no thought of making their escape; but being supported by the main body of the burgesses, who had now without interruption the management of the corporation in their own hands, they took measures of defence. William Randolph and the other persons above-mentioned had put themselves and their property under the King's protection granted to them by writ; notwithstanding which they were violently driven out of the town, or at least forced by fear of violence to make their escape, themselves, their wives and children, their vassals and tenants: and although the King sent his mandate ordering the commonalty to admit them again and use them favourably as fellow-burgesses, yet the order was treated with contempt, and the townsmen seizing on wine, salt and other goods and chattels belonging to William

Randolf and the rest to the value of £2000 wasted or carried away the whole. Many of the King's bailiffs and officers who ventured into the town, they imprisoned, as Geoffry Justice and Laurence de Cary, whom they kept in prison for seven weeks and more, and then drove out of the town; Alexander de Overton, Henry de Caerwent, and Walter de Beyfield the King's servants in Bristol they expelled; and three more Adam du Temple, Richard de Langeton, and John Swyft they kept in prison for a long time; suffering neither any officer of the King nor the Constable nor any attorney or deputy of his to collect any rents, customs &c within the town and port, but collecting and keeping them for their own use. It is manifest that they were more than equal to the power of the Constable and his garrison in the castle: nevertheless in order to prevent a surprize from that quarter they built a wall and forts between the town and the castle, in the line where Dolphin-street now stands, which from that circumstance was long afterward called *Defence-lane*, by Will' Worc' *vicus defensorius*. It is said, that this wall of defence was in Wynch-street [that is, Wine-street]: but perhaps that name extended, as far as the shambles: until this time there was probably no wall between the castle and that part of the town. From this wall and from several other streets of the town they kept up an irregular warfare against the castle, sometimes shooting into it square heavy arrows called *quarels* and other missive weapons; keeping it by these means in a sort of siege, and suffering no one to come out from thence into the town, but by their permission; they in the castle at the same time carrying on similar hostilities.

§ 16. For two years and more the town continued in this state of rebellion, during which time complaints were continually sent to the King both from the town, and from the Constable of the castle. Meanwhile the government of the town was carried on as usual by the Mayor and Bailiffs, in the King's name no doubt, but contrary to his authority; which magistrates were elected by the commonalty in the ordinary way, and entered on their office contrary to the Constable's authority and without being presented to that officer for the purpose of being sworn; and they held pleas which ought to have been done by the Constable;

and did other acts of magistracy in a manner which the King's courts stiled rebellious: particularly we are informed that John le Taverner was elected Mayor, and John de Horncastle and Richard Legat, Bailiffs, and John Hasard, Coroner; who exercised their office independently of the royal authority. This election probably took place at Michaelmas 1313. Nothing shews the weakness of the government during that reign more plainly than the King's conduct on this occasion: instead of sending such a force, which might suddenly overwhelm those seditious enterprizes, he was contented with sending repeated mandates to the commonalty ordering them to return to their allegiance; which mandates they as often received with contempt, or at least with neglect, because (as they said) every legal process against them was unjust and null, as contrary to their rights and liberties.

§ 17. In the year 6 Edw' II, which I suppose to be about Midsummer 1313, writs (*w*) were issued to the Sheriffs of Glocester, Somerset, and Wilt shires, ordering them to raise the posse of their counties, and reduce the town of Bristol to obedience. The Sheriffs collected upward of 20,000 men, and the earl of Glocester took the command: but John le Taverner the Mayor encouraged the townsmen to make a stout resistance; the more so, because he knew that the King had occasion for all his forces in his expedition against the Scots; so that the Earl was forced at last to abandon his enterprize and raise the siege. It seems also that the Earl had received private orders (*x*) not to proceed to extremities against the town. The circumstance just mentioned, that the King wanted all his troops for the war in Scotland, enables us to fix the earl of Glocester's attempt to the spring of the year 1314; early in the summer of which year the King began to collect his army previously to the fatal battle of Bannockbourn, fought June 24.

(*w*) Quòd vicecomites Glouc', Somerset' et Dorset' assumpto secum Posse comitat', compellant homines de B' obedire B' de B', Constabulario Castri et Bertonæ, ac custodi ejusdem villæ. *Rot' Pat Edw' II*, 6 *m'* 7. *In tergo.* De inquirendo de insurrectione in villa B'.

(*x*) Mandatur Roberto de Clare de nichil attemptando in obsidione villæ Bristoll' ad terrorem populi. *Claus' Rot' Edw' II*, 7, *m'* 26.

§ 18. After this, by the instigation of Baddlesmere and of Hugh Spencer the elder, the Mayor and burgesses were summoned to appear at Glocester, to answer there for their conduct; which they refused to do, as being contrary to their privileges, and they were consequently outlawed: which summons and outlawry seem to be different from those before mentioned. Again (*y*) we find the King temporizing instead of acting with vigour: and on 30*th* March 9 Edw' II (i' e' 1316) he issued a writ to the Commonalty of Bristol, ordering them to send at Easter next six discreet persons, such as had not been outlawed by any preceding judgement, to give information concerning what had passed, and to receive the King's orders thereupon. On the appointed day the Commonalty returned their writ before the King's Council at Westminster, and sent six such persons with a letter Patent under the Common seal; viz, Nicholas de Roughborow, John le Hunte, John Veys [or le Veys], Roger de Thornhill [or Thornhull], Robert de Hampton and Vincent Gower. The three prosecutors on the part of the King accuse the Commonalty of the acts of rebellion above mentioned, which the six deputies deny or justify. Whereupon a writ was issued to the Sheriff of Gloucestershire, ordering him to bring to Westminster a jury of 24 persons a fortnight after Trinity, by whom the truth of the accusation might be inquired into. The jury on their oath agreed that the accusation was proved, that the Commonalty was guilty of rebellion in protecting those eighty men, who were the original authors of the mischief; and guilty of all the enormities recited above; that it had been disobedient to the King and rebellious, and was still disobedient and rebellious; and that the six deputies last mentioned were of the said Commonalty, and it's associates and abettors in the said (*z*) enormities.

§ 19. Upon this Adolmar de Valence, earl of Pembroke, was sent to Bristol, as a last messenger; who having called together the principal persons of the town, told them that the King having thoroughly examined their cause was satisfied of their guilt, and advised and commanded them

(*y*) De discordiis inter Burgenses sedandis. *Rot' Pat'* 8 *Edw' II, m'* 7.

(*z*) The following document must be one of those just mentioned. "De Informatione habendâ super quibusdam dissensionibus apud Bristoll' habitis 20 Junii. *Rot' pat'* 9 *Edw' II, pars* 2, *m'* 3."

to submit to the law. "Give up those murderers (said he) and you and your town abide in peace. If you will do so, I undertake that you shall find our Lord the King well inclined to mercy." The Commonalty answered in these words: "We were not the authours of this injury, nor have we committed any offence against our Lord the King. Certain persons endeavoured to deprive us of our rights, which we defended, as was our duty to do. Therefore, if our Lord the King will remit those imposts which were laid upon us, if he will grant us life and limb, rents and lands, we will obey him as our lord, and do whatever he shall require. Otherwise we will go on, as we began, and will defend our liberties and privileges even to death."

§ 20. From this republican answer, the King finding that there was no probability of a submission, seriously resolved to subdue the town by force. Maurice de Berkeley was employed to cut off all communication by sea, which he did effectually no doubt, remembering what happened in 1304: John de Cherlton, the King's chamberlain, Roger de Mortimer, John de Wyllynton, and many other barons and knights, with Bartholomew de Baddlesmere, the Constable, carried on the siege by land; bulwarks were raised against the walls, and battering-engines were brought against them from the castle. For some days the townsmen made resistance, hoping that the besiegers would be soon weary of their undertaking as the earl of Gloucester had been before. When they found however that the siege was now seriously carried on, that the walls and houses were shaken by the engines, and that there was no hope of finally prevailing, they were at last forced to surrender themselves to the King's mercy. The besiegers entered the town, and the principal burgesses were thrown into prison, and many were sent to the Tower of London. It is probable that John le Taverner made his escape: had he been taken he would scarcely have suffered less than capital punishment. His property however and that of some of his associates were (*a*) confiscated and given to others. The petition which John Taverner afterwards presented to the King in 1 Edw' III will give some information concerning

(*a*) Rex concessit Johanni de Weston in feodo omnia hereditamenta in villâ et suburb' B' quæ fuerunt Roberti Martin et Johannis le Taverner, pro serviciis debitis. *Rot' pat'* 12 *Edw' II, p'* 2, *m'* 7.

the insurrection. I have not yet seen the original, but the following is an abstract printed in the Rolls of Parliament, Vol' 2, p' 434. "To the petition of John Taverner and other citizens of Bristoll, shewing to the King and his councell that whereas the earle of Glouc' came before Bristoll with twenty thousand men and more, and demanded the same citty to be d'd unto him, which hee (being then Mayor) and the other citizens denyed and defended the citty: whereunto the said Earle by the councell of Hugh Spencer the father and Bartholomew Badlesmere purchased of the King oyer and terminer against them to be inquired of at Gloucester, contrary to the liberties of their citty; and for that they appeared not, and the sheriffs returned falsely *Non sunt inventi*, they were outlawed and their lands and goods seised for the King: they pray that it would please the King and his Councell to cause the record and processe to come before them, or to command the Justices of the King's Bench to reverse the said utlawry, and to restore them to the common law, that they may recover their lands and goods:" *It is answered thus;* "let them have a writ in Chancery to the Justices of the King's Bench, that they proceed in the processe had before the said Justices upon the premises; and if there bee error found in the record and processe of the foresaid utlary, then that they should cause that error to be amended."

§21. What was the exact date of the surrender, we are not informed; it must have been in the summer or autumn of 1316. The King immediately took the town into his own hands, and kept it for some months, appointing Maurice son of Thomas lord Berkeley (or one (*b*) Simon Ward under him) as Custos of the town and castle, and probably keeping a strong garrison there. The exiles no doubt returned home, and it seems that William Randolph the chief of them, was immediately appointed Mayor; thus much may be collected from our Calendars. Sir Maurice Berkeley used his authority with great moderation; although the office of Custos gave him power over the lives and properties of the townsmen; and although he could not but remember the many quarrels

(*b*) Sir Simon Warde, Sheriff of Yorkshire, was present at the battle of Borough-bridge on the King's side. Lel' Coll' 2, 464. This was probably the man.

and provocations which happened between himself and them some few years before: a moderation which the town ill repaid, when an opportunity was offered, as the next quotation will declare.

§ 22. It is not to be supposed, that the Historian of Berkeley, who was so well acquainted with ancient records, could be ignorant of so remarkable a transaction which took place in a neighbouring town, intimately connected with the family whose history he wrote. To relate the whole affair was not within the plan of his undertaking; but the following quotation [from p' 200] shews that he was fully acquainted with every particular. "And which I account as one of the King's greatest favours and benefactions to this high-soaring lord [Maurice 3d], considering what heavy and ignoble measure this lord and his father about seven years before received by the clamorous pursuit of the burgesses and town of Bristol, with an unanimous malice then confronting them (as in his father's life is declared) which the King now bestowed on this lord, was; that when intestine uproars and rebellions were at this time raging in the town of Bristol, between the Mayor, burgesses, commons and Constable of the Castle, wherein one half were for some years rebelliously in arms against the other, many slaine, and twelve burgesses banished by the greater faction; that now the King, after his mandates had by those mutinous townsmen been doubly contemned, some of his Commissioners sent under the authority of his great seal to enquire of their conspiracies, insurrections and murders, taken and imprisoned, the Castle of Bristol by these Mutiners assaulted, and forts by them built against it; after the power of three counties brought by their several Sherives sufficed not to appease them; to make (I say) the father commissioner to enquire of all these and divers the like offences, and (after seizure of the town into the King's hands and many sent to the Tower) the son, this lord, Custos of the said town and castle, and thereby their judge of life and goods (for Simon Ward was but his creature, and by his means so placed) was (as it were) on purpose to give that town and people into this lord's mercy or justice, either to honour himself and his father in forgiving, or to revenge themselves by punishing upon so just and superexorbitant new offences: having thereby in their hands

"and power as well all their old enemies, as whom friends or foes to execute their wills upon. But mercy most prevailed: the whole tragedy and progress whereof my marginal quotations do declare." Fin' 6 Edw' II, m' 4.—Claus' 6 Edw' II, m' 8, 15.—Pat' 6 Edw' II, pars 1, m' 13, 14, 20, 22, 27.—Eodem, pars 2, m' 7, 13.—Claus' 7 Edw' II, m' ult & in dorso. —Pat' 7 Edw' II, pars 1, m' 8, & in dorso bis.—Pat' 8 Edw' II, pars 2, m' 7, 8, 10.—Fin' 9 Edw' II, m' 2.—Pat' 9 Edw' II, pars 2, m' 27 at large. —Claus' 10 Edw' II, m' 11, & in dorso.—Pat' 10 Edw' II, pars 1, m' 3, 30, 35.—Pat' 11 Edw' II, pars 2, m' 5.—Pat' 11 Edw' II, pars 1, m' 15. —Pat' 6 Edw' II, pars 2 in dorso.—Pat' 7 Edw' 2, pars 1 in dorso.— The preceding documents, which I have hitherto had no opportunity of examining, contain without doubt many other particulars relative to the Great Insurrection.

§ 23. The historian proceeds thus. "Yet I cannot but remember on the other part, that when this lord a few years after the lapping up of these broils, was fallen into the displeasure of the King by pertaking against Hugh le Dispencer the younger (*c*) and committed prisoner to Wallingford castle; that Richard Tilley then maior and these Bristollian burgesses out of an inveterate hatred and remembrance of former passages with this lord and his father, so malitiously (and covetously withal) drew into question all and whatsoever they in the least degree could sprinkle any suspicion upon, to have leaned unto or adhered in service or otherwise to this lord; committing them to their common goales, and otherwise so illtreating them (for their escheat's sake also, as the prisoners objected) that upon their just complaints, special commissions were awarded under the great Seal (*d*) to two judges of the King's Bench, to enquire by juries of the county of Gloucester of the causes of these commitments, and of the said maior and burgesses' unjust pillage made upon them: whereupon eight, ten and more at a clap were bayled and discharged; and many found unjustly to have been committed, to the Maior's great reproof for wrongful punishment inflicted upon innocent men."

(*c*) Claus' 17 Edw' II, m' 14, 15, 16.

(*d*) Pat' 17 Edw' II dorso.—Eodem, pars 2, m' 30 & in dorso.

§ 24. The King kept the town in his own hands; until in the beginning of Dec' 10 Edw' II, that is 1316, he signified his pleasure in Council to grant the Commonalty a pardon for all their past enormities, and ordered, that for this pardon they should come to a fine. Whereupon the Commonalty deputed twelve burgesses whose names here follow, to attend the King: viz, William Randalf, Thomas de la Grave, Roger Tortle, Henry le Mariner, Robert de Horhurst, Robert Otry [i' e' de Ottery], John Welesshote, Richard le Wythe, John de Axebrugg, John de Romeseye, Richard de Wodhull, and Gilbert Pokerel. The names of almost all these persons may be seen in the list of Magistrates about that time; we may be sure therefore that they were (for the most part, if not all) of the number of the Fourteen; beside which, it is not probable that on this occasion they would send to the King any person who was not adverse to the late rebellion. These twelve carried with them a letter patent under the common seal dated Dec' 20, 1316, expressed in very reverential terms, imploring the King's favour, and professing themselves ready to submit to any conditions, to which the twelve persons abovementioned, as their attorneys, should agree. Hereupon a fine of 4000 marks was imposed on the town, one (*d*) half of which was to be paid at certain times then agreed on, and the other half was to remain on good behaviour: which fine is expressed to be for a pardon to the town and to all individuals concerned in the late disturbances from the second day of Feb' 1311-12 to that present time; and for the King's giving up all indignation which he had conceived against them on this account; and for the pardon of all outlawries pronounced against those persons who refused to submit to trial at Gloucester; and for pardon granted to those who received and protected the said outlawries; and for having their liberties and franchises, now being in the King's hands, restored to them. Nevertheless the King required that the Commonalty should fully answer to him for all that custom, called *Cocket*, which had been with-holden from him during the late rebellion; and out of the general pardon he excepted John Taverner, Thomas his son, and Robert Martyn, whom he probably considered as the leaders of the insurrection. With this moderate punishment of so great an offence the King was reconciled to

(*d*) Rot' Orig' 15 r 15.

the town: and so ended this foolish and iniquitous enterprize; wherein the burgesses and commonalty, intending at first only to defend themselves from the usurped authority of some few of their fellow-townsmen, proceeded at last to violence, murder and rebellion.

§ 25. The utter oblivion, into which this important occurrence has fallen, is not the least remarkable part of it. Beside that our Calendars are silent concerning it, there is not the smallest traditional memorial of it remaining in Bristol. And the discovery of an event so interesting as the rebellion of one of the principal cities of the kingdom maintained by force of arms for three years, which has been overlooked by our historians, and is here brought to light by an examination of ancient Rolls, may induce a reasonable suspicion, that other events of equal curiosity might be discovered by an attentive search into our national Records.

§ 26. All historians mention a dreadful famine which desolated England in A' D' 1316. Our Calendars mention it in these or similar words. "This year (1316) was such a dearth and famine with such mortality, that the living were scarce sufficient to bury the dead, and horseflesh and dogs flesh was counted good meat. The prisoners in the prison in Bristol did pluck and tear those, who were newly brought in, and devoured them half alive: and men and women were fain to eat their own children toward the borders of Scotland by reason of the Scotts."— "This year (1316) was a great mortality of men and animals, and a very great inundation of rain in summer and autumn: from whence arose such a dearth of corn, that the quarter of wheat was sold for 40 *sh.*" Knighton's words are these. "This year (1317) came a great dearth of corn over the whole kingdom, and lasted for two years: so that the quarter of wheat was sold in the market of Leicester on Saturday for 44 *s*, and on Wednesday following in the same market for 14 *sh*. At the same time many, who were rich and abounding in all goods were reduced to great and irrecoverable poverty and subject to beggary."

§ 27. Our Calendars say, that "in the year 1320 or 1321 the Sun appeared as red as blood for the space of six hours."

§ 28. Some time in the year 14 Edw' II, A' D' 1320-1, the King granted (*e*) to Hugh Despenser the younger the castle and town of Bristol, paying therefrom £210. The same grant was likewise made at another time to Matthew de Clendon and John his brother: and again to H' de Spencer, as before: and again to the same for his life.

§ 29. The year 1321 was a time in which the King experienced great difficulties: the Barons under the command of the earls of Lancaster and Hereford being in arms against him. It was in 14 Edw' II, probably in the earlier half of A' D' 1321, that the King being then at Bristol issued orders for the (*f*) preservation of the peace in that town to Thomas de Berkeley, who was probably Constable of the castle.

§ 30. The following document informs us that the King being at Westminster May 28 1321, issued a mandate to the Mayor, Bailiffs and Commonalty of Bristol to the same effect as the preceding to Thomas de Berkeley; and ordering them beside not to suffer any suspicious persons to enter the town. The earl of Hereford, it seems, had sent a mendicant fryer, for the purpose, no doubt, of persuading the townsmen to join the Barons against the King: they however remembering what happened five years ago prudently dismissed the messenger without an answer. The document is as follows.

"A' D' 1321. An. 14 Edw' II.

"*De Salvò et securè custodiendo villam Bristoll'*

"Rex dilectis sibi majori ballivis et toti comunitati ville sue Bristoll' salutem.

"De eo quod fratri Mauricio de ordine Minorum ad vos, ex parte comitis Hereford' et sibi adherencium accedenti, nobis inconsultis, respondere noluistis, nec non de eo quod villam nostram predictam salvò et securè ad opus nostrum custodire intenditis, sicut per vestras litteras nobis significâstis, referimus vobis grates;

"Vobis mandamus, firmiter injungendo quod villam predictam, ad opus nostrum salvò et securè custodiatis, non permittentes aliquos nobis suspectos villam predictam ingredi, sine nostrâ licenciâ speciali; et dilectis et fidelibus nostris in custodiâ castri nostri ville predicte existentibus, de quorum"

(*e*) Rot' Pat' 14 Edw' II, that is, some time between July 7 1320, and July 7 1321.

(*f*) Thomæ de Berkeley de pace conservandâ apud B'. Teste Rege, apud B'. *Claus' Rot'* 14 *Edw' II, m'* 2, *in dorso.*

" fidelitate ad plenum confidimus, in hiis que ad salvam et securam custodiam ejusdem Castri pertinent, sistis consulentes et auxiliantes cum ab ipsis vel eorum aliquo, super hoc ex parte nostra fueritis requisiti:

" In hâc parte taliter vos habentes quod fidelitatem vestram erga nos et antecessores nostros multipliciter probatam operis experimento in futuro, meritò debeamus comendare.

" Claus. 14 Edw. II. m. 4. d. in Turr. Lond. " T. R. apud Westm' xxviii. die Maii."

§ 31. On the 21st April in this same year 1321, the King issued a mandate, addressed probably to some bishop, commanding (*g*) that the inventors of false rumors should be restrained by ecclesiastical censure. He was probably at this time somewhere in the West of England. Early in A' D' 1321-2, he recovered Gloucester out of the hands of the associated Barons, and recalled the two Spensers from banishment. On Feb' 17 being at Glocester, he granted a charter (*h*) to the burgesses of Bristol. Being a mere confirmation of former charters and nothing more, it is probable that it was intended as a return for money and supplies sent from Bristol. One of our Calendars says also, that he "came from Glowcester to this town in order to provide for defence in those parts against his rebellious Barons." His stay in this Western district must have been short: for on March 16 was fought the decisive battle of Burrow-bridge in Yorkshire, which put most of his enemies into his power. The earl of Lancaster was beheaded March 22 at his own castle of Pontefract; and numbers of the others were sent into various parts of England to be executed. "The lord (*i*) John Giffarde, and Sir Roger de Elmesbrigge were drawn and hanged at Glocester:" at Bristol (*j*) Sir Henry Wennington [*al'* Wellington, and de Wyllington], and Sir Henry de Montfort, Bann'ts, were hanged and quartered: and at Canterbury was executed he who by his insolence to the Queen was the immediate cause of the war, "Sir Bartholomew Baddlesmere, taken (*k*) at Stow-park in the manor of the bishop of Lincoln, who was his nephew."

(*g*) De inventoribus rumorum per censuram ecclesiasticam compescendis. Teste Rege 21 Aprilis. *Claus' Rot'* 14 *Edw' II, m'* 7.

(*h*) See Charters of Bristol, p' 28.

(*i*) Knighton: where see the form of arraignment in French, in which the persons executed and the places of execution are different from those in the text; but the text is right. See Pat' 15 Edw' II, p' 2, m' 14, 24.

(*j*) Stowe, Knyghton, Leland Coll' 2, 465, and our MS Calendars. (*k*) Leland Coll' 2, 465.

§ 32. This man's connexion with the castle of Bristow, as related above, will justify some further account of him. 'He (*l*) had been the King's Seneschal, but deserted him, and went over to the Barons, and fortified his castle of Leeds in Kent, which being part of the ancient (*m*) possession of the Consul Robert, earl of Gloucester, the King had granted to him in exchange for other lands. Before this castle the Queen presented herself; but the Constable by Badlesmere's particular order refused to admit her. Whereupon the King besieged it, and the owner having in vain endeavoured to persuade the Barons to relieve it, he took it, and therein his wife and only son Giles and his daughters; and imprisoned them in the Tower of London. [Leland (*n*) says "Queen Isabel assieged the castle of Ledes, to whom it was rendered: for the Barons in reverence of her would not rescue it."] Badlesmere himself met with the treatment, which as a traytor he deserved: he had by some means given great offence to the Barons; and Thomas, the good earl of Lancaster refused his asistance to them, as long as Baddlesmere should continue in the army with them: whereupon he was deserted by them, and at the same time was violently perseeuted by the King, and excepted out of a general pardon. After the battle of Burrow-bridge he was taken prisoner, and on April 14, 1322, he was drawn from Canterbury to the gallows of Bleen and there hanged. Afterward his head was eut off, and fixed on a pole at Burgate; and his body again hung up.'

§ 33. The eause of the associated Barons was so popular, that miracles were reported to be wrought at the places, where their bodies were hung up, and a proclamation was issued to prevent such reports from being raised. It is to this effect. 'KNOW (*o*) ye, that Henry de Montfort, and Henry Wyllington, our late enemies and rebels, were hanged at Bristol, and their bodies are to remain on the gallows, as long as they endure; - - - and that Reginald de Montfort, W' de Clyfford,

(*l*) Anon' quidam ap' Lel' Coll' 1, 722; ubi videas plura.

(*m*) See above VI, § 12. (*n*) Coll' 2, 550.

(*o*) *Pat'* 17 *Edw' II, p'* 1, *m'* 15. *In dorso,* Contra fingentes miraeula fieri apud B' ad loea, ubi corpora rebellium adhuc suspensa remanent, per inimicos Regis. And in the same year is another letter *Patent m'* 26, *In dorso,* De iisdem et insuper de J' de Bousser, R' de Bedford, et J' le Botiller, &c.

'and W' Curteys, and John his brother went many times to the places, and falsely feigned that miracles were there wrought &c.' They were executed (as must be supposed) early in April 1322; and when the preceding proclamation was issued between July 7 1323 and the same day 1324, the bodies had been exposed more than a year and a quarter.

§ 34. "Roger (*p*) Mortimer the elder, being still kept in a filthie prison, the space of almost five years verie uncourteously, at length he died A' D' 1324, and was buried at Bristow." And "Roger (*q*) Mortimer the younger, [nephew of the preceding] who had been lately imprisoned, escaped from the Tower of London, and went into France, where he remained" until he returned with the Queen.

§ 35. The weakness of the King's government, with the pride and tyranny of the Spencers his favorites had alienated the affections of the whole nation. It happened likewise most unfortunately that his queen Isabella, sister to the king of France, having or pretending to have many causes of complaint against him, had renounced every sentiment of love and loyalty. She had gone to Paris for the ostensible purpose of concluding a treaty with her brother; and had afterwards on a feigned pretence prevailed that her son Edward, now thirteen years old, should be sent to her. Fortified with this sanction, she threw off all appearance of honour, she lived in a state of undisguised guilt with her favourite Roger Mortimer, the younger, she collected around her all the English malecontents, and having raised a few foreign auxiliaries she landed on the coast of Suffolk Sept' 22 1326 with only 300 men, for the purpose of dethroning her husband. The King, aware of the intended treason, sent a circular letter (*r*) to the port-towns, ordering the magistrates to search for letters coming from beyond sea, and to arrest and commit to prison all suspected persons lately arrived from abroad: and this he did (as he says) on account of certain rumours, which had lately reached him. One of these letters was *Majori, Ballivis, & communitati villæ Bristol.* The

(*p*) Stowe. (*q*) Knyghton; who dates it in 1323.

(*r*) Dated Sept' 24, 1326. See *Rymer's Fœd'* Vol' IV.

Queen on her landing was joined by great numbers, and the King thought proper to secure himself in the Tower of London; from whence on the 27*th* and 28*th* of Sept' he issued proclamations against the Queen, his son Edward, his brother the earl of Kent, and Roger de Mortimer; which latter he calls "our traytor and mortal enemy." He says that the Queen sends letters to various persons and towns and other places; and he orders his faithful subjects to send the letters to him unopened, and to arrest the messengers. One under the great seal is directed *As Meir & Bailiffs de Bristowe.* Finding however the city of London to be very ill affected towards him, he resolved to retreat westward, hoping to make a stand at Bristow: and for this purpose he sent his writ on Oct' 12 to William Tracy, sheriff of Gloucestershire, ordering him to victual immediately the castles of Bristeut and Strogoil or Estrogoil [Bristow and Chepstow]; which he did, sending provisions to Chepstow to the value of 24£, 15*sh*, which were delivered to the care of one Roger Barnard; and to the castle of Bristow he sent provisions to the amount of 84£, 12*sh*, which he delivered to Donewald de Mar [Donald (*s*) earl of Marr]; the governor: and we learn from the (*t*) petition of the said William Tracy in the year 4 Edw' III, that at that time those sums were not yet repaid to him.

§36. London opened it's gates to this disloyal Queen, who after a short stay pursued her husband. At Wallingford 15 Oct' 1326 she published (*u*) a manifesto in the name of herself, her son Edward and the earl of Kent, detailing the tyranny and unlawful oppressions of Hugh le Despenser, Robert Baldock, and others, and justifying her own conduct. From thence she went to Oxford, 'where (*v*) Adam Oreleton, bishop of Hereford, was employed to preach in defence of her proceedings, which he did; prince Edward, and the earl of Lancaster, and many of the Chiefs of the kingdom being present. The text of his sermon was from Gen' 3, 15, *I will put enmity between thee and the woman &c;* wherein he drew a resemblance between the Queen and Eve, and between Chancellor Baldock and the devil; and in the course of his sermon he redd the'

(*s*) See above Chapt' XIII, § 23.
(*t*) Rolls of Parliament, Vol' 2, p' 34.
(*u*) Rymer IV and Knyghton.
(*v*) Knyghton.

'Queen's proclamation, lately issued at Wallingford.' 'At Oxford she was (*w*) joined by Thomas lord Berkeley, who had been a prisoner by order of the King in Wallingford castle with his father Maurice; who after an (*x*) ineffectual attempt to escape had died in prison. The son was released from Pevensey castle by order of the Queen Oct' 16, and immediately joined her standard. From Oxford she went to Glocester and from thence to Berkeley in pursuit of the King, who was by this time sheltered in the castle of Bristow: "and (*y*) her forces increasing like a snow-ball, she came before this great and goodly city" about the 22*d* Oct'. The number of soldiers, who joined her from the North, was very great, and the damage done to the tenants of Berkeley and to the whole neighbourhood by parties of them passing from Glocester to Bristol, to join the Queen, was excessive; the particulars of which are enumerated by Smythe. Confident in such a force, she summoned Bristol to surrender; and so far as this, all writers are agreed, and in the principal facts which follow; but with regard to some particulars, in which Bristol is concerned, the reader must form his own opinion from the authorities which I shall produce. One of the (*z*) writers above quoted informs us, that several messages and proposals were carried to and fro between the Queen and the town; the latter endeavouring to obtain indemnity for the chiefs of the King's friends, and the former insisting on an unconditional surrender. It is said below that the siege lasted three days; and so long it is probable that the negotiations continued: but it is apparent that the Spencers and their friends were as unpopular in Bristol, as in the rest of the kingdom. Adams's Calendar quoted below without doubt expresses the general sentiment of the townsmen; no wonder therefore that the 'town (*a*) was soon surrendered: and with it old Sir Hugh Spencer came into the Queen's power, and either on the same or the next day was brought to trial before the Queen's faction. Sir Thomas Wadge, Marshal of the army, recited a short statement of the crimes laid to his charge; of which they all pronounced him guilty,'

(*w*) Smythe of Berkeley.
(*x*) It is related in the Annales de Trokelow, quoted above § 10.
(*y*) Harl' Miscell' I, 84.
(*z*) From the Harl' Miscell'.
(*a*) Harl' Miscell' I, 84.

'and without further process condemned him to death. His venerable age, for he was ninety years old, procured him no pity from the Queen and her furious associates: he was hanged on the *25th* of Oct' immediately after his trial, with circumstances of great barbarity.' But the King meanwhile with the younger Spencer and some others had made their escape.

§ 37. Another author says that the Queen being "arrived (*b*) at Gloucester from thence sent the earl of Kent and Sir John Henneque to Bristol to take the earl of Winchester. The citizens would not venture their lives for a person, who had so little deserved their asistance; and on promise of being received into the Queen's and Prince's protection, they delivered the city and castle to the earl of Kent. - - - - - From Gloucester she proceeded to Bristol, taking Berkeley castle in her way, which she restored to the lord Thomas Berkeley, son of lord Maurice Berkeley. - - - - This estate had been (*c*) granted away to the younger Spenser. - - - - When the Queen came to Bristol, she was forced to comply with the clamours of the people for justice on the earl of Winchester, who was drawn along in his armour to the common gallows, and there hanged. His head was cut off and sent to Winchester."—Adams's Calendar is as follows. "Sir Hugh the Spencers, John the earle of Arundell, Sir Robert Baldock and others, tyrants, which by long time had grieued the realme, had theire deserued punishment; and Sir Hugh Spencer the elder was executed in Bristow." Another of our Calendars is thus. "The King embarked for Wales, leaving Sir Hugh Spencer the elder with a few forces to defend the town and castle. But after three days siege the town was surrendered, and the old gentleman aged fourscore and ten years was immediately hung up in his armour without any formality, and his body was afterwards cut in pieces and given to the dogs for food, and his head erected on a pole at Winchester." Another of our Calendars says, "Bristol besieged by the Queen soon surrendered; and the morrow after her coming Sir Hugh Spencer and the earl of Arundell were put to death in Bristol; and the earl of Gloucester,"

(*b*) Hist' of Edw' II. London, 1713.

(*c*) The particulars of the seizure and recovery are related by John Smythe.

"Spencer's eldest son, was put to death in Hereford." Another says, that "Hugh Spencer the elder was hanged at the common gallowes att Bristoll, and cutt upp alive. This execution was without tryall." Another has these words: "This Sir Hugh Spencer the father was executed in Bristol, being hanged in chains of iron in the same city." Leland's account is thus. "Sir (*d*) Hugh Spensar the father was drawn, hanged, and beheaded at Bristow, and his body hanged up with two strong cords: and after four days it was cut all to pieces, and dogs did eat it. And because he was count of Wynchester, his head was sent thither." Stowe writes (*e*) thus: "After this the Queen with her people came to Gloucester, from whence she went unto Bristowe, where Hugh Spencer the elder committed himself and all his to the mercie of the angrie and outrageous woman, who commanded the Earl to be bounde, and without question or answere to be drawen and hanged in his armour, taken down alive and bowelled, his bowelles burned and his head smitten off, and his body hanged up again, and after four days to be cutt all to pieces, and caste to the dogges to be eaten; but his head was sent to Winchester."

§ 38. On the morrow after this barbarous execution, the King's escape being known, this whole body of traytors assembled in Council. There were present

A' Archbishop of Dublin;
J' Bishop of Winchester;
J' ——— of Ely;
H' ——— of Lincoln;
A' ——— of Hereford;
W' ——— of Norwich;
and other Prelates: and
Thomas Earl of Norfolk, and
Edmund Earl of Kent,
the King's brothers;

Henry Earl of Lancaster and Leicester;
Thomas Wake;
Henry de Belmont;
William la Zouche de Assheby;
Robert de Montalt;
Robert de Morle;
Robert de Watevill,
and other Barons and knights [*milites*].

In a memorandum dated Oct' 26, 20 Edw' II, drawn up in Latin under their direction, inserted in Rymer, Vol' IV, p' 237, they say that 'the King with Hugh le Despencer, junior, master Robert de Baldok and other notorious enemies of the Queen and the kingdom being gone out'

(*d*) Leland Coll' 2, 468 or 673. (*e*) Stowe, p' 224.

'of the kingdom, and having left it without any government, they the afore-mentioned persons, being at Bristoll Oct' 26, did in the presence of the Queen and the Duke [that is, Prince Edward, Duke of Aquitain] with the assent of the whole commonalty of the said kingdom, constitute the Duke, Regent of the kingdom:' which was in effect to throw the regal authority into the hands of Mortimer and the Queen; the Prince not being yet fourteen years old. Soon after this atrocious usurpation, the Queen quitted Bristol, where she remained only a few days, and went to Gloucester, and from thence to Hereford.

§ 39. Meanwhile the King was in Wales: historians are generally agreed that he and his company escaped from Bristol in a ship, intending to go to Ireland; but that he was forced by contrary winds into Wales. The following Calendar mentions Lundy as the place of his destination: "Queen Isabell, with Sir Roger Mortimer and others besieged the castle of Bristoll, whither king Edward II was fled with the Spencers and others for safety. The King fled to sea, intending to have gone to Lundy island, but fowle weather drove them into Wales, where he was taken and sent to prison." Stowe also from De la Moor mentions Lundy as the place of his destination; and it may be collected from the following account, which there seems no reason to question, that he was forced by contrary winds into Chepstow, and from thence to Cardiff or thereabout. "King (*f*) Edward, hearing of the coming of his Queen, his son, and Mortimer, with their host toward him, took shipping at Chepstow: but tempest kept him from flying xv days in the Severn Sea, and after of necessity he arrived in Glamorganshire. Many of the King's household came from Chepstow to Bristow to the Queen." He probably escaped from Bristol about 16 Oct'; and on 29 Oct' he was at Caerphilly,(*g*) from whence he issued Proclamations to raise the Welsh in his defence against his enemies. The attempt must have proved ineffectual, for soon after he took refuge in the abbey of Neath: and probably finding it impossible to conceal himself any longer, on Nov' 10 he sent the Abbat and others on a message to the Queen: his letter of protection and safe conduct shews that he was then free; but between that day,

(*f*) Leland Coll' 2, 550 or 792. (*g*) Rymer IV, p' 238.

and Nov' 20, he was taken prisoner. Nov' 30 he was at Ledbury, but his letter on that day shews that he was no longer at liberty; he was certainly in custody of the earl of Lancaster, whom the Queen had sent with lord William de la Zouch and Mr. Rice ap Howell to find him out. Nov' 20 he was at Monmouth, and the Queen was at Hereford, from whence she sent the bishop, Adam de Orleton, to the King, and took from him the Great Seal, which was wanted for the purposes of government. She then quitted Hereford; on the 26 she was at Martley (*h*) in Herefordshire, where she received the Great Seal. Sunday next, on St Andrew's day, she was at Cirencester, and was lodged in the Abbey, and on Thursday next she was at Woodstock, from whence she went to (*i*) Wallingford castle before Christmas, and so to London before the feast of Epiphany, where she was joyfully received, as the deliverer of the nation. Such were the principal circumstances of this successful villainy.

§ 40. It will however be convenient to return, and relate particulars as yet omitted; in some of which Bristol is concerned. Before Nov' 20, Sir Hugh Spencer, Chancellor Baldock and the rest of those who fled with the King, had also been taken. Spencer was an object of particular vengeance: he was forced to attend the Queen to Hereford amid the grossest indignities. "With (*j*) a kind of insultant triumphing tyranny, far unworthy the nobility of her sex and virtue, she makes her poor condemned adversary in a strange disguise attend her progress. He was set upon a poor lean deformed jade, and cloathed in a tabarce, the robe in those days due to the basest thieves and rascals; and so was led through all the market towns and villages, with trumpets sounding before him, and all the spiteful disgraces and affronts, that they could devise to cast upon him." "He was (*k*) drawn to the gallows in his own armour, on which the seven first verses of the 52*d* Psalm were embroidered in letters plain enough to be read; *quid gloriaris in malitiâ &c.*" Finally "on (*l*) 24 Nov' he was arraigned (*m*) before Sir William Trussel,"

(*h*) Rymer. (*i*) Stowe. (*j*) Harl' Miscell' ubi suprà.
(*k*) Hist' of Edw' II. (*l*) Stowe and Knyghton.
(*m*) Knyghton (p' 2547) gives a copy of this arraignment in the original Norman French: a very curious document.

"Justice, and immediately hanged without any trial on a gallows 30 [*al* 50] feet high, and his body was cut into four parts, and his head placed on London bridge. Simon de Reading was hanged on the same gallows, but ten feet lower." These facts are thus related by Leland. "Soon (*m*) after, king Edward was taken in Wales, and Hugh Dispensar the son and Baldok; and after sent in safeguard into England, and the King to Kenilworth castle under the keeping of Henry, brother to Thomas of Lancaster. But Dispenser the son, after that he was taken would never eat nor drink, knowing well that he should have no mercy. The Queen's party, seeing that Hugh Dispenser the son for feebleness could not be brought to London, caused him to be judged, and brought to Hereford: and a mile from the town caused his Chaperon and also Baldoke's to be taken off, and to have on their heads chaplets of poignant nettles. And this writing was set on Hugh Spenser the son's breast in great letters; *why boastest thou thyself &c.* And on the vigil of St Katharine [Nov' 24] in the year 1326 he was hanged, drawn and quartered. And the same day was hanged - - - - Simon de Redinge."

§ 41. The following particulars may be added. On the capture of Sir Hugh Spenser, "immediately (*n*) consultation was holden at Hereford concerning his death, and how his whole posterity might be extinguished, so that no one of them might for ever come to any honor, rank or state in the kingdom of England. The same Hugh and Master Robert Baldoc, and the Prior of Hereford were brought to Hereford. And when they came near the town, there met them such a great number of persons from every side, that all men wondered at the sfght; and all who were able to blow with a horn, or to utter a cry of *hue*, or produce any mark of contempt, according to their ability shewed it against Hugh, with abuse and insult; so that never before was so horrid a noise heard against any great person. And first they clothed him in a vestment with his arms reversed, and put a crown of nettles on his head; and Robert Baldoc also they clothed with a similar vestment. And on their vestments were written the six first verses of the 52*d* psalm; *why boastest thou thyself, thou tyrant, &c* in the most contemptuous manner possible.

(*m*) Coll' 2, 468 [672]. (*n*) Knyghton.

"The said Robert Baldock was condemned to perpetual prison in Newgate, where he died next year in great misery; and the Prior abovementioned was imprisoned at Hereford, because he had behaved himself ill against the King's peace. The same author gives a further account of Chancellor Baldoc. "After conviction he was claimed by the bishop of Hereford, as a priest, and by him detained in the ecclesiastical prison until Jan' next, when he was conveyed to London by the said bishop, and confined under a guard in the bishop's own hotel, in order to be brought before the provincial Council then assembled to receive judgement. But although nothing was more unlikely, than that a prisoner under those circumstances should be molested, the Parliament then sitting, and the King and all the Magnates of the realm being then in London, yet the popular rage against him was so vehement, that the Londoners broke into the bishop's hotel with armed force, and carried him off to their own prison, and there kept him till he died."

§ 42. "Soon after (*o*) the capture of the King, Edmund, earl of Arundel was taken in Shropshire by Sir John de Charleton and carried to Hereford, where the Queen and the Magnates of the realm were assembled. And because he had given his son and heir to the daughter of Hugh Dispenser, and was his secret adviser, and had contrived much evil against the Queen (as was said) in her absence, and had also caused the death of Thomas, the noble earl of Lancaster, - - - the said Edmund was led out to execution, drawn and hanged on 15 Cal' Dec', [Nov' 17] with his Esquire, John Danyell, who in many things had seduced him by his counsel." One of the authors (*p*) quoted above speaks of the earl of Arundel, as follows. "Four days after the death of Sir Hugh Spencer, the earl of Arundel was beheaded by order left behind, when the Queen quitted Hereford. I never yet could read a fair and just cause, why this Earl lost his life; unless it may be counted treason not to forsake his lord and master, to whom he had so solemnly sworn his faith and obedience."

(*o*) Knighton, and Leland Coll' 3, 333. (*p*) The Harl' Misc' ubi suprà.

§ 43. There is some doubt whether the castle of Bristol was surrendered at the same time with the town. The preceding authorities make no distinction between them, and Leland must have supposed that the castle was taken with the town; for he writes (*q*) thus "Hugo primus peremptus in castello de Bristolle 6 Kal' Nov' anno 1326." There is however some reason for thinking otherwise. One of the authors (*r*) quoted above supposes that the castle held out after the taking of the town; for he says that old Sir Hugh Spencer, with the earl of Arundel, was taken in the town, and that the King and Spencer the son saw the execution from the walls of the castle. One of our Calendars also represents the castle, as holding out a long time after the town. "Donald, earl of Marr, was made guardian of the castle of Bristoll, being a Scott; which he kept until queen Isabell presented Edward II before it, to whome he then delivered it: the said king Edward was then deposed." Leland's account (*s*) is nearly the same. "Donald (*t*) earl of Marre, was made by king Edward guardian of the castle of Bristow, the which he delivered to the Queen, and so repaired into Scotland." If this account be true, Spencer the father was taken in the town, and the castle still resisted, until the Queen brought the King before it, to whom it was surrendered. He was at Monmouth Nov' 20, and at Ledbury on the 30*th*, between which days is abundant time for a journey from Monmouth to Bristol, and back to Ledbury. This is a representation of facts somewhat different from that, which is usually given; yet I would not hastily reject it.

(*q*) Leland Itin' 6, 82. In the next line 6 *Kal'* is probably a mistake for 8 *Kal'*; for it is tolerably certain, that the elder Spencer was put to death 25th Oct'.

(*r*) In the Harl' Miscell' I, 84. But this writer's information must be received with caution. He states that the King &c went on board a small bark, and twice went down the river as far as St Vincent's rock, but were hurried back by sudden gusts and tempests. This must have been in the Severn, it could not happen in the Avon. He says also, that at last the King was taken in the Avon; whereas the assembled Chiefs, as mentioned above, had declared Oct' 26, that the King had quitted the kingdom. He says, that the earl of Arundel was taken in Bristol; he should have said, in Shropshire: and he asserts contrary to the most certain evidence, that the King was murdered at Corfe castle. These things throw a doubt on his facts, however good his principles and his language may be. The Editor supposes it to be the work of Henry Lord Falkland, which I cannot suppose. Many of his facts are taken from Froissart, whose narrative of these events is almost fabulous.

(*s*) Leland Coll' 2, 550.

(*t*) See above Chapt' XIII, § 23.

§ 44. In relating the remainder of this cruel and unnatural rebellion, the castle of Bristol and it's neighbourhood will still be kept in view. The King was at Monmouth castle on 20*th* Nov' (as mentioned above). On 30*th* Nov' he was at (*u*) Ledbury, and on Dec' 3 still at the same place. Whence some time before Dec' 14, he was conveyed to Kenilworth castle, and there closely imprisoned, and forced on 20*th* Jan' 1326-7 to resign his crown. Before April he was taken out of the custody of the earl of Lancaster and delivered by (*v*) Indenture to Thomas lord Berkeley, Sir John Maltravers, and Sir Thomas Gourney, the two latter, barbarians appointed undoubtedly for that reason; by whom he was removed to Corfe castle, and from thence to Bristol castle. 'These (*w*) journeys were always made by night, that none might see him or know where he was; and they forced him to ride bare-headed, and to endure all sorts of hardships and cruelties, hoping that he would thus languish and die. In the castle of Bristol he remained, until certain burgesses of the town discovered that he was there,' and (*x*) formed "the design of asisting him in making his escape beyond sea:" in consequence of which he was removed April 5 in a (*y*) dark night to Berkeley castle. 'The (*z*) King's removal from Kenilworth to Berkeley out of the earl of Lancaster's custody was by the especial order of Roger Mortimer and contrary to the orders of Parliament: and his murder is said to have been effected by him and persons belonging to him. Such is the substance of one of the articles of accusation against Roger Mortimer in 1330, and this article in particular is said to be true and notorious and known to all the people of the country.'

§ 45. John Stowe's simple and affecting narrative of this dreadful night's journey from Bristol to Berkeley is so well known, that it need not be repeated. They passed by the grange belonging to the Castle of Bristol, and turning to the left for the purpose of avoiding the main

(*u*) Rymer IV, pp' 239, 240.

(*v*) Smythe quotes in this place *Comput' de Hame* [near Berkeley] 5 *April*, 3 *Non' April.—Glouc' MS cum Decano ibidem* [where is this MS].—*Claus'* 1 *Edw' III, pars* 1, *m'* 1 *&* 2; beside Fabian, De la Moor, and the other historians.

(*w*) Stowe. (*x*) MS Calendar. (*y*) Stowe. (*z*) Knyghton.

road, they travelled over the marsh ground, lying by the river Severn. Lord Berkeley received his royal prisoner courteously; and was for his expences allowed five pounds a day; and the historian refers to accounts in Berkeley castle, "which expressly shew what provisions and acates they sent from their several granges and manor houses, from the *5th* day of April, then being Palm-Sunday, when at supper time the King was first brought prisoner to Berkeley castle, until his death there on 21*st* Sept' following." The author of the life of Edw' II quoted above says, that he was *twice* at Berkeley castle; and his account of his removals seems probable, although not noticed by other writers. "Lord Berkeley and lord John Matravers conveyed him to Berkeley castle, where his good usage by the lord Berkeley gave his enemies as much offence as the earl of Leicester's at Killingworth had done. The lord Berkeley therefore was soon discharged of his office, and Sir Thomas Gourney put in his stead, jointly with the lord Matravers, whose conduct gave intire satisfaction to those, who wished the King ill. These two keepers carried him privately from one strong place to another, till they brought him to Corfe castle, travelling always by night, for fear he should be taken from them, as they had reason to apprehend. - - - From Corfe, when the noise of his being at Berkeley castle was over, they removed him with as great privacy thither again, imagining no body would suspect him to be there. In all their travels from place to place, no despiteful usage was omitted to him. - - - - Bristol castle was one place of his confinement, where [whence] they carried him upon an alarm of some designed attempt to release him: and by the way to keep him from being known, they made the wretched King sit on the ground, and caused a barber to shave him with the water fetched from a ditch; at which he said, I will supply you with warm water, meaning his tears, which he shed plentifully."

§ 46. Soon after the King's arrival lord Berkeley was commanded by letter to use no familiarity with his prisoner, but to deliver up the government of his castle to Maltravers and Gurnay. These two execrable jailors first attempted to destroy him by shutting him in a chamber in the middle of the castle, built over the dungeon or underground

prison; into which dungeon they had thrown a quantity of dead carcasses, hoping that the stench would produce a mortal disease. Being disappointed in this expectation, they removed him to a small chamber on the wall, remote from the usual residence of the family, where he was murdered by Thomas Gurney and William de Ocle in the manner described by all our historians, on (*a*) St Matthew's day [Sept' 21] 1327 or, as Knighton says, Sept' 22: both rooms are still shewn in Berkeley castle. Thomas lord Berkeley justified himself from having had any knowledge of this horrible affair, by asserting before (*b*) the Parliament in the next reign, that he was absent from home at that time, being at Bradley, and so sick as to be in danger of death, and had no memory of any thing that passed. "From Bradley (*c*) on Michaelmas even he wrote his letters and sent them by Sir Thomas Gurnay the next day to Nottingham, to advertize the Queen and the young King; and by direction brought back by Sir Thomas Gurnay, the death of the king was kept secret till All-saints following," and was (*d*) first published in the Parliament at Lincoln. It is said that certain inhabitants of Bristol and Glocester were sent for to view the body, who finding no marks of violence on it testified that he died a natural death. 'The (*e*) Abbats of Malmesbury and Kingswood in Wiltshire and of St Augustine's in Bristol were invited to take charge of his funeral, but through fear of offending the reigning authorities, they declined the melancholy duty. The monks of St Peter in Gloucester were more pious and more loyal: they voluntarily undertook this office of humanity, and sent some of their members to bring the corpse of their unfortunate king within the walls of their abbey:' the historian of Berkeley relates the manner of the funeral, (*f*) which took place on Dec' 20, and many minute particulars of the expense: it was conducted by the monks, and honourably met and attended by the civil authorities of the town, who accompanied it into the church of the convent; where repose in peace the mortal remains of this much-abused monarch.

(*a*) Smythe in this place quotes *Eschaet* 13 *Edw' III. No'* 37.—*Pat'* 13 *Edw' III, p'* 2 *dorso.*—*Claus'* 14 *Edw' III, pars* 1, mem' 18 and 19.

(*b*) Vide Rolls of Parliament, Vol' 2, p' 57. 4 Edw' III.

(*c*) Smythe, p' 260.

(*d*) Knyghton.

(*e*) Smythe.

(*f*) Knyghton.

§ 47. The very words of the historian of Berkeley ought not to be omitted, for they contain some curious particulars. "There is (he says p' 256) in the custody of the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester a fair MS Chronicle, collected by Walter Froucester, a monk in the abbey of Gloucester, living at this time within 15 miles of Berkeley, after Abbot of that monastery, deduced down by him to the 20*th* year of king Edward III, who writeth thus. *Et post mortem prædicti Regis &c.* And after the death of the said King, his venerable body, which the next monasteries of St Augustine of Bristol, St Mary of Kingeswood, and St Aldelme of Malmesbury for dread of Roger de Mortimer and queen Isabel and their complices feared to receive, was by John Toky, then Abbot of this church of blessed St Peter of Gloucester, with his chariot honorably adorned with the armes of the said church, brought from the castle of Berkeley to the church of the said monastery of Gloucester; and by the whole covent solemnly attired was with a procession of the whole city honourably received, and in the north part of the church there next to the great altar buried. This Abbot Toky, mine authour succeeded, then a monk there, and present at his funeral. Of which Abbot then a very old man, and of the benefits he received from the Son for this honour done to his Father's body, the marginald (*g*) Record declareth." - - - - "And the account of this Lord's Receiver for the year following, in the 2 Edw' III, sheweth what he paid for the dying of the white canvass into black for covering of the chariot, wherein the body of the King was carried from Berkeley castle to Gloucester, what the cords, the horscollers, the traces, and other necessaries particularly cost, used about the chariot and conveying of his body thence to Gloucester; for a silver vessel for laying up the heart of our said lord the King's father 37*s*, 8*d* [*in uno vase argenteo pro corde dicti dni Regis patris reponendo xxxvij s, viij d*] in oblations at several times in the chappel of the castle of Berkeley for the King's soul 21*d*; in expences of the lord Berkeley's family going with the King's body from Berkeley to Gloucester 18*s*, 9*d*; and many the like particularities."

(*g*) Pat' 2 Edw' III, p' 2, m' 2.

§ 48. One more quotation on this subject ought not to be (*h*) omitted. " In the time of this Abbat [Thoky] king Edward the second after the Conquest, son of king Edward the first, coming to Glocester, the Abbat and Convent received him honourably. While he sat at table in the abbat's hall, and saw there painted the pictures of the Kings his predecessors, he asked the abbat in a jest, whether he would have him painted among them or not. The Abbat answered rather prophecying [*prophanando*, perhaps *prophetando*] than conversing [*fabulando*] that he hoped to have him in a more honorable place than there. Which accordingly happened: for after his death some neigbouring monasteries, viz, St Augustin's of Bristoll, St Mary's of Kyngeswode, St Aldelm's of Malmesbury, were afraid to admit his venerable corpse, through fear of Roger de Mortimer, and of queen Isabella and others their accomplices. Nevertheless this Abbat brought him from Berkeley castle in his own car honorably adorned with the arms of the same church painted on it: and he was brought to the monastery of Gloucester, he was solemnly robed anew by the abbat and the whole convent, he was honorably received by a procession of the whole city, and was interred in the church there, on the northern side near the great altar."

(*h*) It is translated from a MS publlshed in the new Edition of Dugdale's Monasticon. *Glouc*est' *Abbey.*

End of Chapter XIV.

CHAPTER XV.

EDWARD III.

1. *Accession.*—2. *Supplies sent from Bristol.*—3. *A Charter concerning Redcliffe.*—3. *b. Rapacity of great men.*—3. *c. Quarrel between Lord Berkeley and the townsmen.*—4. *Martial spirit of all parties. Another Charter.*—5, 6. *Jurisdiction of Redcliffe.*—7. *Jurisdiction of Temple Fee.*—8. *Bristol furnishes soldiers against Scotland.*—9. *Complaint of the Gascon Merchants.*—10. *Walls and Kay repaired.*—11. *The Castle victualled.*—12. *Woollen manufacture. Thomas Blanket. The King protects it.*—13. *Staple of Wool: Clothiers in Bristol and Bath.*—14. *Wine granted to Lord Berkeley.*—14. *b. War with France: men sent from Bristol.*—15. *Origin of the Common-Council. Ordinances.*—16. *Ships of war from various ports.*—17. *A new Charter.*—18. *Tumults in and near Bristol.*—19, 20. *The great pestilence.*—21. *Price of all things.*—22. *Want of Priests. Workmen's wages.*—23. *Depopulation: fall of rents.*—24. *Merchants summoned to Court.*—25. *Abbat of St Augustin summoned.*—26. *Dearness of Wine.*—27. *Death of Queen Philippa: ferm of Bristol.*—28. *War with France: ships furnished by different towns.*—29. *State of the navy: seamen's pay.*—30. *Navy accounts in Latin.*—31. *Seamen's wages: hire of ships.*—32. *Expences.*—33. *Bristol made a County.*—34. *Bounds of the county: High Cross.*—35. *Election of Mayor.*—36. *Complaint of the men of Bath: complaint concerning woollen-yarn.*—37. *Decease of king Edward III.*

§ 1. ON the resignation of his father, Edward III being only fourteen years old was proclaimed King Jan' 21, 1326-7; from which day historians date the beginning of his reign.

§ 2. We find that in this year Sir Maurice de Berkeley, second son of the late Lord Maurice, was governor or constable of Bristow castle; to which office he was no doubt appointed last year, immediately on the taking of that fortress: and we find him moreover carrying supplies from hence to the young King on his expedition against the Scots, who had invaded England. "On (*i*) 21 April in the first year of Edward III, the King sent this Maurice with two others to bring from the castle of Bristol to him into the north parts, where then he was with his army, such armories and other munitions, as were there; with a mandate to all sheriffs and other subjects to be aiding to them in that service, and to provide them carriages &c. At which time this Sir Maurice was keeper of the said castle with his brother John."—And this same year Thomas Berkeleye, and his sons Maurice and John, had all their lands restored to them, which had been seized by the late King. (*k*)

§ 3. Smythe of Berkeley writes, that "in the 4*th* year of this king, that is A' D' 1330, the Mayor and Burgesses of Bristol obtained a confirmation of all their former charters and liberties, and among the rest, of the charter 31 Hen' III, that Radeclive street should answer unto, and be within the jurisdiction of the burgesses of Bristol, and no where else;" and for this he quotes *Cart' 4 Edw' III m' 5.* There is no such charter of that date in the printed collection; but the *charter of 5 Edw' III* among many things contains what Smythe has here attributed to 4 *Edward III*, and it may be supposed to be his mistake: but since he quotes both 4 *and 5 Edw' III*, and since both are contained in a Council-house list of Charters in my possession, it is more probable, that Charter 4 Edw' III was granted, and is still in the Council-house.

(*i*) Smythe, p' 216, who quotes Pat' 1 Edw' III, p' 2, m' 27.—Pat' 4 Edw' III, p' 2, m' 8.

(*k*) Vide Rolls of Parliament, Vol' 2, p' 422-3, and 432.

§ 3.*b*. The following transaction, which happened about the year 1317, is here inserted somewhat out of its place, as a specimen of the violent and rapacious means whereby the great men of that age laid their hands on the property of such of their neighbours who were not able to resist their power. "This (*l*) lord Berkeley [Maurice 3] observing that one Richard Bolour in right of Joan his wife had good title to divers houses and lands in the suburbs of Bristol, which he fancied as lying fit to his manor of Bedminster, he drew them to Berkeley Castle, and there into covenants, that they should prosecute a writ *quòd ei deforciat* against Roger Apleby and others, who held the said land until they should recover; and this suit to be at the charges of this lord Maurice and his counsell; and that they should use no other counsell, but his, and such as he appoints; and that after recovery they should within fifteen days grant the same to him the said Maurice and his heirs, reserving to the said Joan her life in one of the said houses; and to have ten pounds in money from this lord: for performance of which covenants this lord Maurice took of them a statute of £100. I leave the censure hereof to this divine rule, *quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.* To prevent all presentments against him in the commission of *Trailbaston* against intruders into other men's lands, extortioners, oppressors, champerners, and the like offenders, this lord bribed the Jury for Portbury Hundred with the guift of 20 shillings; and such as would have given evidence against him with 49 shillings, *pro favore habendo coram Justitiariis de Trailbaston in negotiis suis ibidem.*" (*m*)

§ 3.*c*. About this time (4 Edw' III) fresh disturbances arose between the lord Berkeley and the burgesses of Bristow on the same subject as before, the jurisdiction of the Redcliffe side of the town, which had occasioned such dangerous tumults only 25 years (*n*) before. Whether it was owing to the encouragement given to them by the late charter, as Smith supposes, or to the natural effervescence of two parties equally violent in the defence of privileges ill-defined and perhaps incapable of adjustment; we find that "the (*o*) Maior and burgesses gave to"

(*l*) Smythe, p' 211, who quotes Carta in Castro.
(*m*) He quotes *Comp' de Portbury*, 11 *Edw' II in castro de Berkeley.*
(*n*) See Ch' XIII, § 22.
(*o*) Smythe, p' 173.

"Thomas lord Berkeley, the 3*d* of that name, by their fresh insolencies just cause to complayn to the (*p*) King, that whereas he had in certain places within the suburbs of the town of Bristol, amongst his tenants and inhabitants there, the reformation of the assizes of bread and beer, pillory, tumbrell, and other liberties; that the maior and Baylyes of the towne and the cominalty there by ringing of the comon bell assembled themselves togeather, and ryotously assaulted and wounded his baylyes there, and with an armed power destroyed the said tumbrill and pillory, and took John Hind his Bayly, carried him to their Guildhall and compelled him to swear not to execute any judgement in the courts there at any time after. Whereupon a Commission was sent to the three Judges of the land to enquire of the truth of the premises by a jury of the county of Gloucester, and accordingly to order the matter; (*q*) dated 20 August."

§ 4. It is manifest from the martial spirit shewn by these burgesses on this and similar occasions, that the townsmen of that age, those of Bristow however, were not a race of *tradesmen meek*, but were ready to take up arms in defence of their rights, and likely enough to have furnished their proportion of the conquerors at Cressy and Poitiers. Thomas lord Berkeley himself, although he sometimes felt the inconvenience of this spirit, yet contributed to maintain it. He frequently went (according to the custom of the age) to different parts of England to tilts and tournaments, and the accounts of his expences on these occasions are still to be found in the records of the Castle. One of them copied by Smythe p' 284 is as follows; *In dono d'ni armigeris suis pro hastiludio apud Bristoll'* 26*s*, 8*d*: that is, "My Lord's gift to his esquires for a tournament at Bristol, 28*s*, 8*d*." In the tumults above-mentioned the ringing of the common bell was in the true style of republican array; thus the Florentines (*r*) threatened the French King Charles VIII with the ringing of their bells; and John Basilowitz carried away the great bell of Novogorod, which he called *the trumpet of insurrection*. These tumults in Bristol were not the efforts of an unauthorized mob; the

(*p*) Smythe here quotes *Pat'* 4 *Edw' III, pars* 1 *in dorso*.

(*q*) He quotes *Pat'* 4 *Edw' III, in dorso*.

(*r*) Guicard' 1, ad fin'.

burgesses were called together by the Mayor and Bailiffs, marshalled no doubt at the Guildhall and armed from the Armory there, and headed by those magistrates themselves. They aimed to conquer Redcliffe into incorporation by force of arms: and they seem in a great measure to have attained their purpose. Lord Berkeley indeed questioned, or was about to question, the right of the Mayor and burgesses to hold a court-leet, having observed that they had no grant to that effect in any of their charters: whereupon the burgesses petitioned the King for a renewal of their charter, and that their right to hold a leet in the town and *suburbs* might be expressly mentioned therein; (*s*) asserting that they had enjoyed this right from time immemorial, but having no written warrant for the same were now afraid of being molested and even impeached for it. The King therefore appointed two commissioners to inquire into the matter; who having satisfied themselves of the truth of the burgesses' assertion returned their inquisition into Chancery, and according to the petition of the burgesses the charter 5 Edw' III 1331 was granted, wherein the right of holding Court-leet or View of frank-pledge is specially confirmed. Smythe's words are these immediately following the last quotation in the preceding §. "What became further hereof I know not: save that the 26*th* of Dec' following the Maior and cominalty exhibited a petition to the King to have the grant of a Leet in express words within their borough, wherein, it seems, this Lord had found them defective; which in the year following they obtained for the fine of forty pounds; taking the advantage of time, whiles the said lord was in trouble about the murder of king Edward II in his castle of Berkeley."

§ 5. And now in order to avoid any further interruption of the narrative, I shall here bring together all that was afterward done by either party concerning the jurisdiction of Redcliffe, at what time soever it occurred. Thomas lord Berkeley, notwithstanding the privilege of court-leet granted or confirmed to the Mayor and burgesses, as mentioned in the last §, would by no means relinquish his own right, or acknowledge that of his adversaries. The year-book (*t*) contains a claim which he made A' D' 1333-4, which I have here translated, as far as I understand

(*s*) See Charters of Bristol, p' 33. (*t*) Hil' term' 8 Edw' III, No' 29.

it. "Thomas del Berklegh brought his writ d'eschete against one William ——, and demanded a messuage in the suburb of Bristoit, and said that it was his right, and ought to be his eschete, forasmuch as one Robert le Lardiner held that messuage of him by certain services, and said that the messuage ought to revert to him, as his eschete, because that the said Robert committed felony, for which he forswore the kingdom. And upon this comes the Bailly of the town of Bristoit, and demanded the cognizance of the plea, and produced the charter of the King &c, which expressed that he had granted to the Maire and bayliffes cognizance of all manner of pleas: upon which a day was given to the parties in the court of Bristoit. Et al jour que il avoit illonque, le Tenant vouche un forrein au garrant; per que le Demandant suist un resommons hors de cies, et Briefe issist de summoner le Vouchee, que vient ore a cestuy jour, et garranta. Sur ceo vient *Stouff* et dit &c. Then follow the arguments at some length.

§ 6. The following (*t*) quotation contains another claim of the same kind. "Because the land is long since departed from this family, I omit the mentioning of a tedious suit, which this Lord had against John Fraunces in the suburbs of Bristol; which he claimed as an escheat for the felony of John Tavernor, who had abjured the land: wherein for justice this lord petitioned the Parliament" John Tavernor who possessed the land in Redcliffe here mentioned, has been already described as a person of some consequence, a leader of the burgesses in the Great Insurrection, and forced to renounce his country on that account. The Francis's too were a family of good reputation, living in St Mary Redcliffe parish: Everard le Frauncis was Mayor in this very year 14 Edw' III, 1340, and John Francis, the person who held the land, had been Mayor more than once. Lord Berkeley claimed the land as an escheat, having (it is to be presumed) a grant of escheats from the Crown: on what pretence John Francis claimed it, we are not informed: it may have been, as the heir or assignee; or perhaps officially, as an escheat due to the Mayor, burgesses and commonalty of Bristow.—In the year 1342 a burgess of Bristol, one John Neel, who was one of the bailiffs of the town some few years after, seized and carried away some of Lord

(*t*) Smith p' 290. He quotes for proof *Claus'* 14 *Edw' III dorso.*

Berkeley's property at Bedminster. It seems that this was done judicially in the execution of some process from one of the courts in Bristol, whose authority lord Berkeley denied. Smythe's words are these: "In the (*u*) 16*th* of this King, John Neel of Bristol and others tooke away a hundred pounds worth of this Lord's goods at Bedminster under the King's protection, as he suggested, and beat and imprisoned his man *Wodesend*, then in defence thereof, whereby he lost his service contrary to the King's protection. Whereupon issued a commission to hear and determine the same; wherein I conceive he sped the better, because it was directed to John Fitz-Nicholl, his next neighbour, and other of his approved frends." How this particular dispute terminated, we are not informed: it is however probable, that the influence of the town of Bristol continued to prevail over the controverted jurisdiction of Redcliffe; until at length the Charter of 1373 granted by king Edward III, whereby the town and suburbs were erected into a separate county, with county courts and officers of it's own, put a final period to lord Berkeley's claims.

§ 7. The burgesses of Bristow were likewise engaged in a similar controversy with the Lords of Temple Fee. This was a part of the manor of Bedminster, or a separate manor subordinate to it, containing the same space as the present parish of Temple. Lord Berkeley gave it as a manor, separate from Bedminster and Redcliffe, to the Knights Templars; who there exercised manorial rights, as the Consul of Glocester and Robert Fitzharding had done before: but the burgesses of Bristow considered it as a suburb of their town, and endeavoured to overthrow it's separate jurisdiction. The Templars probably obtained this estate about A' D' 1200, it could not have been much before that time: and the following (*v*) document is the first, which occurs on this subject. "*Adhuc Bristoll. A' D'* 1304, 33 *Edw' I. Ad petitionem &c.* To the petition of the same Mayor and burgesses of Bristoll, petitioning that the men, who held the lands and rents of the Master and brethren of the Temple in the vill of Bristoll, may be tallaged and make their contribution to the King's talliage of the same vill with the burgesses of"

(*u*) Smythe, p' 290. (*v*) Translated from the Rolls of Parliament, Vol' 1, p' 168.

"the same; inasmuch as [*desicut*] they trade and have used all other liberties and aisements, which belong to the same vill. etc'; This answer is given: let them be distrained for making contributions and tallages, and let justice be done to the Complainants: and for this purpose let a Writ of Chancery be had by the Mayor and bailiffs of Bristoll etc'." This petition was made only eight years before the dissolution of the Order of Templars. In the 19 Edw' II, that is, from July A' D' 1325 to July 1326, a further attempt was made to bring Temple-fee within the jurisdiction of the town of Bristow and the Sheriff of Gloucestershire. We learn this from the Rolls of Parliament, Vol' I, p' 434; where is a paper in Norman French, which may be thus translated. "To our lord the King and his Council the Meire and Commonalty of Bristuyt shew; that whereas the aforesaid town and the suburb of the same is within the county of Gloucester, and is obedient [entendaunt] to the Sheriff of the same county, except parcel of a street called Temple-street, which is within the walls, and the [inhabitants] of the said street burgesses of the said town of Bristuit; which street is obedient [*entendaunt*] to the Sheriff of Somerset: therefore when our lord the King commands the Sheriff of Gloucestershire to make his executions, the people of the town of Bristuit cause their goods and chattels to be removed to the said Temple-street, which is in the county of Somerset; so that neither the Sheriff of Glouc' nor the bailiffs of the said town are able to make execution of the mandates of our lord the King; to the great damage of the King and of all the Commonalty. Wherefore the said Meire and Commonalty pray our lord the King, that he would please to grant them, that the said street may be obedient and respondent in all cases, there where the other people of the said town of Bristuit are respondent and no where else, so as at any time the progenitors of our lord the King granted by their charter, that Radeclyve-street should be obedient to the said town by the same [par mesme l' enchesun], as in their charter is more fully contained."—The King's answer is in Latin, thus translated. "Let John de Stonore, John de Clyveden, John de Anesley, or any two of them, so that John de Stonor be one, be assigned to inquire in presence of the Sheriffs of Somerset and Glouc' and of the men of Temple-street, of what damage to the King it may be, if the King should grant the con-"

"tents of the petition."—After the dissolution of the Templars in 1312, the manor of Temple-fee was granted to the knights of St John of Jerusalem; who maintained some kind of manorial jurisdiction, until their dissolution at the Reformation; for our Calendars say that "Temple fee was broken A' D' 1543 and incorporated in the city of Bristol."

§ 8. In the year 1336 the King being about to make his fourth and last expedition into Scotland, "the (*w*) county of Gloucester sends thither 2500 soldiers, beside the townes of Gloucester and Bristol."

§ 9. 'The (*x*) merchants of Gascoigne A' D' 1334, 8 Edw' III complained to the King in Parliament, that although they had a charter of protection from Edw' I, confirmed by Edw' II and by the present King, yet great grievances and hardships were put upon them in many parts of England, particularly in the towns of London and Bristowe: and unless such grievances be remedied, they shall not be able any other year to come with their wines and merchandizes into England. They therefore pray, that the King will send a Serjeant of arms to London, Bristowe and other places, and cause proclamation to be made, that these merchants are under his protection, and that these outrages shall be discontinued or the offenders punished.'

§ 10. 'About (*y*) this time king Edward III granted to the town of Bristol by letter patent an Aid, for the purpose of repairing the walls and the kaye; to be collected from all ships and boats laden with merchandize, from some one penny each, and from others two pence; which Aid was to continue for six years. Whereupon one Philip de Whitton procured a charter from the King, whereby he was appointed to the office of Kayage during his life, with a profit or salary out of the above duties: which office the King supposed to be perpetual. Upon which the Maire and Bailiffs of Bristuyt presented a petition in 21 or 22 Edw' III [A' D' 1347 or 8], representing the affair to the King, and praying him to annul the charter granted to William Whitton.

(*w*) Smythe, p' 274, who quotes *Scotia* 10 *Edw' III, m'* 5. The number seems excessive.
(*x*) Rolls of Parl' 2, 74.
(*y*) Rolls of Parl' Vol' 2, p' 212

§ 11. Under the (*z*) 12 Edw' III is found an order for victualling the castle of Bristoll. There does not appear in the state of the town, any particular reason for this order; it contains perhaps only regulations for the manner of furnishing provisions: or possibly it may be an error for 12 *Edw' II.*

§ 12. About this time the woollen trade occupied much attention in Parliament. It is well known, that English wool at that time was superior to most, and that the Flemish cloth was chiefly made of it. It was of such great value and general acceptance, that it had a currency, as money. 'In 15 Edw' III the Parliament granted the King toward the war with France an aid of 30,000 sacks of wool. The particular quantities apportioned to each county are enumerated in the Rolls (*a*) of Parliament: of towns there are only the following; Bristol, rated at 63½ bags, 4 stone, 10¼ *lb:* London, at 503 bags, 3 quarters, 10 stone, and 10¾ *lb:* York, 49½ bags: Newcastle, 73¼ bags, 2 stones, 3¾ *lb:*' The woollen manufacture appears to have been carried on with some success in (*b*) the reigns of Henry II and Rich' I; but afterwards to have been wholly lost by the English, who purchased their cloth from foreigners, particularly from the Flemings. In the year 1331 the manufacture was revived in England by persons who came from Flanders, and many workmen (*c*) were invited over from thence. In 1337 it was enacted in Parliament, that no English wool should be exported, and that cloth-workers should be permitted to settle in England, from whatever country they might come. And at the same time it was ordained that none should wear cloaths made beyond sea, but the King, the Queen and other privileged persons. It was no doubt in consequence of these regulations, that about 1340 Thomas Blanket (who is set down in the Calendar as one of the Baillies of Bristol in 1342) and some other inhabitants of this town set up looms in their own houses. On this account they were

(*z*) De victualibus providendis pro Castro. *Rot' Miscell'* 12 Edw' III, p' 2, m' 8.

(*a*) Rolls of Parl' Vol' 2, p' 131. (*b*) Sir Matth' Hale ap' Lyttelton, Vol' 3, p' 76.

(*c*) See Rymer IV, 496, and 723, and 751.

favoured by the King; and when the town levied a rate on them for the making and setting up of their machines, the King by the following letter relieved the young manufacturers from this impolitic burden. "*Rex Majori & Ballivis ville sue Bristoll' Sal'm. Cum nuper &c.* Whereas lately with the assent of the prelates, earls, barons, and others being at our parliament then assembled at Westminster, it was ordained and agreed, that wool should be made into cloths within our kingdom, and that all those who were willing to make and work cloths of this kind, should be enabled to make them in all places of the kingdom without any kind of hindrance; and whereas now we have heard on the part of Thomas Blanket and others, burgesses of the said town, that whereas they by favor of the aforesaid agreement and ordinance and of a proclamation made thereupon on our part (as it is said) have caused various machines for weaving and making cloths of this sort to be made in their own houses, and have hired weavers and other workmen for this purpose: but that you, not considering the premises, exact divers sums of money from the said Thomas and the others, on account of the making and setting up (levationis) the aforesaid machines, and that you trouble and aggrieve them in various ways on that account, unjustly, as they assert, to the no small expence of Thomas and the others, and contrary to the ordinance, agreement, and proclamation aforesaid; whereupon they have petitioned us, that a suitable remedy in this respect may be provided for them by us; We considering that the said ordinance, agreement, and proclamation, if they should be holden and observed in our kingdom, may turn out to the great advantage of us and of all the people of our kingdom, and being willing that the said Thomas and the others who have chosen to work and make cloths of this sort, and also the workmen, should be protected and defended from injuries and improper exactions on that account, Order you, that you permit the said Thomas and the others who are willing to make cloths of this kind to cause machines to be erected in their own houses at their choice for the weaving and making cloths of this kind, and to have and hold those workmen in the same place, without making on that account any hindrance, or reproach [*calumniâ*] or undue exaction: not molesting or aggrieving them in"

"any respect contrary to the form of the aforesaid ordinance, agreement, and proclamation. Provided always, that the Customs and other profits due to us from such cloths, if there be any, shall be paid to our use, as is proper. Witness the Regent [*Custode*] of England at Langele xxv day of Nov'." From the Rot' Claus' 13 Edw' III, pars 3, m' 11. Printed in the Rolls of Parl', Vol' 2, p' 449; and in Rymer 5, 137.

§ 13. A staple was a mart or market, where the buying and selling of wool and other staple-commodities were in that age exclusively permitted. In A' D' 1348 the staple of tin, lead, feathers, and woollen cloths and other cloths of worsted made in England and to be exported, was settled (*d*) at Calais and no where else for seven years; and this was done, as the record says, for the benefit of Calais lately conquered. It seems that this grant was revoked: for we find soon after the staple at Bruges in Flanders: but the Flemings beginning to detach themselves from their connection with England, and their young earl Lewis refusing to marry the daughter of Edw' III, the King took away the staple from thence, and in 1353 it was settled by Parliament in English towns, at Westminster, Canterbury, Chichester, Bristol, Lincoln, Hull and Calais; from which places only staple commodities might be exported. Bree's account (*e*) of this affair is more explicit. He says that the Parliament in 27 Edw' III, A' D' 1353, "fixed the staple of wool, woolfells, leather and lead, to be kept at the following places, Newcastle, York, Lincoln, Carlisle, Norwich, Westminster, Canterbury, Chichester, Winchester. Exeter and Bristol; and for Wales at Carmarthen; and for Ireland at Dublin, Waterford, Cork and Drogheda; to be weighed and sealed by the Mayor of the staple, and shipped at the following ports; from York at Hull; from Lincoln at Boston &c; and from the ports themselves of Newcastle, Chichester, Exeter, Bristol, Caermarthen &c." From these beginnings the woollen manufactory in Bristol was carried on to a great extent; it was the favourite employment, and a principal source of wealth.

(*d*) Rymer, 5, 618.

(*e*) Cursory Sketch, p' 261, copied by him from the Brit' Museum.

One of our streets is called Tucker-street [*vicus fullonum*], and no reason can be assigned for the name, but that it was wholly inhabited by tuckers or fullers: a large open space in two different parts of the town is called *the Rackay;* and a part of High-street was called *the Drapery;* and many sums of money were formerly bequeathed to the Corporation of the city, for the purpose of being lent to young clothiers free of interest. In the 50 Edw' III, (*f*) the citizens of Bath, who likewise applied themselves to the same occupation, complained that the people of Bristol took an unfair advantage of them, being jealous of them, as rival manufacturers; and they procured an order whereby the Bristol men were prohibited from holding their fair on the same day whereon they of Bath held Berton fair. Even so late as the time of Henry VIII, the poet Skelton (*g*) describing a gay dress, says *her kyrtle was of Bristowe red.* This trade however has wholly quitted Bristol time out of mind; and from hence it probably retreated to the hill-country of Gloucestershire, where amid rural scenes of singular beauty by a number of opulent and liberal manufacturers it is still carried on extensively and successfully.

§ 14. "May 20 in this same year [17 Edw' III i' e' A' D' 1343] the King giveth this Sir Maurice de Berkeley for his good service two (*h*) hogsheads of wine yearly for his life out of the port of Bristol; and a warrant to his officers there to deliver them accordingly."

§ 14.*b*. King Edward being resolved to carry on war against Philip King of France, sent the Earl of Derby with a good body of troops in the spring of 1345 to begin the war in Guienne; he himself remaining until next year to compleat his preparations. For this war men were raised in Bristow and it's neighborhood. Smith of Berkeley writes p' 279, that "in 18 Edw' III [1344] Thomas Lord Berkeley with Thomas de Bradstone and Symon Basset, then Sheriff and Eschaetor, were authorized first to arm 222 men, and after 400 more, out of the county of Gloucester and Bristol, to be conducted whither this lord or Thomas de Bradstone should direct." The battle of Cressy was fought Aug' 26, 1346.

(*f*) Warner's Hist' of Bath, p' 174, from Cotton's Records, p' 133. See below § 36.

(*g*) Quoted in Strut' Dresses, Vol' 2,

(*h*) Smythe, who quotes Claus' 17 Edw' III, pars 2, m' 4.

§ 15. Under the year 1345, the following notice (*i*) occurs "William de Colford, then Recorder of Bristol at the request of the Commonalty drew up the ordinances, customs and liberties of the town, and recorded them in writing together with the by-laws and other memorable things for a perpetual remembrance: and the Mayor calling to his assistance 48 of the more powerful and principal citizens, as Roger Turtle, Robert Gyen &c, they agreed on many useful laws and ordinances, which were confirmed by the Charter obtained of Edw' III dated the 16 Oct' in the 5 year of his reign, including those of Henry III, Edw' II, and John, earl of Morton." There is a palpable error in the date of the charter here quoted: ordinances made in 1345 could not be confirmed in 1331; but they were actually confirmed by the charter (*j*) of 47 Edw' III, 1373, which is the charter here intended: this correction being made, the information contained in the paragraph is valuable; for it proves that 48 of the principal persons in Bristol had formed *themselves* into a Common-Council 28 years before it was established by charter in 1373. The reader may remember that the same thing was attempted (*k*) at the time of the Great Insurrection in 1312. The remainder of the passage copied last is as follows. "Among many regulations then made, it was ordered, that no leprous man stay within the precincts of the town, nor any common woman remain within it's walls; and if such women be found residing there, then the doors and windows of the houses shall be unhung, and carried by the serjeants of the Mayor to the house of the constable of the ward, and there be kept, till the women be removed.—That no w—e should ever appear in the streets, or even within the barrs in St James's without their head covered [*capite stragulato*]." We find from William Worcester, (*l*) that in his time 1480, there was still a great resort of such women at the Barrs of St James, now Barr's lane.

§ 16. At the time of Edw' III's war with France, the King's ships were few: it was therefore necessary to press merchant ships, when war broke out. Toward the great armament lately mentioned in 20

(*i*) Barrett, p' 675: but he does not quote his authority.
(*j*) Vide Charters of Bristol. p' 39.
(*k*) See above Chapt' XIV, § 11.
(*l*) W' W' Itin' pp' 168, 214, 236.

Edw' III, the ports of London and Bristow make but an indifferent figure in contributing ships, as appears from the following (*m*) list.

	Ships.	*Mariners.*
The King's	25	
London	22	662
Sandwich	22	504
Winchelsea	21	396
Weymouth	15	263
Exmouth	10	193
Dartmouth	32	756
Portsmouth	5	96
Plymouth	26	603
Looe	20	315
Foway	47	770
Southampton	21	576
Ilfercomb	6	79
Kerdiff	1	51
Bridgewater	1	15
Caermarthen	1	16
Newcastle	27	314
Hull	16	466
York	1	9
Yarmouth	43	1950
Boston	17	361
Ireland	1	184
And Bristoll	22	608

And not men only, but money also was required from Bristol and it's neighbourhood for the purposes of the war. "In the 19*th* of Edw' III [1345], says Smythe, (*n*) the King directed forth his Commissions to this Lord and others to enquire by oath what each man's estate in lands was in the county of Gloucester and Bristol, from 5 *li* to 1000 *li*." The historian supposes that lord Berkeley was slow in executing this Commission, because some of the returns are still left in Berkeley castle; probably considering them to be illegal and of bad precedent.

§ 17. In the year 1347 the King granted a new charter to the burgesses of Bristow, empowering them to have a prison for the immediate punishment of offenders; and also empowering them to punish bakers, who should break the assize of bread. (*o*)

§ 18. Many examples have been given of the tumultuous spirit of the Commons in that age. This was not confined to Bristol; it arose to a dangerous height in the neighbouring counties also, and Thomas lord Berkeley seems to have had special commissions in 1347 and 1349 for the suppression of such violences. Again I quote the words of Smythe of Berkeley, who alone (*p*) mentions the circumstance. "The employ-"

(*m*) Extracted from Bree's Cursory Sketch, p' 332, copied by him from the Brit' Mus'.

(*n*) P' 298.

(*o*) See the Charters of Bristol, p' 36.

(*p*) He quotes for authority *Pat'* 23 *Edw' III, pars* 3 *in dorso.—Claus'* 21 *Edw' III, pars* 2 *in dorso.—Pat'* 21 *Edw' III, pars* 2 *in dorso.*

" ments of this lord Thomas in delivering the goals &c &c gave him in this summer no manner of rest: wherein none proved more troublesome, than the appeasing and punishing of a very great assembly of most riotous and rebellious persons of the counties of Gloucester, Somerset and Bristol, (*q*) who had (as the Record speaks) taken upon them regal power, and chosen a captain in the nature of a king to govern them: and after proclamations by them made had entered upon divers ships laden with corn and other provisions ready to go by the King's command into Gascoigne; and by violence had taken the same away, and had beaten and wounded divers of the mariners."

§ 19. Historians represent the state of England at this time as prosperous in the highest degree; populous, wealthy and luxurious at home, victorious and respected abroad. In the midst of this prosperity there fell upon the nation the most mortal pestilence, which the Almighty ever suffered to afflict the world, before or since. It first appeared in the most eastern part of Asia in 1346, from whence it travelled westward and regularly swept the whole face of the globe. It arrived on the coast of Dorsetshire in the summer of 1349, and continued in England more than a year, during which time it is supposed that one half of the inhabitants died of it, and in some places, London for example, scarce a tenth part was left alive. One of our Calendars has the following words. " 1348. The plague raged to such a degree in Bristol, that the living were scarcely able to bury the dead. The Gloucestershire men would not suffer the Bristow men to have any access to them. At last it reached Gloucester, Oxford and London: scarce the tenth person was left alive male or female. The church-yards were not large enough to bury the dead, and other places were appointed. At this period the grass grew several inches high in High-street and Broad-street; it raged at first chiefly in the center of the city. This pestilence came from abroad, and the people near the sea-coast in Dorsetshire and Devonshire were first affected."

(*q*) Libertates pro burgens' Bristoll'. *In dorso* De inquirendo de certis malefactoribus in villâ B', qui super se assumpserunt regiam potestatem, eligentes inter se unum capitaneum, tanquam regem suum, ac proclamationes facientes &c. Rot' Pat' 21 Edw' III, m' 32.

§ 20. One of our (*r*) historians gives the following account of this dreadful visitation of Providence. "This year, 1348, and the following there was a general mortality of men through the whole world. It first began in India, then it came to Tharsis [Tarsus], then to the Saracens, and lastly to the Christians and the Jews; so that in the space of one year, i' e' from Easter to Easter, as the report prevailed in the court of Rome, there died nearly by a sudden death in those remote regions eight thousand legions [eight millions] of persons beside Christians. - - - There died at Avignon [which was at that time the residence of the Popes] in one day 1312 persons according to a computation made before the Pope; and another day there died more than 400 persons. Of the Friers Preachers in Provence there died 358 in Lent; and at Montpelers out of 140 friers, there remained only 7. At Magdalene out of 160 there remained only 7 friers, and yet there were (*s*) enough. At Marseilles out of 160 and 10 friers minors, there did not remain a single one who might inform the rest; which was well. Of the Carmelites there died at Avignon 66, before the citizens discovered what had happened, for they thought that they had killed each other. Of the Hermits of England there did not remain one at Avignon: and no matter. At the same time the same plague prevailed in England, beginning in autumn at some places, and running through the country it ceased at the same time next year. - - - - This grievous plague entered the maritime parts of the country by Southampton and came to Bristol, and there died in a manner the whole strength of the town [*quasi tota valitudo villæ*] seized as it were by a sudden death; for there were few, who kept their bed more than 3 or 2 days or half a day: afterwards cruel death itself broke out all around them according to the course of the Sun. There died at Leycester in the little parish of St Leonard more than 380: in the parish of St Cross more than 400; and in the parish of St Margaret at Leycester more than 700; and so in every parish in great multitudes. Then the bishop of Lincoln sent through the whole diocese, and gave general power to all priests regular and secular to hear confessions &c." - - - -

(*r*) Knyghton.

(*t*) These sneers at the friers proceed, it must be recollected, from Knyghton, a Canon Regular, who of course hated them.

§ 21. "In the same year was a great murrain of sheep in every part of the kingdom, so that in one place there died in one pasture more than 5000 sheep; and they putrified to such a degree, that neither bird nor beast would touch them. And the price of all things was very low through the fear of death; for there were very few, who took any care of their wealth or of any thing: for a man might have a horse, which before was worth 40 *s* for half a mark; a large fat ox for 4 *s*; a cow for 12 *d*; a heifer for 6 *d*; a fat wether for 4 *d*; a sheep for 3 *d*; a lamb for 2 *d*; a large hog for 5 *d*; a stone of wool for 9 *d*. And the sheep and oxen wandered about the fields and among the corn; and there was no one, who would drive them away or collect them, but they died in numbers incalculable in ditches and hedges apart from public ways, in all parts of the country, for want of some one to take care of them; because there was so great a want of slaves and servants, that there was no one who knew what to do: for there was no memorial of so severe and cruel a mortality since the time of Vortigern king of the Britons, in whose time, as Bede testifies in his book *Concerning the transactions of the Britons*, the living were not sufficient to bury the dead. In the following autumn a person could not have a mower for less than 8 *d* with his food, nor a reaper for less than 12 *d* with his food: for which reason much corn perished in the fields for want of a collector, whereas in the year of pestilence, as was said above concerning other things, there was such an abundance of all kinds of corn, that no one much cared for it."- - -

§ 22. "At the same time there was a great want of priests every where, so that many churches were without them, having no divine duties, as masses, matins, vespers, sacraments and sacramentals. A man could scarce have a chaplain for less than 10 *li* or 10 marcs to serve any church. And whereas before the pestilence, when there was plenty of priests, a man might have a chaplain for 5 or 4 marks or for 2 marks with his board, at this time there was scarce any one who would accept a vicarage at 20 *li* or 20 marcs. But after a short time a great multitude of persons flocked into holy Orders, whose wives had died in the pestilence, of whom many being illiterate, and as it were mere laymen, knew"

"only so far as to read the services in some way, although not to understand them. Ox-hides were sold at a very low price, viz at 12*d*: and a pair of slippers at 10*d* or 12*d* or 14*d*; and a pair of boots at 3*s* or 4*s*. Meanwhile the King sent orders into each county, that the reapers and other workmen should not take more than they used to take under penalty limited in the statute; and hence he made the statute anew [*& ex hoc innovavit statutum*]. But the workmen were so elated and prone to opposition [*contrariosi*], that they disregarded the King's mandate: and if any one chose to have them, he was forced to give them according to their demand; and either to lose his fruits and his corn, or to satisfy to the full the proud and avaricious will of the workmen. When the King was informed that they had not observed his mandate, and had given larger wages to the workmen, he levied grievous fines on the Abbats, Priors, and the great and less knights [*militibus*] and on other persons of the country greater and less; on some 100*s*, some 40*s*, and on some 20*s*, on each according to his ability: and he took from every carucate throughout the kingdom 20*s*; and a fifteenth nevertheless. After this the King caused as many workmen as he could to be arrested, and put them in prison: and many such withdrew themselves, and went away into woods and thickets for a time, and those who were taken were grievously amerced: and the better sort [*majores*] were sworn, that they would not take for wages beyond the usual custom, and then they were released from prison. And the same thing was done to other artificers in burghs and towns." - - - -

§ 23. "After the aforesaid pestilence many buildings larger and smaller in all cities, burghs and towns fell to the ground intirely ruined for want of inhabitants: in like manner many villages and hamlets were desolate without a house being left in them, all those who dwelt therein being dead; and it was probable that many such villages would never be inhabited for ever. In the following winter there was such a want of servants, as never was before: for beasts and all kinds of cattle wandered about without a shepherd, and every thing that a man had was without a keeper. And in consequence all necessaries became so dear, that what was worth one penny in former times, was now worth 4*d* or 5*d*. The"

"great men of the realm, and all the lesser lords who had tenants, were forced to remit rent after rent, lest the tenants should go away through want of servants and the scarcity of every thing. Some remitted half the rent, some more and some less, some for two years, and some for three, and some for one, as they could agree with them. In like manner they who received from their tenants by day's work during the year [*per dietas tocius anni*] as is usual with neifs [*de nativis*], were obliged to remit and give up such works, and either intirely to excuse them or to put them in a lighter form by a small rent, lest there should be a great and irrecoverable ruin of the houses, and lest the land should every where remain totally uncultivated."

§ 24. In the year 1356, (*d*) the King wishing to consult the merchants of England on certain affairs which much concerned the interests of the realm, directed letters, dated at Westm' June 8, to about 180 persons of this description, requiring their attendance on the Sunday following June 24. Among them letters were directed to Walter de Frompton, Richard le Spicer, John de Wycombe, Robert Cheddre, Robert Beauflour, Edward [probably *Edmund*] Blanket, Thomas Blanket, and John Cobyndon. All these are said to be *de Bristoll'*, and the names of most of them will be found in the list of our Magistrates: Ralph de Derby, another of the persons sent for, was also probably of Bristol.

§ 25. In the year 1361 the state of Ireland was so dangerous and alarming that the King summoned all noblemen, countesses, abbots, priors, and clergymen in England, who had lands in Ireland, to appear before him and his council, to advise with him concerning the defence of Ireland. Several of these writs are given by (*e*) Prynne; among them is one to the Abbat of St Augustine, although it does not appear that this abbey ever had lands in Ireland. The substance of it is as follows. The King to his beloved in Christ the Abbat of St Augustine of Bristoll, health. Whereas our land of Ireland by the incursions of our Irish enemies and the weakness of the faithful inhabitants, and because the"

(*d*) From the Rolls of Parliament, *probably*.

(*e*) 4 Instit' p' 297.

"magnates of our kingdom of England, who have lands there, derive a benefit from it, but do not defend it, is subjected to such devastation and destruction, as to be in danger of utter ruin; we have therefore ordered that our son Lionell, earl of Ulster, shall pass over to Ireland with a large army, and that all the magnates and others of England who have lands in Ireland shall go over with as great a power as possible in his company; or if they are weak of body, that they send sufficient persons in their stead, for the defeat of our enemies, the preservation of their own lands, and the succour of Ireland. And for expediting this affair, we wish to hold a conference with you and others, who have lands in Ireland. We therefore command you, that you be personally at Westminster in the three weeks of Easter next; or if you cannot conveniently be there personally, that you send a person or persons in whom you confide, to confer with us at our Council; and mean time that you provide your men as gallantly as possible for arms; so that our son's progress may not be retarded by your fault, nor Ireland be subjected to the danger of being lost. And this, as you love us and our honour and the preservation and defence of that country, by no means omit. Witness the King at Westm' March 15.

§26. In the Parliament holden at Westm' 36 Edw' III, A' D' 1362, great (*f*) complaint was made by the Commons that wine and other victuals in London, Everwyk [York] Brustuyt, Hull, St Botolph [Boston] and all other cities, boroughs and towns in the kingdom were become exceedingly dear to the great damage of the people, and contrary to the form of the statutes and ordinances made thereupon: and the Commons pray that those statutes and ordinances may be put in force.

§27. Queen Philippa died Aug' 15, 1369, universally regretted. Her death is mentioned here, because it appears from the lease translated below, that the town of Bristol and it's profits had been settled on her, probably soon after her marriage in Jan' 1328; but the exact date of the settlement I have not yet observed; and it appears that she let the same to farm to the Mayor, Burgesses and Commonalty. Soon after her

(*f*) Rolls of Parliament, Vol' 2.

death, that is 45 Edw' III, in 1371, Bristol being in the King's own hands, he let it for one year to two of the townsmen at a rent of 100 *l*; besides which the farmers were to satisfy a variety of claims. The record contains some curious particulars; and I have therefore translated it from Madox's F' Burgi, p' 262. "*De villâ Bristolliæ ad firmam dimissâ.* The King to all &c health. Know ye, that by the manucaption [suretiship] of Richard Bronderer of London and Walter Broun of the county of Somerset, we have granted and let to farm our town of Bristol to our beloved Walter de Derby of Bristol and Henry Derneford of Bristol; TO BE HOLDEN to farm from Michaelmas day last past to Michaelmas day next following, that is, for one year; with the houses, shops, cottages, selds, tofts, gardens, mills, ponds, tine of the castle, landgables, rents, tolls, pleas of courts, fair of market [*feria de mercato*], customs [*consuetudinibus*], and all other rights anywise pertaining to the said town and suburbs of the same, in the same manner as the Mayor and Commonalty of the town of Bristol held the said town from the grant of Philippa, late queen of England; the garden below the castle, and the garden towards Berton only excepted: SAVING always to ourselves in the aforesaid town all royal liberties, which do not concur in extent [*quæ in extenta non concurrunt*], and also the prerogatives and all other liberties belonging of ancient time to our castle of Bristol: saving also to our constable of the said castle the grinding of corn for his own table and that of his family and of the garrison [*garnesturæ*] in the said castle at the mills of the same town, quit of toll to be paid from thence. PAYING thence to us for the said year 100 *l* at Easter and Michaelmas terms by equal portions. AND WE will also that, as often as the ponds of the said mills want repairing or amending, the said Walter de Derby and Henry may dig the ground for the mending of the same in any proper place upon our soil to be appointed for them by the steward [*senescallum*] of our lands: AND THAT the same Walter de Derby and Henry during the same year shall pay to the Constable of the said castle for the time being 20 *l* a year for his wages for the custody of the said castle; and every day 2 *d* for the wages of the porter of the same castle; and every day 3 *d* for the wages of two watchmen in the same castle, and for the pay of the same watchmen every night one halfpenny; and that they pay"

"these wages from week to week or by the quarter of the year at the choice of the constable of the castle for the time being; and also that they pay for the year aforesaid to the Abbat of Tewkesbury 14 *l*, 10 *s* for the tythes of the town; and to the Prior of St James of Bristol 60 *s* out of the annual rent of the town-mill at the due and accustomed terms; and to the (*g*) maritime keeper of the town 26 *s* and 8 *d* a year for his robe at the usual term; and to the keeper of the forest of Kingswood for the time being for his wages every day $7\frac{1}{2}$ *d*; and that they undertake for us all other burdens and payments of rents and alms, due and accustomed; so that the annual ferm of the said hundred pounds may remain to us entire, without any payment being made from thence to any one on any account during the said year: and that the same Walter de Derby and Henry shall maintain and support during the time aforesaid the houses, edifices, gardens, mills, pools, and all other things, whether named or not named, belonging to the said town, in as good state as they received them; and shall preserve uninjured our liberties and free customs in the said town to the utmost of their power, so that they shall not be lessened by them, and that we shall not in any wise suffer injury or disinheritance in them or any part of them. In witness whereof &c. Witness the King at Westminster the 30*th* day of October."

"And it is ordered to the Mayor and Bailiffs and all the Commonalty of the said city, that they permit Walter de Derby and Henry to have the said city with the houses, shops, cottages, selds, tofts, gardens, mills, pools, tine of the castle, rents, landgables, tolls, pleas of courts, fair of the market, customs and all other rights any how appertaining to the said town and suburbs of the same, and to dispose of them, and to make their own advantage according to the tenor of the aforesaid letter of the King; and that they be asistant and respondent to them Walter Derby and Henry, as to the King's farmers in that place, as often as they shall be required by them or by either of them. In witness whereof"

(*g*) The Latin is *et custodi maritimæ villæ Brist'*. The words of the original are probably all written with contractions, certainly not with *æ* diphthong, which is never used in such writings; I suppose therefore that it ought to be *maritimo*. The officer meant is probably he who was afterwards called *Water-bailiff*.

"&c. Witness as before." 45 Edw' III. The several sums mentioned above are as follow.

	£.	s.	d.
To the King	100	0	0
To the Constable — 20 0 0			
To the Porters and Watchmen — 8 6 10	28	6	10
To the Abbat of Tewkesbury	14	10	0
To the Prior of St James	3	0	0
To the Water-bailiff	1	6	8
To the Keeper of Kingswood	11	7	6
Total	158	11	0

This is a sum far less than that for which the town was (*h*) let in 1225; and I know not how to account for the diminution, but from the effects of the great plague, about 20 years before.

§ 28. In the summer of 1372, 46 Edw' III, the French besieged Thouars a town in Poitou. The importance of the place, on which that whole Province seemed to depend, induced the king of England to make every exertion to relieve it. He collected a large army, and in a very short time he assembled a fleet of 400 sail, larger than what any king of England had ever before commanded, with which he sailed from Sandwich Aug' 31 or the beginning of Sept', accompanied by his sons, the Black Prince, and the duke of Lancaster, intending to land at Rochelle. But the winds proved particularly unfavourable, and after beating about the sea for nearly nine weeks he returned about the beginning of Oct', and Thouars was forced to capitulate. I have before me a (*i*) MS book, written by Will' de Ayremyn, Controller of Accounts, or under his inspection, containing all the payments made by him on account of the war &c for 14 months from Dec' 1, 46 Edw' III (1372) to Jan' 31, 48 Edw' III (1373-4); and if the MS were perfect, the exact number of ships employed by the King in the year 1373 might be ascertained. It appears by this book, that the King had a good number of ships of his own, but the greater part were hired, probably arrested or impressed. There is scarce a port in the kingdom, however small, such as Seton and Mousehole, which did not furnish some; those furnished by London do not equal those from several inferior ports, as e' g' from

(*h*) See Chapt' XII, § 10.

(*i*) Belonging to Ch' Jos' Harford, Esq'.

Dartmouth; unless the London ships were to have been inserted in the blank parts of the MS. Several towns out of the kingdom furnished ships, as Corke and Bayonne; many foreign ships and sailors were also employed, Spanish, Portugueze and Genoese, of the latter some under the command of Antony Daurea [Doria]; and great numbers of Genoese cross-bow-men [*balista de Janua*] were hired on board ship, as well as by land, who seem to have been much esteemed.

§ 29. The following particulars relative to the shipping of that age may be collected from this MS. Not more than two or three of the ships were of so high a burthen as 200 tons [*dolium*], most of them were from 40 to 100. Those of about 100 tons and upwards had an officer called a constable, beside a master. The master and constable had 6*d* a day each, the mariners had 3*d*, and some ships had two or three pages on board, each at 1½*d* a day. The mariners had in some instances rewards [*regardum*] beside their pay. If there were cross-bow-men [*balista*] or archers [*sagittarius*] serving on board, they had 6*d* a day: the men at arms [*homines ad arma*] had 12*d* a day, the armed men [*homines armati*] had 8*d*. Sometimes a ship had a captain [*capitaneus*] to command the fighting men, as well as a master, a constable and mariners. Of these ships some were called barks [*bargea*] and some galleys [*galea*]. Those passages in the MS, which relate to Bristol, are as follow. "Also [paid] to Philip Scorlewe, master of the bark called the George of Bristol, of 90 tons burden, for the wages of himself, of a constable, of 16 men at arms, of 16 archers, of 76 mariners and of one page, (every one taking as before) being upon the sea; and for the reward of the same mariners; from the second day of May in the 47*th* year as far as the first day of June next following for 31 days, each day being reckoned: deducting 12*d* for the wages of one mariner, who was wanting for four days within the same time, 67*l*, 13*s*, 6½*d*. Also [paid] to the same Philip for the wages of himself, of a constable, of 4 men at arms, of 23 archers, and 56 mariners, every one taking as before, being as before; from 2 Aug' in the year 47 to the 21 Sept' next following for 51 days, each day [first and last] being reckoned; and for the reward of the said mariners for the time aforesaid, 84*l*, 3*s*, 6*d*."

§ 30. I subjoin a literal copy of the original thus far, as a specimen of the Latinity of the whole Account-book.

"*Nove Bargee anno xlvij.*

"Et Ph'o Scorlewe mag'ro barg' vocate la George de Bristoll' oneris $\frac{xx}{iiij^{x}}$ dol' p' vadiis suis, unius const', xvj hom' armator', xvj sagitt', lxxvj marin', et unius pagetti, quol't cap' ut supra, existent' sup' mare; ac pro regardo eor'dem marinar', a sec'do die Maij anno xlvij usq' p'mu' diem Jun' p'x' sequ' p' xxxj dies, utroq' die comp'; deduct' xij *d* pro vadiis unius marin' vacantis p' iiij dies infra idem tempus, lxvij *li'*, xiij *s*, vj *d* ob'. Et eidem Ph'o p' vad' suis, unius constabul', iiij homi' armat', xxiij sagitt, et lvj marin', quol't cap' ut supra, existent' ut suprà, a sc'do die Aug' anno xlvij usq' xxj diem Sept' pr' x' sequ' p' lj dies, utroq' die comp'; ac p' regardo d'tor' marin' p' tempus p'dc'm $\frac{xx}{iiij}$ iiij *li*, iij *s*, vj *d*'."

§ 31. I proceed with the translated extracts as before. "To John Davy, master of the Trinity of Bristoll 12 £. To John Piers, master of the Katerine of the same place 6 £. - - - - To Thomas Knappe, master of the Cogge John of Bristoll 10 £. - - - - To Walter Frompton and Elyas Spelly, masters of the James of Bristol 12 £. To John Castell and John Sely, masters of the Godebizete of the same place 10 £. - - - - To John Spelly, master of the Saintmaricog of Bristol 60 *s*. - - - - To John Godefroy, master of the Margaret of Bristol 6 £. - - - - To Walter Herford, master of the Elyanore of Bristol 60 *s*. - - - To Richard Andrewe, master of the Cogg Thomas of Bristol 12 £. - - - To Walter Cogan, master of the Gracedieu of Bristol 13 £, 6 *s*." And nearly the same ships are mentioned a second time. "To John Sloo, owner [*domino*] of the ship called the Margaret of the same town; 24 £. To Roger Gournay, Hugh Fraunceys and John Hardewych, owners of the ship called the Elianore of the same town; 4 £, 11 *s*. To Walter Derby, owner of the ship called the Gracedieu of the same town; 40 £. To Robert Barbour and Simon Pichmaker, owners of a ship called the Cog Thomas of the same town; 20 £. To Walter Frompton and Elijas Spelly, owners of a ship called the James of the same town; 17 £, 10 *s*. To John Castell and John Sely, masters of a ship called the Godbiete of the same town; 10 £, 10 *s*. To John"

"Pyers, John Wygen and Nicholas Phelpes, owners of a ship called the Katerine of the same town: 6£, 13*s*. To John Spelly, owner of a ship called the Seintmaricog of the same town; 105*s*. To Thomas Knapp, owner of a ship called the cog Johan of the same town; 11£, 4*s*. To John Dodyng, John Davy and John Bord, owners of a ship called the Trinite of the same town; 11£, 4*s*."

§32. Some few extracts translated from the above-mentioned MS Account-book, although not all of them particularly relating to Bristol, seem to be sufficiently curious to justify their insertion. "Paid to Rich' Swyft, (*Cursori Recepte Regis*) sent with a letter of privy seal from London to Gravesende directed to John Page, to arrest the ships there and to collect a fleet in the Thames, for his expences 16*d*. Also to John Whytlock sent by our lord the King from Gravesende to Sandewych, to look after 5 Spanish sailors and bring them to London, for his expences for 6 days, 6*s*, 8*d*; by writ of privy seal dated the 1 March, anno 47." --- Many horses were bought at that time for the cross-bow-men; I extract the following specimen. "And for two horses bought, viz one grey and one red [*rubro*], bought for the said cross-bow-men going in the company of the Duke of Lancaster towards the parts of France 42*s*, 8*d*. - - - And for 9 horses bought for the said cross-bow-men, of which 2 are bay, 1 sorell, 2 graye, 1 baustan, 1 dun, 1 white and 1 powys; price 13*l*, 8*d*. - - - For 12 saddles bought for the said horses, price 7*s*, 6*d* a piece, 4*l*, 10*s*. - - - For 60 girths bought for the said saddles 15*s*. And for 10 bridles [*capistris*] bought for the said horses 10*d*. - - - And for the expences of 22 horses staying in London for 6 days, 3*d* for each horse for a day and night 33*s*;" and at Reading, Calais and Sandwich the price is the same. - - - "And for the wages of a man to take care of the said horses in London for 6 days at 6*d* a day 3*s*: and for the wages of a boy [*garcionis*] to take care of the said horses for 6 days, at 4*d* a day, 2*s*. - - - - Also [paid] to John Byker, William Norton, John Trumpe and William Marschall, archers of Exeter, going in the company of the said Andrew and William for carrying 1000 marks, received from the collection of the 15*th* in the county of Somerset, safely and securely to Plimmuth, by the hands of the said William; 26*s*, 8*d*. - - - - And for the hire of the same"

"horse for 16 days at 4*d* per day, 5*s*, 4*d*. - - - And for the hire of two sailors sailing from ship to ship carrying James Lyons, the King's serjeant at arms and Thomas Wetewang, clerk, to arrest all the ships in Kyrkeley rode, [*nottant'*] because the said ships were ready to remove from the said port, for fear of arrest, with the first wind that should blow in their course; 2*s*. Also for a boat [*batello*] from London to Gravesende for Walter Leycestre and Elyas Richards going by Themes to examine the ships arrested, and for wages paid to the same; 3*s*, 4*d*. - - - - Also for the hire of three horses for James Treverbien and for carrying 1000 marks of the King's gold from London to Plymmuth by agreement made in gross, 40*s*. And for the expences of one man taking care of the said horses, taking them and bringing them back to London, 6*s*. And for the passage of the said James and the three horses at Dertmuth, 6*d*. And for the passage of the said James and the three horses at the Catt' near Plimmuth, 10*d*. - - - And for the hire of 3 horses for the same James from Mousehole to Brystoll, 24*s*. And for the hire of 3 horses from Bristoll to Cheppestowe in Wales; and from thence to Haverford by the sea-coast; and from thence returning to Bristol, 30*s*, &c &c."

§ 33. The year 1373 is an era of importance in the civil constitution of our town: Bristow was made a county by itself. It appears that the Mayor and Commonalty had presented a petition to the King setting forth the great inconvenience which they often sustained by being forced to travel to Gloucester and Ilchester through deep and dangerous roads, for the purpose of attending the county courts, and on other legal occasions. Whereupon the Charter (*k*) of Aug' 8, 47 Edw' III [1373] was granted, whereby the town was separated from the counties of Gloucester and Somerset, and itself made a separate county, having the usual officers of a county, Sheriff, Eschaetor, and Coroner: that is, the Mayor was to be the Eschaetor; the Sheriff was created anew; and a Coroner there was already; and the two Bailiffs were left as before. For the appointment of a Sheriff, the burgesses were annually to choose three persons, of whom the King was to nominate one. The Sheriff was to

(*k*) No. XII of the printed Collection.

hold his county court as other sheriffs did; to which all the business of those courts relating to the burgesses and their property was transferred; and very ample jurisdiction civil and criminal was entrusted to the Mayor and Sheriff. It is provided that only two burgesses shall be sent to Parliament, as heretofore; and not two additional for the county. The Mayor was to be sworn into office before his predecessor, and no longer before the Constable of the Castle. And lastly, a Common-council of 40 persons is appointed of the better and more honest men of the town, to be chosen by the Mayor and Sherriff, with the assent of the Commonalty, which Common-council had the power granted them of making bye-laws and of levying taxes on the inhabitants. A more particular account of the powers granted by this charter will be found in that chapter, which treats of *the civil government of the city*. The burgesses paid for this mark of royal favour 600 marks, i' e' 400 *l*; a sum which may be considered as fairly equivalent to 4000 *l* at this present time.

§ 34. The vill of Bristol being thus erected into a county, it became an object of national consequence to ascertain it's boundaries; for which purpose the King sent his Letters patent to the Bishops of Bath and Wells and of Worcester, and to the Abbats of Cirencester and of Glastonbury, and to six of the neighbouring gentry, appointing them commissioners for the purpose of perambulating the bounds and erecting stones of demarcation. On Sept' 30, 1373, six of these commissioners met the Mayor of Bristol, and the sheriffs of Gloucestershire and Somersetshire, at Temple gate, with a jury of twelve men from each of the three counties: with whom and on whose oath the commissioners perambulated the boundaries and fixed the stones; and then returned an account of their proceedings, including the perambulation, into the Court of Chancery. An exemplification (that is, a letter patent containing an official copy) of this perambulation was granted to the Mayor and burgesses Oct' 30, at their request; and on Dec' 20 the whole transaction was ratified by Parliament. The petition to the King in Parliament was as follows. "Plese a (*l*) nre Sr le Roi de sa bone grace especial granter q' vostre graciouse chartre faite a voz liges burgeys de vostre ville de Bristuyt contenant qe la dite ville"

(*l*) Rolls of Parliament, Vol' 2, p' 320.

" ovesque les suburbes et purceinte d'icelle, soit countee par soi, & les franchises par vous grantees as voz ditz burgeys par mesme la chartre soient par vous ratifieez & confermeez en ceste present Parlement; ensemblement ovesque la perambulation ent faite par v're commission, & returne en vostre chancellerie, de la dite purceinte et les boundees d' icelle. Et priont la Com'e qe ceste Bille soit conferme en ceste present Parlement."

" Responsio. Assentuz est & accorde en Parlement q' les Chartre, franchises & perambulation dont ceste bille fait mention, soient ratifiez, approvez & confermez as burgeys de la ville de Bristuyt, & lour heirs & successours, perpetuelment dessoutz le grant seal le Roi." It might have been in commemoration of this event, that the High-cross was erected this year in the middle of the town, where the four streets meet, in the same place where then, or not long before, grew a large tree. The statue of king Edw' III was one of those set up on the cross.

§ 35. " It was (*m*) ordained in the year 1375 or 1376, that the election day for the Mayor, Sheriff and Bailiffs should be on Holy-rood day [Sept' 14]; and that on Michaelmas day following they should take their oath solemnly in the Guildhall, before the whole commonalty; and that in the afternoon all the Council should wait on the Mayor to St Michael's church [in one MS it is *St Nicholas'*] and should there reverently offer to that Saint.

§ 36. ' In the Parliament (*n*) holden at Westm' 50 Edw' III, A' D' 1376, the Commonalty of Bathe represent to the King and Parliament that they have always had time out of mind a market [for cloth] every Saturday from the feast of St Calixtus until Easter [*apres le feste de Seint Calixt tan q' a Pasque floriee*]; and that the Maire and Commonalty of Bristuit have set up at Bristuit, which is only ten leagues from Bathe, another market of the same kind holden at the same time; and have agreed on a penalty to be imposed on any one of their commonalty or of their town, who shall be so bold as to sell any cloth or any other merchandize at the market at Bath; half a mark for selling a whole piece of'

(*m*) All the MS Calendars. (*n*) Rolls of Parliament, Vol' 2, p' 347. See above § 13.

'cloth, 40 pence for half a piece, and so in proportion. They therefore pray the King and Parliament as a work of charity, that they would redress this ill practice [*le dit errour*] and order that every man may come to the market at Bathe and sell his goods without loss or hindrance; considering that the said city is much impoverished, and the country around much injured by this ill practice.' In the same year another complaint was preferred relating to the trade of wool and cloth. 'The (*o*) knights, merchants (and commonalty) of Wiltshire, Bristoll, Somerset' Glouc' and Dorset' and all the Commons of England complain that in those counties they make a woollen thread, called wolyn-yerne or wolyn-zern, [*woollen yarn*] for the purpose of selling; and that it is exported to Normandy and Lombardy to the detriment of the King, who thereby loses his custom on the cloth and the wool, and the said knights, merchants, and commonalty wear unsound cloths [*sont dissuz en draps*] by reason of the difference of the said yarn: and they complain that their servants are unwilling to work at hay-making and harvest, giving as an excuse, that they are occupied in making the said woollen yarn; and by these means their servants become weak in body [*sont le plus fols du corps.*] They therefore petition the King and Parliament that no woollen-yarn shall be sold under penalty of forfeiture, but that it shall all be made into cloth and then sold, and in no other manner. And the King's answer is, that woollen-yarn shall not be suffered to go out of the kingdom.'

§ 37. King Edward III ended his illustrious reign June 21, 1377; and was succeded by his grandson Richard II.

(*o*) Rolls of Parliament, Vol' 2, p' 353.

End of Chapter XV.

CHAPTER XVI.

RICHARD II.

1. *Accession: two Charters granted to Bristol.*—2. *A foreign ship lost in Hungroad.*—3. *The King visits Berkeley.*—4. *He dismisses his favorites.*—5. *Complaint against bad Cloth.*—6. *Complaint of Chepstow against Bristol.*—7. *Bristol exempted from the authority of the Officers of the King's Household.*—8. *The King at Bristol: a trial by Combat.*—9. *King goes to Ireland: the Duke of Lancaster takes Bristol.*—10. *King deposed.*—11 to the end, *Lollard Preachers. Purney preaches in Bristol.*

§ 1. **RICHARD II**, son of the famous Black Prince, succeeded his grandfather, being then not eleven years old.—In the first year of his reign, this King granted a charter of liberties to the burgesses of Bristol, dated Feb' 28, 1377-8. It is merely a confirmation of that, which separates the counties, and of that, which grants the privilege of having a place of confinement. But probably it was by mistake that only those two were confirmed; for which reason another charter was granted only twenty days after the preceding, confirming the charter of 5 Edw' III, which in fact confirms *all* the rest.

§ 2. We learn from an imperfect article in the Rolls of Parlement. that (*p*) in the year 2 Rich' II, A' D' 1378 Paul Odbec, a merchant of Bruges, freighted a ship in Spain and Portugal with wine, to go to Butal kay in the port of Bristuyt, Jacob de Rath being master. The ship was lost in Hungroad; but afterwards it was so far recovered, that it was

(*p*) Vol' 3, p' 54.

taken to Kerlyond en Galys [Caerleon], where some of the wine was saved and conveyed to Brist', and the ship was afterwards sold to Ellis [Elias] Spelly of Bristyit for £30.

§ 3. Early in the year 1387 the King accompanied his favorite Robert de le Vere into Wales, on his way to Ireland; at which time he visited Berkeley. "In (*q*) the 10*th* Ric' II the King cometh to Berkeley castle, whom this Lord [Thomas, the fourth of that name] royally entertaineth." It is not probable, that he should go to Berkeley, without also visiting the castle of Bristow.

§ 4. 'Soon (*r*) after Christmas, or early in the year 1388, the King being wholly in the power of Henry, earl of Derby, and the confederate lords, reluctantly consented to abandon his favourites and their agents, and gave orders, that they should be kept in safe custody in different parts of the kingdom. Sir James Berneys, or Berners, and one Medeford, a clergyman, were sent to the castle of Bristow; Sir Rob' Tresylian, Chief Justice of England was ordered to Glocester castle. Sir James Berners was beheaded on Tower-hill in London, May 12 following.'

§ 5. In the 13 Ric' II, A' D' 1389, complaint (*s*) was made to the Parliament, that in the counties of Somerset', Dorset', Bristoll and Glouc,' where much broad-cloth [*diverses pleyns Draps*] is made, the said cloth is sold tied up and rolled, having those parts which are outside and visible, fair and well-made, but the inside for the most part torn and ill-made and of a bad colour, and falsely wrought with different wool, and by no means agreeing with those parts which are on the outside: so that the merchants who buy such cloth and carry it out of the kingdom to be sold to foreigners, are often in danger of being put to death, and are sometimes imprisoned and put to fine and ransom, and their cloth burnt or forfeited, when it is untied and opened and the deceit and knavery is discovered, to the great scandal of the kingdom. They therefore pray the King and his sage Counsellors, that no broad-cloth be sold in those counties tied up and rolled, but open, so that the purchasers may see

(*q*) Smythe. (*r*) Knyghton. (*s*) Rolls of Parliament, Vol' 3, p' 272.

and examine it, as the practice is in the county of Essex: and that the makers, weavers and fullers set their marks on every piece. To this the King assents and enacts it on pain of forfeiture.

§ 6. 'In (*t*) the 18 Ric' II a petition was presented in Parliament, praying that remedy may be had against the men of Bristol for claiming custom of wines discharged at Chepstow, which ought to be free. The King answers, 'As it hath been so let it be.'

§ 7. April 1, 1396, another Charter was granted to the burgesses of Bristol, exempting the town and townsmen from the jurisdiction of the Steward, and Marshall, and Market-clerk of the King's household. These officers had at that time extensive powers in the place, wherever it might be, in which the King resided; so extensive, as to supersede in a great measure the ordinary magistrates. Now, as we have seen the kings of England paying frequent visits to Bristol, this interference of authority must have been felt as a grievance. In Sept' 1394 Richard II crossed over to Waterford with a very large army: he might have passed by way of Bristol, as he certainly did in 1399: and if so, the inconvenience, then felt from the jurisdiction of the Steward, &c. of the household, was probably the immediate cause, which induced the burgesses to sollicit an exemption from it in future.

§ 8. In the summer of 1399, the King arrived in Bristol in his way to Ireland, where he was leading an army to quell an insurrection of the Irish, who had last year defeated the English forces, and slain Roger, earl of Marche, the Governor of that country. One of our Calendars says that "in 1398 king Richard II caused a theater to be built at Bristow, for a combate to be fought between two Scotts, the one an Esquire, Appellant; and the other a Knight, Defendant. The Appellant was overcome, and hanged." Another account is as follows. "A duel was (*u*) ordered [*designatum*] by the King at Bristol between an"

(*t*) Anno 18 Ric' II, 1395, m' 9, in Brit' Mus', as quoted in Bree's Cursory Sketch, p' 308.

(*u*) Anon' apud Leland Coll' 3, 384.

"Englishman and a Scotsman. But when the time of combat drew near, the Englishman renounced his cause; whereupon he was drawn and hanged." Stowe relates a similar story of a combat at Westminster in 1384, between an English esquire and one of Navarre. This last was overcome and confessed his wrong: whereupon he was by king Richard's order drawn and hanged. With regard to the date of this transaction, we have no account, that king Richard was in Bristol in 1398: it is therefore more probable, that it happened in 1399, while he remained here on his way to Ireland. At this same time, he thought he had reason to suspect the loyalty of the earl of Northumberland, and he sent a message to him, commanding his attendance; which that Earl declined.

§9. The King sailed from Bristol, and landed at Waterford, 31 May or 1 June. Here in fact terminated his authority; the remainder of his imprudent reign has a very remarkable resemblance to that of his ancestor Edw' II about 70 years before; and not only were the events similar, but the place was the same; Bristol was again the fortress, where unfortunate Royalty made it's last and unsuccessful resistance. During the King's absence in Ireland, Henry duke of Lancaster, landed in the North with a very few followers: but such was the general indignation against the oppression which had been exercised by the King and his Ministers, that almost the whole nation favored the duke of Lancaster. London opened it's gates, as before; and as before, the Ministers and favourites fled for security to the castle of Bristow. The duke of Lancaster, 'attended (*v*) by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and divers other Nobles, and by Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury' pursued them to Bristol with a great army. 'On (*w*) his appearance the town surrendered, and after four days siege he won the castle also, and immediately without a trial ordered to be beheaded William Lord Scroop, earl of Wiltshire, the Treasurer of England, with two others of the King's councillors, Sir John Bushy, [*al'* Bussey] and Sir Henry [*al'* Thomas *al'* (*x*) William] Greene. The charge against lord Scrope was, that he had sold Calais to the king of France for a large sum'

(*v*) MS Calendar, and Will' Worcester. (*w*) Several MS Calendars.
(*x*) Anon' ap' Lel' Coll' 3, 384.

'of money; and against Bushy and Greene, that the king had by their advice laid insupportable taxes on the people.' Sir John Bussey was a person of great consequence. "The gentlemen, says (*y*) Leland, called *Busseys (de Busseto* sive *Buxceto)* came with the Conqueror out of Normandy. Bussey, that was so great in Richard II's days, and was beheaded at Brightstow, had his principal house and manor place at Hougheham, three miles from Granteham. Bussey's wife, that was beheaded at Brightstow, lieth at Hougheham, and divers of the Busseys in the same parish church. Bussey now alive is the fifth or sixth in descent from great Bussey, that was beheaded, and is the last heir male of that house." "Sir John (*z*) Bagot, another of the King's ministers, for the present escaped to Ireland."

§10. The remainder of the unquiet reign of this monarch, his deposition on Sept' 30, 1399, and his subsequent murder, having no reference to Bristol, require no notice in these Memoirs.

§11. During this King's reign, i' e' (*a*) about A' D' 1382, Master John Wickliff, rector of Lutterworth, began to engage the public attention by preaching doctrines both of religion and government, wholly adverse to those, which were established in that age. A priest, by name John Ball, had gone before him in this career, and being a popular preacher, had spread these doctrines very successfully; until being apprehended and examined before the Clergy, he was condemned to perpetual confinement in the archbishop's prison at Maidstone, from which he was released by the mob in Wat Tyler's insurrection in 1381. Ball appears to have been a mean person, a coarse and vulgar declaimer: but "Wicliff (*b*) was the most eminent Doctor in Theology of that age. In Philosophy he was esteemed inferior to none, and in scholastic discipline he was incomparable. His great endeavour was, to surpass the genius of other men by the subtilty of his knowledge and the depth of his own genius, and to differ from their opinions." And it must be recollected that it is an adversary, a Romish ecclesiastic, who gives him

(*y*) Leland Itin' 6 65, [68.] (*z*) MS Calendar. (*a*) Knyghton. (*b*) Knyghton.

this character. His doctrines in a short time became exceedingly prevalent, and were in fact the foundation of what was afterwards *the Protestant Religion;* and his followers were from him called Wicliffites, but more commonly Lollards; the origin of which latter name is variously represented. There were many others, who preached the same doctrines. 'One (*c*) Nicholas of Hereford was called before the Clergy for this offence, where his opinions were condemned; but he saved his life by the asistance of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who on many occasions of this and other kinds, shewed himself very averse to sanguinary measures. Being thus prohibited from preaching at home, he travelled to Rome, and publicly maintained the same opinions before the Pope in Consistory, by whom he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment; but he was soon after released in an insurrection at Rome, and returned to England, where he was again imprisoned by the Archbishop.'

§ 12. Another of these Lollard preachers "was (*d*) Master John de Aston, a very noted man, who neglecting the indulgence of his body never used the conveyance of a horse, but going on foot with his staff in his hand he visited the churches of the kingdom in every part, carrying his bottle of poison with him, and running up and down in an unwearied manner, lest the care of his horse, or the time necessary for feeding him, should cause any impediment to his journey, or any delay to his purpose: but like a dog leaping up from his couch, and on the least noise ready at once for barking, so was he always ready to set out on his journey, instantly prepared for preaching his doctrines [promptè ad dogmatizandum]."

§ 13. The last of these Lollard preachers here to be mentioned was John Purney, who frequently preached at Bristol; and therefore a further account of him will be required. Wickliffe himself no doubt often visited this town; for (*e*) in 1375 king Edward III had presented him with the Prebend of Aust in the Collegiate church of Westbury on Trim: in which situation and with his zeal he surely took the opportunity of recommending his opinions from the pulpits of Bristol. John Purney

(*c*) Knyghton ubi suprà. (*d*) Knyghton. (*e*) Lewis's hist' of translations of Bible, p' 34.

was Wickliff's curate or asistant, and we are distinctly informed that he preached in Bristol. Knyghton's account of him is as follows. "The fourth heresiarch was Sir John Purneye, a simple chaplain, grave in his gesture and look; putting on the form of sanctity more than all the rest of his party; in his dress and habit quite a common person. Shaking off corporeal repose he gave himself up to the labor of travelling; and indefatigably endeavoured to draw to him the hearts of the people of his sect by deceitful preachings, and by all means in his power. And in like manner imitating, as far as he was able, the example of the rest of his sect in his life and manners, he conformed himself to the notions [dogmatibus] of his master as an invincible disciple, and being a powerful agent he fearlessly confirmed the doctrine of his master John Wyclyf in all respects: for he had been a boarder [*commensalis*] with his master during his life: and thus being more intoxicated with his doctrines he had drawn from them more deeply; and being his inseparable companion he accompanied him with his doctrines and opinions even to the borders of death, labouring indefatigably. This John Purneye, like the rest of them, always in all his sermons very much commended his own partizans: but always and every where he openly reviled those who were not so, with pernicious abuse, particularly the Mendicants; and in almost every third sentence of every sermon he commended *the true preachers*, meaning the partizans of his own sect; and like a barking dog he spoke of *the false preachers*, understanding thereby all other preachers, Ecclesiastics as well as Mendicants. In like manner the rest of that sect frequently and without reserve in their discourses and sermons exclaimed *trewe prechoures, false prechoures*, continually reviling the Mendicant friers, calling them false brothers; and loudly proclaimed themselves to be true preachers, and *gospellers* because they had the gospel translated into the English tongue. And they held, one and all, mutual and common opinions; and these their opinions were so connected and enchained together, that he who held the opinions of one held also the opinions of every other. This Sir John Purneye preached in Brystowe, and publicly taught, that the celebration of the mass is a human tradition, and not an evangelical: also that Christ suffered in the opening of his side and of his heart.—Also every priest ought to omit matins, mass"

"and vespers and the other canonical hours, rather than the preaching the word of God, because they are ordained by human tradition only.—Also, every priest ought by divine law to preach the word of God, without obtaining any other licence.—Also, Bishops and others, who hinder the preaching of the word of God, do so, that their own sins may not be seen.—Also, those who enter into any private religion [i' e' any of the monastic or mendicant orders] are thereby rendered more unfit for the observance of God's commands.—Also, he who gives alms to a fryer, preaching the gospel, on account of his sermon, is a simoniacal person and excommunicated, and the receiver also as well as the giver.—Also, fryers [*brothers*], not deserving this name but the name of Pharisees, are bound to get their livelihood, not by begging, but otherwise by the labor of their hands.—Also, no priest ought to omit preaching the gospel, nor ought any person to omit hearing the gospel preached, on account of excommunication.—Also, no private religions are in any respect so perfect, as they think them to be.—Also, every priest having a cure of souls is of a more perfect order, than any religious of any private religion whatever."

§14. From the same author many other of the doctrines preached by Wickliff and his followers may be collected, affording a strange mixture of good and evil. Many of these which follow, he heard himself, at Leicester, and some at Gloucester. "If an ecclesiastic shall commit any offence and not amend, his secular lords may shave him over the shoulders, i. e. cut off his head. If a temporal lord shall offend in the same manner, it is lawful for the people to correct him.—To multiply lip-words in prayer, that is in English *to blabber with the lips*, is of no use.—To give money for celebrating masses is of no value, unless a man has lived well.—No one is really a Prelate, or capable of the prelacy, unless he be a doctor and a preacher. Every person who is absolved from sin is in grace, and in so great grace, as not to be capable of greater.—The preacher said, that he had authority to confess and communicate the parishioners of all the churches in Leicester, without leave of the vicars. Men may require their debts from their debtors with good-will; but ought by no means to prosecute or imprison any one for debt.—Scarcely shall every tenth man be saved.—No one ought to be excommunicated, but out of love, and"

" for his soul's salvation.—Excommunication pronounced in order to prevent persons from hearing the word of God, is the excommunication of Antichrist, and not of a Christian. In the Sacrament of the altar after consecration, there is both real bread and the real body of Christ: and the roundness and the whiteness, and other qualities of that sort, are the bread."

§15. But the greater part of the preaching of the Lollards was directed against the ecclesiastics, and more especially against the Mendicant Orders. They preached that " No ecclesiastic ought to have more than bare food and raiment. Christ never ordered any one to beg. He never said in Scripture, that a man ought to give up all his temporal goods, and keep nothing for himself. No one ought to give alms to those who have better cloaths and better houses, than those who give.—Preachers carrying about bags are false preachers; Christ in the gospel orders the contrary.—The mendicity of those who are able to work is forbidden by the civil law, and is not found to be approved in the gospel law. Christ converted to the faith many of different conditions, but it is not found in Scripture that he ever converted a Priest.—The preacher often said that the world had been deceived for these two hundred years past, since these new sects had entered, by means of false preachers, flatterers, disciples of Antichrist; but that he would reform the people by his true preaching.—He also frequently said in his sermons, that the preachers of the church endeavoured to falsify Scripture, saying and allowing (as he had often heard them do publicly in Oxford) that the Scripture is full of heresies. And the reason of this false assertion (as he said) was this, because sacred Scripture was contrary to their life, and therefore they asserted this to defend their own ill life.—There never will be good and full peace in the kingdom until their temporalities shall be taken away from ecclesiastics; and therefore the preacher besought the people with out-stretched hands to help him, as much as they could, in this affair.—As long as ecclesiastics live in the riches and pleasures in which they now live, they are unfit to pray for the people, for which purpose they were principally instituted.—If the King had in his hands the temporalties of ecclesiastics, there would be no occasion for him to"

"receive taxes, nor to plunder the commonalty of the realm.—No priest ever enters any house, but for the purpose of ill treating the wife or daughter, or maid-servant: and therefore the preacher besought all husbands to prevent any priest from visiting their house.—These new sects which came as it were yesterday assert, that their life and religion is more perfect than the ordinary religion of Christ and his apostles.—St Paul gained a livelihood for himself and his disciples with his own hands; and so ought the religious to labour with their own hands, and not to beg."—Thus were the Mendicant friers assaulted in their turn by adversaries of their own rank, and with the same vulgar arts and arguments, which they themselves had previously used against the established clergy.

§16. "The (*f*) prevalence of these doctrines was prodigious, they spread over the whole kingdom; and their teachers by their laborious instructions prevailed so far, that they gained over half, or more than half, of the nation to their sect; so that if two persons were seen walking on the road, one of them was probably a disciple of Wickliffe. Their principal teachers at first wore russet cloaths, intending to shew the simplicity and humility of their manners; - - - [and (*g*) walked about barefooted; as Wicklif himself did, and wore a long russet garment.] for which and for other parts of their conduct they were accused by the clergy of hypocrisy, as wolves in sheeps clothing. The suddenness also with which these opinions overspread the kingdom was surprising; it seemed as though those, who maintained them, had all been born in one day: and all adopted the same peculiar modes of speech, and the same forms of doctrine, however lately they had been converted to the sect: and the teachers of this *gospel doctrine*, both men and women, suddenly altered the expressions of their mother-tongue, just as if they had been educated and taught in one university or bred up in the school of one master: all which the Author whom I quote, a Canon of the established Church, thinks may readily be believed; inasmuch as he who adopted them for his servants would take care to inspire them with the identity of his spirit and with conformity of expression. Their doctrine in all"

(*f*) Knyghton. (*g*) Lel' Coll' 3, 379 and 409 ex anon' annal'.

"their discourses appeared at first to be full of sweetness and devout; but in the latter part it withered away, being full of subtile envy and detraction; having the sweetness of honey in the head of the discourse, but poison in the tail. They were loud and violent in proclaiming those of their own sect to be good and worthy persons, and of blameless life; and that all good and religious men were on their side, and accepted their doctrine according to the law of God, which they taught and preached; and that none but malignant and vile sinners opposed their manners and their doctrine; and that there was no just and religious man, who did not observe *Goddis lawe*, which they preached; for such was the expression which they used in all their discourses. And thus they perverted many simple persons, and compelled them as it were to adhere to their sect, lest they should seem to oppose the divine commands; and many weak persons were thus seduced, some through fear and some for shame, lest they should be reviled by them in opprobious language. But the opinion of many good men was loud against them, that it was well known to many persons that they were guilty of private as well as public vices; and that vicious persons for the most part adhered to them, and few beside: and those who maintained the ancient doctrine of the church universally entertained an ill opinion of their religion and life.

§17. The success of the Lollard preachers may principally be attributed to Wickliffe's translation of the New Testament into English, which was at that time a novelty, and which they carried about with them, and read and explained to the people. But much must be attributed also to the volubility, vehemence and abusiveness of their language. The author last quoted says, that all of them, "however lately they had entered into the sect, became very eloquent, prevailing over other men in craftiness and wordy strifes; mighty in words; strong in garrulity; very powerful in their sermons: over-clamouring other men in litigious debates: and thus what they were not able to attain by right reason, they supplied by pugnacious impetuosity, with a clamorous and confused voice, and loudly sounding words: so that they might be suspected of being, not the servants of Christ, humble, gentle, mild and"

"patient, but rather the disciples of Mahomet, who forbid his followers to reason concerning his law, but to defend it with warlike bravery and to fight for it. *See* Alcoran Azoara the fourth." Neither were the Wickliffites wholly without this last defence; 'for (*h*) many of the military chiefs of that age favoured their doctrines. The duke of Lancaster himself protected them, as did other Dukes and Earls, and many knights, such as Sir Thomas Latimer, Sir John Trussell &c, who were not content with idle approbation, but actively engaged in the personal defence of the preachers, lest they should suffer any abuse or harm from the true believers. When any one of them came into the neighbourhood of one of these Lollard knights, he immediately sent round to summon the people of the country to the church or some other convenient place, where they might hear the new doctrines. Neither was it always safe or prudent to neglect the summons of their lord, however satisfied they might be with the ancient doctrines of the church: many came unwillingly, and out of humour, but the knight himself used to stand by the preacher armed with sword and target, ready to punish any insult. The greater number of these preachers were of base condition, disappointed and restless persons, of enthusiasm bordering on insanity: such is the character given of them by cotemporary historians, who particularize the name, abode and other circumstances of many of them. Whatever they were, they occasioned a lamentable agitation throughout the kingdom: "the son was stirred up against the father, and the father against the son, the mother in law against the daughter in law, the servants of the family against their master, and every man, as it were, against his neighbour: so that you could scarcely find any one who would put confidence in any other, even in his own brother, but all supposed that each would deceive the other: and it is probable, that since the foundation of the church such distrust and discord and dissention were never heard or seen in these parts."—Such were the doctrines preached by the Lollards at the latter end of the 14*th* century, and such their effects. The fire which Wickliff kindled was never wholly extinguished: altho' smothered by the authority of Church and State, it often burst forth again, until at the Reformation it overpowered all opposition. It is plain that the

(*h*) Knyghton.

doctrines, preached by John Purney in Bristol particularly, were not forgotten; after lying here concealed and fermenting somewhat more than a century, we shall find them here again openly promulgated with the same circumstances in the reign of Henry VIII.

End of Chapter XVI.

CHAPTER XVII.

HENRY IV.

1. *Plot against the King. Affair at Cirencester. Lord Spensar beheaded at Bristol.*—2. *A Comet.*—3. *The King marries and settles Bristol on his Queen.*—4. *Lord Berkeley commands against the Welsh.*—5. *His ships at Bristol.*—6. *Parliament at Bristol.*—7. *Bristol exempt from the Court of Admiralty.*—8. *A Petition against that Court.*—9. *The King's death.*

§ 1. HENRY IV took immediate possession of the vacant throne: but he soon found, what he felt during his whole reign, that usurped royalty is a dangerous eminence to which no man, who values his own happiness, will aspire. A plot was formed against him before the expiration of the year; and early in Jan' 1400, several of the Nobility, friends to the late King, although under particular obligations to Henry, appeared at the head of an army against him. However, not venturing a battle against the King, who was prepared to receive them, they retreated along the banks of the Thames, as far as Cirencester; where the main body encamped outside the town, while the Chiefs imprudently separated themselves from their soldiers, and took up their lodgings with few attendants in two inns. The mayor of Cirencester saw the error; and collecting the townsmen he shut the gates and assaulted the two inns. One of them was forced open, and Thomas Holland, duke of Surrey, and John de Montacute, earl of Salisbury, being found there, were beheaded by the Mayor's order. One of our Calendars says, that the "earls of Kent, of Salisbury and of Oxford, with Sir Thomas Blunt"

" and Sir Ralph Homly were beheaded at Cirencester." The other inn made a longer resistance, and in the confusion the duke of Exeter, and Tho' lord Spencer, lately made earl of Glocester, escaped. The latter " was (*i*) afterward taken at Bristol and beheaded at the High-cross, and his head was sent to London:" and " the King granted by writ (*k*) to William Flaxman a certain gown of motley-velvet of damaske, furred, which lately belonged to Thomas lord le Despencer, in which gown the said Thomas was taken prisoner outside the house of the mayor of Bristol." Leland's Tewkesbury MS (*l*) notices this event in these words; " Thomas, son and heir of Edward le Dispensar the second, was beheaded at Bristol by the populace [*à populari vulgo*] on Tuesday after the feast of St Hilary 1399 [i' e' Jan 1400]. He was buried at Tewkesbury. Seven months after his death, the lady Constantia his wife had a daughter at Cairdiff in the year 1400." Another (*m*) account is; " Spensar, lately made earl of Glocester, was taken by the Commons at Bristow, and there beheaded at the market-place." For the service above-mentioned, the King granted the townsmen of Cirencester two tons of wine, to be delivered from the port of Bristol yearly during pleasure.

§ 2. " This (*n*) year 1400, a blazing star [a comet] was seen in the West."

§ 3. King Henry IV was married in the year 1401, and settled on his Queen, Joanna of Navarre, the town of Bristol and the suburbs thereof, with the walls, gates, ditches, lands and tenements, rents and services, and particularly the flesh shambles: which grant seems to contain also the produce of tolls, pleas of courts, markets, fairs &c; that is, every thing afterward granted to the Mayor and Commonalty. A copy of this settlement is probably in the Council-house; the substance of it may be collected from the charter (*o*) of Edw' IV. It must have been made at the time of the King's marriage in 1401, and was granted for the term of her life. She died in 1437.

(*i*) MS Calendar.
(*l*) Leland Itin' 6, 84 [88].
(*n*) MS Calendar.
(*k*) Claus' Rot' 1 Hen' IV, p' 5, m' 8.
(*m*) Leland Coll' 2, 484 [697]
(*o*) Vide *Charters of Bristol*, p' 105.

§ 4. Early in this King's reign Thomas lord Berkeley was much employed in opposing the frequent incursions of the Welsh into England; who at the instigation of Owen Glendour had generally risen in rebellion. "In (*p*) March, 3 Hen' IV [1402] he was required, with his son, the earl of Warwick, to muster and train men in the counties of Gloucester, Somerset and Bristol: and in June following by a second command to defend with them the borders of Wales and to resist the Welsh; wherein that summer was spent." Again in 5 Hen' IV, that is in 1403-4 he was sent against Owen Glendour. At this time "the (*q*) King gave him a commission to take up six barges in the counties of Bristol, Somerset and Gloucester, and so many mariners as should suffice for them; to go to sea with them at the King's wages with all diligence; which he did." And again "on (*r*) 15 July, 6 Hen' IV [1405], the King authorizeth this Lord alone to muster and arm all the able men in the counties of Gloucester, Bristol and Somerset to withstand the incursions of the Welsh." By means of these ships and men it was, that although lord Berkeley was not able to prevent the French from landing 12000 men in Milford haven for the asistance of Owen Glendour, yet he fell upon their ships, took 14 and burned 15 of them.

§ 5. The following transaction shews the intimate connexion which the Lords of Berkeley maintained with the town of Bristol; that they sometimes fitted out ships of their own, and participated in the commerce of the port. "In the 11 Hen' IV [1409-10] the King writes (*s*) to this Lord Thomas, that whereas he had by his letters patent in the 8*th* year of his reign granted for ten years liberty to the merchants of Genoa with their carracks to bring into England any their wares, and there to sell them, and to carry out into Flanders and other parts cloth and wool from England, paying the customs due and doing no damage; that he is given to understand, that divers of this Lord's men and servants, in a ship of"

(*p*) Smythe, p' 310; who quotes *Pat'* 3 *Hen' IV, pars* 1 *dorso. Eodem pars* 2 *dorso.*

(*q*) Smythe, p' 339; who quotes *Comp' rec'* 5 *Hen' IV in castro de Berk'.—Rot' Voiag'* a 1 *ad* 11 *Hen' IV m'* 18 *&* 19 *in Arce Lond'.*

(*r*) Smythe, ubi suprà; who quotes *Pat'* 6 *Hen' IV m'* 15 *in dorso.*

(*s*) Smythe, p' 350: who quotes *Claus'* 11 *Hen' IV m'* 31 *& in dorso m'* 21.

"his sailing towards Bourdeaux, have violently set upon one of the carracks, called *the St Mary and St Bridget* loaden with wines and other merchandize: and therefore required this Lord either presently to cause restitution to be made; or himself to come and answer the same before his privy Council forthwith. The sequel whereof was, that the servants of this lord Sir John Greyndore and others of Bristol did the wrong; who made restitution for part, but went away with a great part of the rest of the Genoa goods." This Sir John Greyndour was Sheriff of Glocestershire in 6 Hen' IV, 1405. His seal is in the possession of an Antiquarian friend in Glocester. "And in this same year 11 Hen' IV lord Berkeley was employed in borrowing of money in the counties of Warwick, Worcester, Gloucester and Bristol, to be repaid out of the fifteenth granted to the King at the last Parliament then before."

§ 6. King Henry IV had (*t*) issued forth writs dated at Westminster Oct' 28, 11 Hen' IV, [1409] for summoning a Parliament at Bristol *in quindendâ Sti Hilarii* [Jan' 27]: at which time many persons belonging to the forest of Dean and other places endeavoured to prevent corn and other provisions from being brought to Bristol; on purpose, as it appears, to distress the King and his government. Hereupon the King issued a Proclamation to the following effect. "Rex dilectis & fidelibus suis Johanni Greyndre, chivaler &c. The King to his beloved and faithful *John Greyndere*, knight, *John Joce*, and *Henry Moton* sends health. Whereas we are given to understand, that certain of our subjects of the forest of Dene and others of the county of Gloucester are daily hindering persons, who wish to carry corn, flesh, fish or other victuals to our town of Bristol, where we have ordered our parl' to be holden, to the prejudice and great damage of the inhabitants of the said town, and of our other subjects, who will come there on account of the parliament: We, being willing to provide against such evils, charge you to cause proclamation to be made in our name as well within the forest, as in other fit places in the said county, that all our subjects shall permit all manner of persons to carry corn, flesh, &c to the said town: and to arrest all"

(*t*) Prynne Animadv' 4 Inst' p' 333; who quotes *Claus'* 11 *Hen' IV, m'* 33: and *Pat'* 11 *Hen' IV, pars* 1 *m'* 14 *dorso*.

"those whom they should find acting to the contrary, and to commit them to prison there to be safely kept, until you shall receive from us some other command: and we order all sheriffs, mayors, constables, bailiffs, officers, and all our subjects within liberties and without, to asist you in the execution of the premises. Witness the King at Westminster the 12*th* day of November."

§7. Henry IV granted a Charter to Bristow exempting it from the jurisdiction of the Court of Admiralty. This charter is in the little Red Book (*u*) in the Council-house, and it's meaning is, that in consideration of the many services done to himself and former kings of England by the merchants of Bristol, their ships and voyages; and in consideration of £200 freely given to him in his necessities for the benefit of the kingdom; and because the merchants and burgesses have been grievously vexed by the officers of the Admiralty; therefore the King grants to the Mayor and Commonalty (*v*) exemption from their jurisdiction. This was a very valuable grant; for the continual encroachments of that court, together with the forms, exactions and delays of civil law, by which it was regulated, had been a cause of great complaint for a long time in many places, and particularly in Bristol. The Court of Admiralty had cognizance not only of matters done on the high seas, but also of contracts, debts, offences &c made and committed in countries beyond the sea. Not content with this it's original jurisdiction, it had encroached on that of the courts of common-law, claiming cognizance of all causes between mariners and merchants, and even persons in inland places neither mariners nor merchants, whether at home or abroad, whether by land or by sea. It appears that the Admirals and their officers summoned persons from all parts of the kingdom to appear before them in London and Southwark, and had tried common causes by the civil law, and had imprisoned such persons in their prisons there, and extorted excessive fines from them. These proceedings occasioned many petitions from the Commons from 13 Ric' II to 11 Hen' IV, praying the King to restrain them: which petitions are to be seen in Prynne Anim' 4 Inst', p' 78 &c. We find the burgesses of Bristow in the year 17 Ric' II [1394] joining

(*u*) Quoted by Barrett, p' 175

(*v*) See the printed Charters of Bristol, p' 96 and 98.

in a petition of this kind; which gives a compleat exposition of the cause of complaint, and collaterally of the manner of making Acts of Parl' in that age: for Prynne observes, that these petitions and the King's answers to them are in truth the original acts. I add some few lines of the original, as a specimen of the Norman-French of that age.

§8. "Item suppliont tres humblement voz poveres lieges, Burges de les villes de Bristuyt &c, que come nadgairs plusours plees estoient pendantz en la court Dadmiraltie es parties de south et west nient appurtenantz al jurisdiction de la dite court &c &c." The substance is as follows. 'Your poor subjects the burgesses of Bristuyt, Briggewater, Excestre, Barnestaple and Welles humbly pray; that whereas many pleas were lately depending in the court of Admiralty in the south and west parts of England, which did not belong to the jurisdiction of the said court, such as of house breaking, goods carried away, batteries and other trespasses and contracts of all sorts; by reason of which many of the King's subjects have received great harm in their goods and their estate: and although the Lords and Commons in the last Parl' ordered that the Court of Admiralty should be restrained, and that such causes should be determined by the common law, yet still that court takes cognizance of them, and many have been pending undetermined for three years and more, owing to the divers delays of the civil law and the subtil imagination of the plaintiffs; insomuch that many persons of the aforesaid towns have been utterly ruined by their great expences in law, and have left their wives and children beggars, and are gone to live in Wales and other parts out of England. They therefore pray that such matters may be withdrawn from the Admiralty, and that plaintiffs may have their action at common law, on account of the great delays of the civil law, and the great costs and expences belonging to it, which the poor subjects above-mentioned cannot endure. Resp'. The King refers the matter to the Chancellor, who is to grant prohibitions.' This roll is dated in Quindera Sti' Hill' 17 Ric' II, i' e' 1393-4. It appears nevertheless, that neither this parliamentary interference, nor the granting of charters of exemption wholly prevented the Admiralty from continuing such usurpa-

tions. A case is (*v*) cited by Prynne in 1427-8 'of John Button against Bartholomew Pit, in the court of C' P' for a ship supposed by the libel in the Admiralty to be taken *super altum mare;* although the taking was *reverâ infra corpus comitatûs* in Bristow (the said ship lying in the harbour of Bristow), and not upon the main sea, contrary to the form and effect of the said statutes.' It seems that the Admiralty, in order to retain their accustomed usurpation, had resorted to a fiction of law, describing every case, as happening on the high sea.

§ 9. King Henry IV died March 20, 1413, and his son Henry V succeeded him.

(*v*) Prynne's Anim' in 4 Inst' p' 84. Hil' 6 Hen' VI, rot' 303.

End of Chapter XVII.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HENRY V.

1. *Bristol sends ships against France.*—2. *Petition of Bristol merchants against the Bretons.*—3. *The King's death.*

§ 1. VERY little occurs during the reign of Henry V, which relates to Bristol. From the following lines of Michael Drayton, we find that this town furnished supplies to the King, when he sailed for France, previous to the battle of Agincourt.

"Eight (*w*) goodly ships, so Bristow ready made,
Which to the King they bountifully lent,
With Spanish wines, which they for ballast lade
In happy speed of his brave voyage ment:
Hoping his conquest should enlarge their trade;
And therewithall a rich and spacious tent.
And as this fleet the Severne seas doth stem,
Five more from Padstow came along with them."

§ 2. In the 3 Hen' V, 1415, many complaints were made to the Parliament by English merchants, that their ships had been seized by the Bretons, as they passed by their coast, during the time of a truce between the king of England and the duke of Britany. One (*x*) is from John Fisher, John Droys, Thomas Fisshe (all which names may be found in the list of our Magistrates) and others their companions, merchants of the town of Bristuyt; 'who complain that John Fisher had a ship called the Christopher, which attended the King in his voyage to Hareflieu:'

(*w*) Drayton's Agincourt, stanza 49.

(*x*) Rolls of Parl', Vol' 4, p' 89.

'and afterwards continued her voyage toward the city of Burdeaux, with cloth and other goods and merchandizes to the value (ship and goods) of 1200 marks: and that certain Bretons came on board the same ship and took possession of her, notwithstanding the truce existing between the two countries, and kept the men in prison from a fortnight after Michaelmas till a fortnight after Candlemas last past. They therefore pray, that the King would grant them permission to seize any of the subjects of Britany on either side of the sea, together with any ships, goods, debts, obligations and property whatever belonging to them, and to detain them, until full restitution be made for the ships and merchandize before mentioned, as well as for the expences which have been incurred, which amount by estimation to the sum of 300 marks. The petition was referred to the King's council, with a request that the Lords of that council would order what was reasonable.'

§ 3. Henry V died Aug' 31, 1422; and was succeeded by his son Henry VI, an infant.

End of Chapter XVIII.

CHAPTER XIX.

HENRY VI.

1. *The Queen-mother's Dower.*—2. *A privilege granted to Tenby.*—3. *A Loan.*—4. *Regulations for soldiers and sailors.*—5. *Collectors and Controllers ordered to Westminster.*—6. *A fleet fitted out.*—7. *Extraordinary grants to Henry Beauchamp.*—8. *The King visits Bristol.*—9. *The King grants the profits of the town to the Mayor and Commonalty.*—10. *Disputes with the Mayor and Council.*—11. *Sums payable to the King's Household.*—12. *Lord Berkeley carried away to Bristol, as a prisoner.*—13. *A Fleet fitted out; the contributions of the towns.*—14. *The Queen comes to Bristol.*—15. *Escape of a Criminal.*—16. *A ship of Bristol plundered by the Genoese.*—17. *The King appoints a Sheriff.*—18. *The King is deposed.*

§ 1. IN the 1 Henry VI, 1422, (*y*) the dower of Katharine the Queen-mother, widow of the late King, was settled by Parliament. Previously to her marriage it had been agreed by treaty dated at St Peter's church in Troys, May 1, 1420, that her dower should be 40,000 crowns [*escutes, scutorum*] per annum, two of which crowns should be worth an English noble, as of the preceding Queens of England: and now it was settled that this dower should be taken out of certain properties and incomes, which are particularly specified in the Act. Two or three of the first articles are as follow. "The castle of Ledes to the value of £24: the castle and town of Rouchestre, to the value of £55 in the county of Kent - - - - - an annual rent of £23, *s* 6, *d* 8, out of the ulnage (*z*) and subsidy [*de ulnagio & subsidio*] of cloths sold in the"

(*y*) Rolls of Parl' 4, 184.

(*z*) Ulnage or aulnage is the measurement of the cloth by the King's Auneour or Measurer; at which time it was sealed with the King's seal, and the subsidy paid.

"city of London: and an annual rent of £60 out of the ulnage and subsidy of cloths sold in the town of Bristoll, to be paid by the farmers of such ulnage and subsidy."—But 'whereas (*a*) it afterwards appeared that this arrangement was insufficient for the purpose, inasmuch as it sometimes happened, that there was no farm of ulnage and subsidy in Bristol, because they were often dimised to approvement [*dimittuntur ad appruamentum*] and not to farm, therefore the King in 1433, 11 and 12 Hen' VI, grants that the said £60 may be taken out of the profits arising from the subsidy and ulnage of cloth sold in Bristol, and also from the moiety of the forfeitures of such cloth, which may happen in Bristol; to be received annually from the hands of the farmers, occupiers, or approvers of such profits.' And in (*b*) 1455, 34 Hen' VI, when the Parliament allotted £3934, 19*s*, 4¾*d* for the expences of the King's household, it was directed, that £40 should be taken "of the fermers of the subsidie of th' awnage of woollen-cloth in the towne of Bristowe."

§ 2 "In (*c*) the first year of this reign a privilege was granted to the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of Tenby, in South Wales, and their successors, that they shall from Michaelmas next, for the term of twelve years compleat, be free and discharged (on account of a full agreement made with the port and city of Bristol) *de omni kunagio, numagio, portagio, parmagio, & picagio.*"

§ 3 "In the 8 Hen' VI (i' e' A' D' 1429 or 1430) the (*d*) King borrowed of various persons and towns the sum of £50,000 for the defence of the kingdom. At that time the Mayor and Commonalty of London lent him £6,666, 12*s*, 16½*d* [*sic.*]: they of Salisbury lent £72: they of York £162: they of Gloucester 50 marks: the Mayor and Commonalty of Bristoll lent him £333, 6*s*, 8*d*: that is, £220 in the town; and in the port of the town £113, 6*s*, 8*d*, out of the subsidy of 3 shill' on every cask [*dolium*] of wine, and of 12 pence in the pound."

(*a*) Rolls of Parl' 4, 459. (*b*) Rolls of Parl' 5, 321.

(*c*) Acta Conc' anno 1 Hen' VI, March 2; as quoted by Bree in *Cursory Sketch*, p' 276.

(*d*) Rolls of Parl' 5, 418, and Rymer X, p' 465.

§4. "In the (*e*) 18 Hen' 6 (A' D' 1439 or 1440) came a Writ to Bristol, as well as to other ports, directed to the Officers of the Customs, [*Custumariis & costodibus passagii in villa Bristoll'*] ordering them to enforce the provisions of an Act of the last Parliament, whereby it was ordained, that no captain who has received the King's wages for his soldiers shall abate any part of their wages: and also ordaining that no man who has received the King's wages and mustered of record before the King's commissioners, as his soldier, shall depart from his captain or come again into England within the term for which he has been endented, on pain of being punished as a felon: which practices are said to have been a principal cause of the long continuance of the war, and of the losses and hurts and disgraces which have happened in the King's lands and lordships beyond the sea."

§5. 'In (*f*) the year 11 Hen' VI Aug' 12, letters of Privy Seal were sent to the Collectors of the Customs and Subsidies, and to the Comptrollers of most sea ports in England, and Bristol among them, ordering them to appear personally before the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, at the palace of Westminster, on the morrow of St Michael coming, and to bring with them the books, rolls, tallies, moneys, and accounts, and to pay no money whatever until that day.'—What was the occasion of this violent measure, we are not informed.

§6. In 20 Hen' VI, 1441 or 1442 (*g*) when the Commons of England thought it necessary to maintain a fleet for the defence of the kingdom, to keep the sea continually from Candlemas to Martinmas, they prayed the King that the fleet might be of the following description: Eight large ships with forstages [i' e' four stages] having one with another each of them 150 men. Every large ship was to have attendant on it one barge and one balynger; each barge having 80 men, and each balynger 40 men: of which 24 ships, the officers were to be a master, and a quarter-master to each one. There were to be also four spynes [or (*h*) spinaces] attendant on the whole, having each 25 men. The pay

(*e*) R' of Parl' 5,444. (*f*) Bree's Cursory Sketch, p' 319. (*g*) R' of Parl. 5, 59.
(*h*) They are called *spinaces* in Bree's Cursory Sketch, copied from the Brit' Mus

of each man was to be 2 *sh.* per month, that of the 24 masters 40*d.* each per month over their pay; and the same for the quarter-masters. The ships were to be had at the several ports. From Bristowe they were to have two of the eight large ships, viz, *The Nicholas of the Tour*, and *the Katerine* (*i*) *of Burton's*, which were to be hired from their owners for this occasion. Such was the English fleet in the year 1442. The *Nicholas* just mentioned was the ship, which captured (*k*) the Duke of Suffolk, whose head was immediately struck off on the gunwale of the boat. Bree says, that the *Katherine of the Burtons* was at Dartmouth: from the following document it appears to have belonged to one of the Canynges.—"Be (*l*) there made letters under Privy Seal to ——— Cannings of Bristol: that thereas a barge called *the Katherine of Bristol* is charged with wheat and other victual to the King's city of Baion for the advictualling of it, that he take into the same vessel to Baion ——— Bedan, esquire, whom the King sendeth now to Bourdeaux, Baion, Aix, and other places there with his letters."

§7. In the year 1444 or 1445 among some great and extraordinary gifts the King granted to his favourite Henry Beauchamp, whom he had lately created duke of Warwick, the castle (*m*) of Bristow with all it's appurtenances, which king John had formerly separated from the earldom of Glocester, and which had ever since been kept in the king's own hands. Leland's (*n*) Tewkesbury MS in Latin thus relates the particulars of this extraordinary grant. "Henry earl of Warwick, was by Henry VI, by whom he was much beloved, crowned king of the isle of Wigthe, and afterward nominated first earl of all England. Two years after this, the King gave him the title of duke of Warwick. He gave him also the castle of Bristol with all it's appurtenances, which king John had formerly kept for himself. He gave him also the islands of Garnesey and Garsey. He died at the castle of Hanley, June 11, 1446, in the 22"

(*i*) See above Chapt' XII, § 59. (*k*) See Shakespeare, Hen' VI.

(*l*) Acta Concilii anno 21 Hen' VI, March 21 [A' D' 1442-3] copied from the British Mus' in Bree's Cussory Sketch, p' 376.

(*m*) Stow, and the anonymous Historian of Tewkesbury frequently quoted above: see III, 41.

(*n*) Leland's Itin' 6, 86 [91].

"year of his age, and was buried at Tewkesbury in the choir." This young duke of Warwick was the descendant and representative of the ancient Earls of Gloucester. He died after holding the castle of Bristol, &c. about a twelvemonth: his death is thus related by the anonymous historian of Tewkesbury quoted above. "But the Lord Henry, the noble duke of Warwick, first earl of England, lord le Dispencer and Abergavenny, king of the islands Wight, Guernsey and Jersey, lord of the castle of Bristol with its appendants, died the eleventh day of June in the year 1446 [*read* 1445] in the 22d year of his age at the castle of Hanley, and was buried in the middle of the choir of Tewkesbury between the stalls, that his fellow-monks and well-beloved might always have them [*read* him] in their remembrance. He was buried in the middle of the night, much lamented by all."

§8. The King "came (*o*) to Bristol in the year 1446, and made his residence neere Redcliffe church; which house, as some say, he bestowed on the knights Hospitallers, being that over which lately stood a crucifix, and neere to Redcliffe-gate." The house here intended is doubtless the hospital of St. John the Baptist in Redcliffe-pit; but that Henry VI granted it to the Knights Hospitallers is a mistake. The castle was probably by this time much dilapidated, otherwise the King would surely have gone thither; but why he took up his lodgings in a religious house inferior to several others in the town, is not apparent; for the Queen was always with him, and they must have had a considerable attendance.

§9. It was certainly during his stay at this time, that he granted to Nicholas Hill, mayor, and the Commonalty of Bristol, a letter-patent, dated 15 March, 24 Hen' VI [1446]; the substance of which is (*p*) recited in the charter of Feb' 12, 1 Edward IV. It was mentioned (*q*) above, that Henry IV in 1401 had settled Bristol, &c on his Queen, Joanna of Navarre; and she probably re-granted it on lease to the Mayor and Commonalty for her life. On her death in 1437, it fell into the hands of king Henry VI, who granted it to the Mayor and Commonalty for a term

(*o*) A MS Calendar. (*p*) See Charters of Bristol, p' 105. (*q*) See Chapt' XVII, § 3.

of (*r*) twenty years, and accordingly we find that " in the great Roll 29 Hen' VI [1450] Hugh Withiford, mayor of Bristol, and the Commonalty of the same and their successors stood charged to the King for 102*£*, 15*s*, 6*d* per annum for the town of Bristol and the suburbs thereof, the ditches, gates, flesh-shambles, &c demised to them for twenty years, which were settled on queen (*s*) Joanna for the term of her life." But before the regular termination of this twenty year's lease, which would have been in 1457, king Henry in 1446 came to Bristow, and was prevailed on to grant the lease of which we are now treating; wherein he grants to the Mayor and Commonalty a lease of the town, and all profits belonging to it, for a term of sixty years, to begin from the end of the term of twenty years previously granted. It was probably the offer of a large sum of money, which induced the King and his advisers to grant a lease so unusually long; and that, during the continuance of a lease, which had still ten or eleven years to run. The contents of it were thus. 'The King granted to the Mayor and Commonalty the town and suburbs, and it's walls, gates and ditches; together with all the lands within it, containing houses, shops, particularly the *flesh-shambles*, gardens, pools, mills, mill-streams, rents, tolls, pleas of courts, profits of fairs and markets, fines, amercements, &c, together with the reversion of all lands, tenements &c, and reserved rents: from this grant the castle and the castle-ditch are excepted, which the King still kept in his own hands; granting nevertheless to the Mayor and Commonalty the water-course which runs through the castle-ditch, and the inside bank of the same for the space of four feet in breadth. And certain other liberties, franchises &c, the King granted in the same letter-patent, which are not specified in the charter of 1 Edw' IV. The payments were to be as follow.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
To the King	102	15	6
To the Abbat of Tewkesbury in lieu of Tithes	14	10	0
To the Prior of St James, out of the annual rent of the Mill of the town	3	0	0
To the Constable of the Castle, and his officers, the porter and watchman; and to the Forester of Kingswood	39	14	6
	160	0	0'

(*r*) See the Charters of Bristol, p' 107.

(*s*) This sentence is copied from Mr. Barrett, p' 50, who had it no doubt from Madox. He writes it *queen Margaret*, which is certainly a mistake for *Joanna*.

Comparing these payments with those mentioned in the lease of 1371, (*t*) it will appear, that some shillings are here added, apparently for the sake of rounding the sum.

§ 10. About this time some of the burgesses were engaged in a quarrel and a law-suit against the Mayor and Common-council. I can only give the narrative from two of our Calendars. "1455 [*al'* 1445]. certaine Irishmen, who had been admitted burgisses on some occasion, began a sute against the Mayor and Councell before my Lord Chaunceler, of which Irishmen one Henry May was chiefe speaker and labourer in the suit. But in the end both he and his fellowes were discomoned of theire freedom [*al'* disfranchised], untill they had bought it againe, and on theire knees asked favour and forgivenes of the Mayor and his brethren." What was the nature of this dispute is uncertain; for no mention is made of it elsewhere.

§ 11. 'In (*u*) 1450, 28 Hen' VI, when the King appointed certain fixed sums to be paid by particular persons and places for the expences of his household, instead of the former uncertain and vexatious mode of levying cattle and other goods; it was ordained that there should be received from the farmer and tenants of Berton Bristol £60; and from the Collectors of the Custom of our Lord the King in the port of the town of Bristoll, out of the same custom £266, 13*s*, 4*d*.' It should seem however that this was not considered to be a permanent arrangement: for the same commutation is ordered in subsequent years; as appears in the following extract. 'Whereas (*v*) divers goods and chattels were ordinarily taken from the King's subjects by the officers and purveyors of his household for the expences of the same, for which they were not sufficiently paid, it was therefore ordained in Parliament in the same year, 1454, that the following sums shall be first taken and received yearly from the following persons and places for the payment of the expences of the household; viz among several, "From the King's customs and subsidies in the port of Southampton £1600.—From the same in Boston £300, and Hull £300.—Item, of the fermours of the ulnage in the town of Bristowe"

(*t*) See Chapt' XV, § 27. (*u*) Rolls of Parl' 5, p' 175. (*v*) Rolls of Parl' Vol' 5' p' 246.

"£60.—Item, of the fermours of the ulnage in the county of Somerset £80.—Item, of the same in Wiltshire £40." The very same complaint was again (*w*) made 1485, 1 Hen' VII, and the same order again made in almost the same words; wherein are the following articles; "Item, of the custume and subsidie in the porte of Bristowe, by the hands of the collectours and custumers of the same for the tyme beinge, 400 *li.*—Item, of the fermour of the subsidie and ulnage in the countie of Bristowe, 27 *li*, 13 *s*, 4 *d.*"—And again in 1495, (*x*) 11 Hen' VII, complaint being made that many of the sums aforesaid could not be raised, another list was made, in which Bristoll is rated at 600 *li* instead of 400 *li*, the 27 *li*, 13 *s*, 4 *d*, remaining as before.'

§ 12. James, lord Berkeley, and his four sons being surprized in his castle of Berkeley and taken prisoners by their three adversaries, as if in time of war, "on (*y*) the 4*th* of Nov' 30 Hen' VI [1451] were by an armed band of men, carried to the Grey Friers in Bristol; whither John Stanley, then Mayor, was sent for; and there before him [lord Berkeley was] constrained to acknowledge three statutes, whereof one of £10,000 defeizanced &c." Such was the violence of those times and the weakness of Henry VI's government.

§ 13. In the year 1454, 32 Hen' VI, the duke (*z*) of York being appointed Protector of the realm, found it necessary immediately to 'send out a fleet for the protection of trade. For the equipment of this armament certain sums of money were immediately raised by way of loan on the sea-port towns, as follows. Of the inhabitants of the city of London £300.—Of the inhabitants of the town of Bristow £150.—Of Hampton £100.—Of Norwich and Yarmouth £100.—Of Gippewich, Colchestre and Maldon £100.—Of Newe-Sarum, Pole and Weymouth £50.—Of York and Hull £100.—Of Lynn £50.—Of Boston £30.—Of Newe Castell upon Tyne £20. And for repayment London was to receive "£300 of the first money that shall grow of the subsidy granted in this Parliament, - - - and Bristowe shall receive £150 of the first money which"

(*w*) Rolls of Parl' Vol' 6, p' 300.
(*x*) Rolls of Parl' 6, p' 498.
(*y*) Smythe.
(*z*) Rolls of Parl' Vol' 5, p' 244.

"shall grow of the said subsidy in the port of Bristowe, of all manner merchandizes, not belonging to the staple, going out of the said port and coming into the same by way of merchandize;" and so for the rest.

§ 14. Most of our Calendars say that "queen Margaret came to Bristol in 1456 [*al'* 1457] with a great traine of the Nobility, and was honourably received and entertained." But I have yet seen no account of this visit elsewhere: she took the King to Coventry in 1456, that he might be more secure from the machinations of the duke of York's faction.

§ 15. Philip Meade (*a*) during his mayoralty, which began Sept' 1458, "having apprehended one Thomas Talbot, esquire, would have imprisoned him for beating John Witch [*al'* Welch, *al'* Wicke], the Searcher of Bristow [*al'* the King's searcher]; but he stowtly fought and resisted the Maior, and escaped out at Temple-gate."

§ 16. "Mr. Robert (*b*) Sturney [*al'* Sturmey], who was Mayor in 1453, had this yeere [1458] a shipp spoyled in the Mediterranean sea by the Geneeses; which ship had gotten much wealth, as haveing beene long forth. She had spices fit to be planted here in England, as was reported; but the men of Genoa in envy spoiled her. Which wrong, when king Henry understood, he arrested the Genoa merchants in London, seized theire goods, and imprisoned theire persons, untill they gave security to make good the loss. So that they were charged with £6000, indebted to Mr. Sturney."

§ 17. In A' D' 1458 (*c*) the King appointed John Baggod to be Sheriff of Bristol for one year.

§ 18. After a long, weak, and unfortunate reign, Henry VI was deposed on March 4, 1460-1; and the duke of York, by the name of Edward IV, succeeded.

(*a*) (*b*) MS Calendars. (*c*) Rot' Pat' 37 Hen' VI, r' 11.

End of Chapter XIX.

CHAPTER XX.

EDWARD IV.

1. *King Edward visits Bristol. Sir Baldwin Fulford beheaded.* 2. *New Charters granted.*—3. *Attempts of the Lancastrians.*—4. *The Queen's Settlement.*—5. *Lord Herbert's brother slain.*—6. *The battle of Nibley-green.*—7, 8. *Further particulars of the battle.*—9. *Reasons why the authors of this outrage were never punished.*—10. *Leland's account of the same.*—11. *The Queen lands, and comes to Bristol. Battle of Tewkesbury. Earl of Oxford imprisoned at Bristol.*—12. *King comes to Bristol, and raises a Benevolence.*—13. *Correspondence with the earl of Richmond.*—14. *Death of the King.*

§1. "THIS (*d*) yeere in the harvest-season [1 Edw' IV, 1461], king Edward rode to Canterbury and to Sandwich, and so along by the sea-coast to Hampton, and from thence into the Marches of Wales, and to Bristow, where he was most royally received. Thus he progressed about the land, to understand the state thereof." Our Calendars all mention this visit: from them it may be collected, that 'king Edward came to Bristol in Sept' 1461; where, by his order were beheaded Sir Baldwin Fulford, knight; and two Esquires, —— Bright and John Haysant: and the same day the King departed.' These gentlemen had probably been taken prisoners while fighting for the Red Rose, and confined in the castle of Bristol, until the King's pleasure should be known: from his merciless disposition there was no hope of pardon. There is some variation in the manner of writing these names: all our Calendars call the Knight *Sir John Bawdin* or *Bawden* or *Bawdwin*, making

(*d*) Stow.

Fulford a separate person. This however is a manifest error, arising merely from a false punctuation; Sir Baldwin Fulford is a well-known character. Of the two Esquires no memorial has been left: the name of *Haysant* is written also *Haysatte*, *Hesante*, *Hessant*, and *Hescante*. The memory of Sir Baldwin Fulford has been snatched from that common grave of oblivion, wherein sleep the names of so many thousand heroes, who died in the fatal war between the houses of York and Lancaster; and has been immortalized by the well-known poem, entitled *The Execution of Sir Charles Bawdin*. Whether written by Rowley or by Chatterton, it is compleatly Bristowan; and has so much poetical merit, that our city may well be proud of it.

§2. It is evident that Mr. Cannings and such other of the principal burgesses, who were Yorkists, took the opportunity of the King's visit to petition for a confirmation of old charters, and a grant of new. King Edward refused to acknowledge some of the charters and grants, and acts of parliament made by the Lancastrian kings; and they were therefore fearful, lest the exemption from the jurisdiction of the Admiralty, which the burgesses had (*e*) obtained from Henry IV, should be disallowed, and that they should be again subjected to that oppressive court. This seems to have been their immediate concern, and therefore with all haste they procured another charter to be made out to the same effect as that of Henry IV, which king Edward (*f*) signed Oct' 22, on his return to Westminster. Next they procured (*g*) a charter confirming that of 19 Ric' II, which comprehends all the preceding; and this the King signed Dec' 14, in the same year 1461. Lastly, whereas Henry VI, *late* king of England as he is called, (although still alive) had (*h*) granted to the mayor, burgesses, &c. a lease of the town and it's profits for a term of sixty years, which term could not expire until the year 1517; and whereas the burgesses had now surrendered the said lease to be cancelled; therefore the King grants a new (*i*) charter, dated Feb' 12, 1461-2, wherein he regrants the former lease of Henry VI, nearly in the same words as before, not for a term of years, but for ever: and he

(*e*) Vide Chapt' XVII, § 7.
(*f*) (*g*) See Charters of Bristol, Nos' 20, 21.
(*h*) See Chapt' XIX, § 9.
(*i*) See Charters of Bristol, No. 22.

adds a grant for ever of every profit which could possibly arise to the King from the possession of the town (exclusive of the castle) excepting only escheats of lands: paying annually as a fee-farm rent, the same sum £160, as before. These were great and valuable privileges, being in fact a renunciation of the ancient rights and authorities of the lord, a dissolution of the feudal system so far as relates to Bristol; and they shew plainly that the King considered the burgesses as warm friends of the White Rose, and that their money and services had much advanced his cause. Philip Meade was mayor at that time, a man of honourable family and great spirit, living probably in Redcliffe (*k*) parish, and possessing an estate at Fayland, whose name will soon again occur in these Memoirs. One of our Calendars says, that he went himself to the King, when one or all of these charters were granted.

§ 3. Yet although the Yorkists were now predominant in Bristol, it is probable that the Lancastrian party was by no means extinct in this city, and that attempts were here made to raise it again. 'The King (*l*) wrote a letter to the R't Rev' Fadre and entirely beloved Cousin, our Chancellor of England, dated Pomfret castle 2 Dec' [1463], ordering a Commission of Oyer and Terminer to be made, directed to John Shipward, mayor of Bristol, Nicholas Chook, one of the King's Justices, Thomas Yong, Sergeant at law, and others, for the punishment of certain persons, who had stirred up commotions and insurrections in the town of Bristol and it's neighbourhood; with a memorandum in the King's own hand, that if the Chancellor thought he should have a warrant, he might have one made in due form.' John Shipward was elected mayor at Michaelmas 1463 and again in 1469: the former I suppose to be the date of this document.

§ 4. "King (*m*) Edw' IV, by his letter patent dated 16 March a' r' 5, [i' e' 1464-5] granted to his dearest consort queen Elizabeth 102 *li*, 15 *s*, 6 *d*, to be received by her from Michaelmas last past for term"

(*k*) See Chapt' concerning Redcliff Parish.

(*l*) This article is copied from the Monthly Magazine for Nov' 1813, which contains some account of the royal letters in the Tower. It was inserted, I had reason to believe, by Saml' Lysons, Esq'

(*m*) Madox Firma B' p' 227.

"of her life, out of the firm of the King's town of Bristol;" which sum was the whole which he himself received, and it was accordingly paid in 1465 by John Cogan, Sheriff of Bristol. Again by letters (*n*) patent dated 7 July, 7 Edw' IV, 1467, the King "considering the great costs, expences and burdens which his dearest consort Elizabeth queen of England does and must support in her chamber and elsewhere in divers ways," granted unto her for term of her life divers lordships, manors, lands, tenements and other things. Among the several particulars of this settlement we find the following; "£102, 15*s*, 6*d*, per annum out of the firm of our town of Bristoll with it's suburbs and appurtenances from the feast of Easter last past, to be received by her as well by the hands of the Mayor and Commonalty of the same town and their successors and the burgesses of the same town and their successors, as by the hands of the Sheriff and other receivers of the same town, at Michaelmas and Easter by equal portions: - - - - and £60 per annum out of the firm of the manor of Beerton Bristoll and the hundred of Berton Bristol with their appurtenances in the county of Gloucester, by the hands of the Sheriff of the said county, or others the firmers and tenants or other occupiers or receivers thereof."

§5. "A' D' 1469, (*o*) 9 Edw' IV, one of the lord Herbert his brothirn was slayne at Bristowe, at Seynt James his tyde."

§6. The violence with which the civil wars of York and Lancaster were carried on, had loosened the regular authority of government, and produced turbulence and anarchy among the nobility, who reigned with a sort of lordly independence each in his own territory. One of the most remarkable examples of this spirit, which the English history affords, is *the battle of Nibley-green*, the very counterpart of Chevy Chace, fought on the 20th of March, 10 Edward IV, 1469-70, between William lord Berkeley and the lord viscount Lisle, each attended by a strong body of men: and since many of the inhabitants of Bristow were concerned in the fray, it will not be deemed unconnected with my subject to give

(*n*) Rolls of Parl' 5, 625. (*o*) Rob' Ric'

an account of this singular event. On the death of Thomas lord Berkeley, who died in 1417, a great quarrel and lawsuit arose between the three daughters of his daughter Elizabeth, and their husbands on the one side, and his nephew and heir James on the other side. William lord Berkeley, afterward viscount and marquis, inherited this quarrel from his father James, and carried it on with great animosity against the principal of his adversaries, the lord viscount Lisle, a young man not 22 years old, who possessed the manor of Wotton-under-edge, and resided there at that time, which had been part of the property of the late Thomas lord Berkeley. A plot contrived by this lord Lisle having been discovered to his great dishonour and confusion, he sent a challenge to lord Berkeley in the afternoon of March 19, 1470, wherein he dares him to combat with the utmost power that he could bring into the field, leaving the time and place to his adversary's choice. The other, who was not born of blood to decline the invitation, returned a temperate answer to his invectives, but appointed the very next morning at an early hour, for the time, and Nibley-green for the place of meeting. The challenge and the answer are literally copied by Sir Robert Atkyns from the Historian of Berkeley. Both parties stood to the engagement: lord Berkeley came to the field with about 1000 men, raised during the night in the Forest of Dean, in and about Berkeley and Thornbury, and in Bristol, and as I suppose in Bedminster and elsewhere. He was accompanied to the field by his brothers, concerning whom John Smythe writes, that "this lord's (*p*) brethren Maurice and Thomas were adventurers of their lives with him and for him, and for the honor of their father's posterity in the skirmish at Nibley Green; that Maurice out of brotherly love to him and his honour, upon that short warning of one night at most, stole from his yonge wife and tender sonne (the hope at that tyme of both their posterities) and met him with a faire bond of men, Mr. Hilpe and others, sodaynly raysed from Thornbury, where hee then dwelt, early the next morning, neere Nibley Greene." The Bristol men were raised by Philip Meade and John Shipward, two merchants of the town: the former has been lately mentioned as Mayor in 1461, whose daughter Maurice Berkeley had married; the latter was the munificent builder

(*p*) Smythe, p' 460.

of St Stephen's tower. Lord Lisle's men were not so numerous, nor are we informed from what particular places they were raised; only it was supposed that, upon the whole, men came to this battle out of ten counties, all raised in one night. Lord Lisle himself was slain: while his beaver was up, an arrow pierced his temple to the brain. How many more fell on either side does not appear; but lord Berkeley, being conqueror, led his men on to Wotton, where he rifled the manor house of all the written evidences and documents which, as he supposed, belonged to that estate, and then returned to Berkeley.

§7. John Smythe's words are these: "Margaret the widowe of the said viscount, daughter of the earl of Pembroke, for the death of her husband bringeth her appeal against this lord by the name of William Berkeley, of Berkeley, knight, Maurice Berkeley, and Thomas Berkeley, his brethren, James Hiet, esquire, John Bely, Richard Hilp and others." He then relates somewhat of the lawsuit, in which the sheriffs designedly delayed the business. "The said Margaret (*q*) in Ester Terme in the 12 Edw' IV, declared against the said Beley (who only appeared as principal) that hee of malice prepensed the 20*th* of March, in the 10*th* yeare of the said King, at Nibley, at ten of the clocke in the forenone, feloniously with the said sir William Berkeley, Maurice and Thomas his brothers, James Hyet, Richard Hilp and others, strok her said husband with an arrowe on the leaft part of his face to the braine, and after with a dagger thrust him into the leaft side, &c." "For further manifestation of the day of battle and manner of the death of the said viscount Lisle, are the writs (*r*) into ten counties to enquire after his death, dated the 20*th* day of March, in the 10*th* of Edward IV; and an office in the county of Stafford in the same year; and another under the great seal in the county of Gloucester (whereof the original is perished in Berkeley Castle;) and the King's licence, dated at Bambury, 6 April, 10 Edw' IV, to Elizabeth and Margaret, his sisters and heirs, to enter into the manors and lands that were the said viscount's their brother's: before which time, being"

(*q*) He quotes *Trin' Term*, 11 *Edw' IV*, *Rot'* 8, 18 *&c* 81.

(*r*) He quotes many proofs of this from the Records.

"but sixteen days after her brother's death, their sister the viscountess seems to have beene delyvered of her child; whom perhaps sorrowe for the untimely death of her husband (lamenting like a virgin, girded with sackcloth, for the husband of her youth, as the prophet Joell hath) cast into an abortive travell: and the more probable, because the same day, perhaps the same houre of this victory, this lord William with his riotous company advanced forwards to Wotton where shee then was, rifled her house, and thence amongst other pillages, brought away to Berkeley castle, many of the deeds and evidences of the said viscount's owne undoubted lands, many of which remayne there to this day, togeather with a peece of Arras, wherein the armes of the viscount and the lady Jone his mother, daughter and coheire of Sir Thomas Cheddre, were wrought, which 20 years agone I there also saw."

§ 8. "Many steps not yet worne out poynt unto this family, how strongly the said viscountesse and other her friends, with the kindred of her husband, pursued this lord William, Maurice and Thomas, his brethren, for the death of the viscount her husband: insomuch as to acquite Phillip Mead, whose daughter the said Maurice Berkeley had married, and John Shipward, two marchants of Bristoll, the Maior of that citie, the 2*d* day of May next after, examyned twenty severall persons upon oath, upon suspition conveyed against them, to have sent armed men in manner of warre to the ayde of this lord William Berkeley against the lord Lisle; all which examynates acquite them of that scandall and imputation, sayth the Maior's testimoniall yet extant under the seale of that citty. Howbeit, I have seene other notes and memorialls of a stronger dye, that assure me that many came both from that city, procured by Maurice and them, and out of the Forest of Deane, that morninge wherein the skirmish was, to the ayde of this lord William: and from Thornbury, of whence the said Richard Hilp was, and where the said Maurice Berkeley then dwelt, came both himselfe and all the strength that on soe short a somons hee could make. And if traditions might be here allowed, I would assure this noble family, that within 32 yeares last by reason of my dwellinge at Nibley, and of my often resort to Wotton and to the villages adioyninge, I have often heard"

"many old men and weomen in those places, as William Longe, John Cole, Tho' Phelps, Adrian Jobbins, Tho' Dykes, of Woodford, Will' Legge, of Wike, John Smith, of Nibley, mother Birton, mother Purnell, mother Peeter and others, many of whose parents lyved in the tyme of King Edward IV, and most of themselves were borne in the tyme of K' Henry VII, as their leases and copies declared, some of them 110 years old; divers 100, and none under fourscore, relate the reports of their parents, kinsfolkes and neighbours, present at this skirmish, some with the one lord, and others with the other; and of such as carried victualls and weapons to some of these companies, as this Lord's party lay close in the utter skirts of Michaelwood Chace; out of which this lord Berkely brake, when hee first beheld the lord Lisle with his fellowship descendinge down that hill from Nibley church; and after climbed up into trees (being then boys of 12 and 16 yeares) to see the battle; and how the lord Berkeley's number was about 1000, and exceeded the other in greatness; that the place of *stand* was at Fowleshard, when this lord sent upon the lord Lisle the first shoure of his arrowes; that one Black Will (soe called) should shoot the lord Lisle, as his beaver was up, and that Tho' Longe, father of the said William was servant to one of them that helped to carry the lord Lisle, when he was slayne; and of many other particularityes, which I purposely omit, not possible almost by such playne country people to be fayned; and that a spetiall man of the lord Lisle's company was then alsoe slayne, and buried under the great stone tombe which yet remaynes in the south side of Nibley church-yard: insomuch as I cannot otherwise but delyver them as truthes: and much the rather for the full discourse thereof, which old Mr. Charles Hiet (whose great-grandfather James is one of the defendants in the said appeale) had with the lord Henry Berkeley, at Berkeley castle, the 25*th* of Sept' 1603, which myself then heard, soe particularly delyvered from the relation of his father and grandfather, as if the same had beene but of yesterday: the said lord Henry himselfe secondinge most of what Mr. Hyet related, from the reports of dyvers others made to himselfe in his youth, some of whom were then borne and of the age of discretion, as his Lordship then affirmed. But enough of theis traditions and reports, wherein I have exceeded myne"

"owne inclination, because this passage is of most remarkablenes in this family. - - - - - And thus did all the sonnes ioyne in revenge of the innocent bloud of that vertuous and princely lady Isable their mother, malitiously spilt at Gloucester seventeen yeares before by Margaret, this viscounts' grandmother, and whose heire and ward he was. And this wounde stroke the deeper, for that the blowe thereof swept away all her issue male from the earth, and in the same quarrell, wherein the bloud of the said lady Berkeley was shed."

§ 9. Nevertheless such was the lawless power of the military Lords of that age, that so gross a violation of peace as that which happened at Nibley Green was never punished; the writs of enquiry mentioned above had probably no better success than the examinations at Bristol; and moreover the King's government was occupied by affairs so much more important and dangerous, that it had neither power nor inclination to bring the authors of this outrage to punishment. "At this time (says Smythe) both before and after, the state was in much combustion; for upon the 13*th* of this March, seven days before this skirmish the (*s*) King declared by his proclamation in all shires his victory against the rebells in Lincolnshire and their captayne Sir Robert Wells: and the 21*st* of March (the next after this lord Lisle's death), the King proclaymes his brother the duke of Clarence, and Richard Nevill, earle of Warwicke, then in armes in Lancashire, to be traytors and rebells, with the reasons leading him thereunto; whereby that troubled tyme was soe farre from taking notice of this ryot, that the 26*th* of that month the King sent his commission (*t*) to this Lord William to find out such rebells, as had been against him in this county of Gloucester." Then followed strange turns of fortune in rapid succession: the King forced the earl of Warwick out of the kingdom in May; in Sept' the Earl returns, collects a large army and in his turn drives king Edward out of England in Oct'. Next March, 1471, Edward returns, enters London, re-assumes the crown, and on April 14 fights the battle of Barnet, wherein the earl of Warwick is slain. On April 27 were issued proclamations of treason against Margaret, wife

(*s*) He quotes in this place many authorities from the Rolls.

(*t*) He quotes *Pat'* 10 *Edw' IV, m'* 7 *in dorso.*

of Henry VI, and Prince Edward her son, who were just landed; and on May 4 was fought the battle of Tewkesbury. Now during this whole time the very existence of the government was at hazard, and therefore there was "no time to take notice of these Nibley tumults. And in the 13*th* of this King [1473] was this Lord William (*u*) spetially imployed with Antony earle Ryvers for the discovery of traytors and their goods in the county of Gloucester, Worcester and others. It was easy for such a person and at such a time to defy inquiry."

§ 10. Leland gives a short account of this fray and it's consequences. "There was great heart-burning between the lord Berkeley and the lord Lisle for the manor of Wotton-under-edge; insomuch that they appointed to fight, and meeting in a meadow at a place called Nibley, Berkeley's archers suddenly shot sore, and the lord Lisle lifting up the vizor of his helm, was by an archer of the forest of Dean shot in at the mouth and out of the neck: and a few beside being slain, Lisle's men fled, and Berkeley with his men strait spoiled the manor place of Wotton, and kept the house. Berkeley favoured Henry VI's part; Lisle favoured Edward IV. Berkeley to win, afterward, king Edward's good will, promised to make the marquis of Dorset his heir; but that succeeded not. Berkeley was once a sure friend to king Richard III. Thus parted Berkeley from his lands. First he was rather winked at, than forgiven of the death of lord Lisle. And he being without heirs, his brother sold and did bargain for his own son, heir apparent to the lands. Whereupon lord Berkeley in a rage made king Henry VII his heir for most of his lands, and after was made a Marquis, and lieth buried in the Augustine Friers in London."(*v*) Leland mentions this battle in another (*w*) place. "There hath been a very great camp of men of war on a hill now called *Nebley* overgrown with wood, about midway between Wotton under edge, and Dersley, but nearer to Wotton. The lord Lisle was slain with an arrow by one James Hiatte of the forest of Deene, in Nebley parish."

(*u*) He quotes *Pat'* 13 *Edw' IV, pars* 2 *in dorso*

(*v*) Itin' 6, 47 [50].

(*w*) Itin' 6, 73 [77].

§ 11. On the same day, or nearly so, on which the battle of Barnet was fought, April 14, 1471, Margaret, queen of Henry VI, with her son the young prince Edward, landed at Weymouth. On hearing the fatal news, that the earl of Warwick, her principal supporter, had lost his army and his life, she retired to Bath, while her friends were raising an army in the western counties. From thence she came to Bristol to meet the duke of Somerset, and the other chiefs of the (*x*) Lancastrian party, with such troops as they had been able to collect. We have seen already, that here, as well as in London, the principal persons were Yorkists; had the town been favourable to her cause, it is probable that the Queen would have made her stand here; instead of which she resolved to retire into Wales. There was but little time for deliberation, for king Edward advanced directly toward Bristol, and arrived at Sodbury May 1, 'where his (*y*) army occupied for one night the ancient Roman camp on the hill, near Little Sodbury;' and there having heard that the Queen was marching toward Gloucester, he pursued. Being disappointed of crossing the Severn at that place, she went on to Tewkesbury for the same purpose, where king Edward overtook her, and the fatal battle of Tewkesbury was fought, which put an end to the Lancastrian cause. John Vere, earl of Oxford, one of the chiefs, escaped abroad; 'but again returning, he (*z*) got possession of St Michael's mount in Cornwall with only 77 men, Sept' 30, 1472, which he held till Feb' 15 next, and then surrendered on condition that their lives should be spared.' The earl himself was sent prisoner to the castle of Hammes near Calais; in his way he was probably kept some time in Bristol; for our Calendars, &c. say, that in 1473 he was imprisoned in Bristow, and one says, that it was in Newgate; perhaps in that part of the castle which touches Newgate. Stow says that "he was sent prisoner to Gwines, where he remained so long as this King reigned. In all which time the lady his wife might never come to him, or had any thing to live upon but what people of their charities would give her, or what she got by her needle." To such a situation was reduced the sister of the great Earl of Warwick.

(*x*) MS Calendars. (*y*) Leland Itin' 7,103. (*z*) Stow.

§ 12. The King being now secure of domestic enemies turned his thoughts to a war with France: and for this purpose, beside the subsidies granted by Parliament in 1474, he borrowed large sums by way of *Benevolence*, a word then first used in that sense. One of our best Calendars says thus. "1474. King Edward came this yeare to Bristow, and lodged in the Abbey of St. Augustine's; and receaved here of the burgisses a great benevolence of money, and of the counties adioyning, toward the maintenance of his warres."

§ 13. The earl of Richmond (afterward king Henry VII,) was from the first a cause of great uneasiness and an object of suspicion to king Edward. He was with the duke of Britanny in a kind of honourable imprisonment; but he was supposed to hold correspondence with the surviving chiefs of the Lancastrian party, and particularly in Wales. Of the following transactions, the first was probably an accusation of holding such correspondence; as the latter certainly was. "1478 (*a*) Thomas Norton, esquire, dwelling in St Peeter's churchyard, accused Mr. Spencer, maior of Bristoll, for treason; which was don of malice. And so soone as the King heard the truth of the matter, he delivered the maior out of prison and trouble, who of his owne accord yeelded himselfe to prison [*al'* to Newgate] so soone as he was apprehended; where he lay 13 daies, untill he had the Kinge's letters, which were sent to him honorably with great love and favour: being highly comended of the King for his wisedom: and the said Norton was severely checked of the King for his malitious intent." The other transaction was very similar, copied from the same calendar. "1479. One Simbarbe [*al'* Symbart: *al'* Symberbe] caused Robert *al'* Roger] Markes, a townsman, to accuse Mr. Robert Strange, who had been mayor, of quoyning money, and sending it over sea to the earle of Richmond. Wherefore the King sent for him and comitted him to the Tower, where he continued 7 or 8 weeks. But when the truth was known, his appealer Markes was had to Bristow, and there hanged, drawn and quartered, for his false accusation, and Strange released."

§ 14. King Edward IV died April 9, 1483.

(*a*) Adams's MS Calendar, with which the rest agree; except that one MS says that *John Shipward was the Mayor*.

End of Chapter XX.

CHAPTER XXI.

EDWARD V AND RICHARD III.

1. *Accession of Edw' V, and of Richard III. The battle of Bosworth field.*—2. *A great flood.*

§ 1. EDWARD V, being only 12 years of age, succeeded to his father; but after a reign of only a few weeks, he was deposed and perhaps murdered; and his uncle, Richard III, succeeded to the throne June 22 in the same year. He reigned only two years; for on Aug' 22, 1485, he lost his crown and life in the battle of Bosworth field. During these short reigns, nothing has occurred relative to Bristol, except what is contained in the following §.

§ 2. "In (*b*) this year [1483] the Dominical letter being E, on St Woolfrank's day in the evening, which is Oct' 15, was the greatest wind that ever was at Bristol; which caused a wonderful great flood in most part of the land from Bristow to the Mount, and many other places, drowning the counties round about; and it bore away houses, corn and cattle, and drowned above 200 people. Great damage was done at Bristow in the merchants' houses and cellars in wool and salt. Divers ships were hurt in Kingroad; the Antony and the Katharine were lost; a ship of Bilboa was set with the wind and sea upon Hollow-backs, and a Briton ship cut her mast. At the same time the moon being eclipsed gave but little light, appearing of divers colours, viz, a strake of red beneath a strake of blue in the midst, and a strake of green above that; so that at the top a little light appeared; and so she continued eclipsed between two and three hours, and waxed clear again."

(*b*) All the Calendars, and nearly in the same words.

End of Chapter XXI.

CHAPTER XXII.

HENRY VII.

1. *Sweating sickness.*—2—6. *The King's visit: paving the streets.*—7. *Coiners apprehended.*—8. *A great ship lost.*—9. *The King's visit.*—10. *Death of Jasper Tudor: the King's visit.*—11. *Cornish rebels threaten Bristol.*—12. *A new Charter granted.*—13. *Sebastian Cabot's voyage.*—14. *Aids levied on towns and counties.*—15. *The King's decease.*

§ 1. THE reign of Henry VII is dated as beginning from the death of Richard III, Aug' 22, 1485. Soon after, i' e' in Sept' 1485, "there (*c*) was in all places of the land a sickness, called *the Sweating sickness*, whereof many died for want of good keeping." If it be recollected that in London two Mayors and four Aldermen died of this disorder, although it lasted little more than a month, it will appear, that our Bristow Chroniclers mistook the cause of it's mortality.

§ 2. Some time after this, "king Henry (*d*) came to Bristol, and kept his court at the great house on St Augustine's Back." One MS says he lodged at St Augustine's Abbey. It will be seen in the next §, that the King certainly went to the Abbey on his first arrival: yet he might have returned to the house of the Carmelites on St Augustine's Back, (now Mr. Colston's school) there lodged and kept his court, as our Calendars say he did. It was probably a more convenient place than the Abbey, and certainly much pleasanter; and was often so used by the kings of England and their families during their visits to Bristol. The time of this visit is said in the Calendars to be during Vaughan's Mayoralty: it was in the spring of the year 1486.

(*c*) MS Calendars

(*d*) All the Calendars.

§ 3. A very particular account of this event is contained in a (*e*) narrative of the King's first progress, which he made after his accession; from which I extract the following particulars: 'The King on the —— day of March took his horse, well and nobly accompanied, at St. John's of London, and rode to Waltham. From thence he went to Cambridge, Huntingdon, Stamford and Lincoln, where he spent the feast of Easter: from thence to Nottingham, Doncaster, Pomfret, York and various other places, till he came to Worcester: on Whitmonday he rode to Hereford: on Friday following to Gloucester, and on Monday he removed toward Bristow and lay at the Abbey of Kingswood [in Wiltshire]; and on Tuesday he dined at Acton with Sir Robert Poynes [Poyntz], Sheriff of Gloucestershire. "Three miles out of Bristow the maire, the sheriffs, the bailiffs, with their brethren and a great number of other burgesses met the King: in whose names *Treymayle*, recorder of the same-town right cunningly welcomed him. But the maire of Bristow bare no mace, and the sheriff bare no rod, until they came to a gate of the suburbs [Lawford's gate], where beginneth their franchise. And on a causey-way within that gate, the procession of the friers received the King: and then at the end of the causey-way, the procession of the parish churches received him; and in the entry of the town gate [Newgate], there was ordained a pageant with great melody and singing; after which there was a King, who had speech as followeth."

§ 4. "KING BREMMIUS [BRENNUS]

Most dear Cousin of England and France
King Henry VII, noble and victorious,
sent hither by the wholesome purveyance
of Almighty God, most merciful and gracious,
to reform things, that be contrarious
unto the common weal, with a mighty hand.
I am right glad, ye be welcome to this land,

namely to this town, which I Bremmyus king
whilcom builded with her walls old,
and called it Bristow in the beginning,
for a memorial, that folk ne worlde"

(*e*) It is printed in Leland's Coll' 4, 185, from a MS in the Cotton Library.

" out of remembrance that act raze, ne unfold.
and welcome to your subjects here, that with one accord
thanking God highly for such a sovereign lord.

This town left I in great prosperity,
Having riches and wealth manifold,
the merchant, the artificer every one in his degree,
had great plenty both of silver and gold
and lived in joy, as they desire wold,
at my departing: but I have been so long away,
that Bristow is fallen into decay

irrecuperable, without that a due remedy
by you, their heart's hope and comfort in this distress,
provided be at your leisure, conveniently
to your navy and clothmaking, whereby I guess
the weal of this town standeth in sickerness,
may be maintained, as they have be
in days heretofore, in prosperity.

Now farewell, dear Cousin, my leave I take
at you, that well of bounty be
to your said subjects for Mary's sake,
that beareth you their fidelity.
In most loving wise now grant ye
some remedy herein; and He will quit your meed,
that never unrewarded leaveth good deed."

§ 4. *b.* From these miserable rhymes, lest it should be suspected, that the Muses were at that time particularly unpropitious to Bristow, I can assure the reader, that the verses, which the unfortunate monarch had been condemned to hear at York, Worcester and Hereford, were every whit as bad. The case of Bristol is however somewhat particular. How comes it to pass, it may be asked, that in the year 1486, only 12 years after the death of Mr. William Cannynge, when his literary associates, " Rowley, Ischamme, and Tyb' Gorges" were perhaps still alive (for Rowley, we are told, survived his patron); how is it, that the spirit of poetry in Bristol should be totally extinct in so short a time? The argument is new, and the Rowleians will doubtless find an answer; but I have no time to enter on the controversy.

§ 5. " And from thence the King proceeded into the town; and"

"at the High-cross there was a pageant, full of maiden children richly beseen, and PRUDENTIA had the speech, as ensueth." The speech of Prudence is merely complimentary, and may be omitted. "From thence the King proceeded *ad portam sancti Johannis*, where was another pageant of many maiden children, richly besene with girdles, beads, and *onches*, where JUSTITIA had the words which follow:

Welcome, most excellent, high and victorious,
Welcome, delicate rose of this your Britain, &c. &c."

Being of the same kind as the former, there is no occasion to transcribe it.

§ 6. "And then the King proceeded toward the Abbey of Saint Austeyn's; and by the way there was a baker's wife, who cast out of a window a great quantity of wheat, crying, *welcome* and *good luck*. And a little furthermore there was a pageant made called *the Shipwright's Pageaunt*, with pretty conceits playing in the same, without any speech. And a little further there was another pageant of an Olifaunt, with a castle on his back, curiously wrought. The resurrection of our Lord in the highest tower of the (*f*) same, with certain imagery smiting bells, and all went by weights, marvellously well done. Within Saint Austein's church, the Abbot and his Covent received the King with procession, as accustomed. And on the morn when the King had dined, he rode on pilgrimage to St Anne's in the wood. And on Thursday next following, which was Corpus Christi day, the King went in procession about the great Green, there called *the Sanctuary*; whither came all the processions of the town also: and the bishop of Worcester preached in the pulpit in the middle of the aforesaid Green, in a great audience of the meyre and the substance of all the burgesses of the town and their wives, with much other people of the country. After Evensong the King sent for the mayre and sheriff, and part of the best burgesses of the town, and demanded of them the cause of their poverty: and they shewed his Grace, that it was by reason of the great loss of ships and goods, which they had suffered within five years. The King comforted them, that they should set on and make new ships, and exercise their marchandize, as they were wont to do: and his Grace would so help them by divers

(*f*) Something seems to be omitted.

"means, like as he shewed unto them: so that the meyre of the town told me, they had not heard these hundred years from any King so good a comfort; therefore they thanked Almighty God, that had sent them so good and gracious a sovereign lord. And on the morn the king departed to London ward."—It is probable, that the want of pavement in many of the streets, and the bad condition of it in others, might have drawn the King's attention, and have occasioned the Act of Parl' which passed next year, enjoining the inhabitants to pave (or as we call it in Bristol, *to pitch)* the streets, every man before his own house. A Calendar says thus. "1490. This year the stone-bridge on the Were was made, and the streets new paved."

§7. "In 1488 the (*g*) mayor, John Easterfield, the sheriff and two bailiffs were summoned before the King, who brought up to London with them two Irishmen of Waterford, whome they had imprisoned for bringing of false counterfet money into England."

§8. "A (*h*) great ship, called the Antony of Bristow, in the year 1487 was lost in Hungrode by defalt of the maister."

§9. "This (*i*) yeare, 1490, the King and the lord Chaunceler came to Bristow, and lodged at the great house on St Augustine's Back, and the King made every one of the Commons that was (*k*) worth £20 in goods to pay 20 *sh*, or 5 per cent, for a Benevolence, because their wives went so sumptuously apparelled. Thus he obtained £500." This was a general Benevolence, and not particular to Bristol, and was rigidly exacted; Stow says, that he obtained from the city of London £9682 17*s* 4*d*, of which many of the Aldermen paid £200 apiece.

§10. Jasper Tudor, duke of Bedford, the King's uncle, son of Owen Tudor and of queen Katharine, widow of Henry V, died at Thorne-

(*g*) MS Calendars. (*h*) Adams's Calendar.

(*i*) Several MS Calendars: some say merely that he lodged at *St Austin's*.

(*k*) One MS has it thus: *that was worth two hundred pounds to pay twenty shillings*.

bury Dec' 21 [*al'* 18] 1496. "The Maior (*l*) with 200 townsmen clad in black, met the dead corpse, and accompanied him to Keynsham, where he was buried. The King and Queen shortly after came to Bristoll, and lodged at the great house on St Augustine's Back, and gave the Maior greate thanks."

§ 11. In the summer of 1497, "the (*m*) Cornish Rebels, under their captains, Flammock a lawyer, a blacksmith, and others, being at Wells, and there being joined by the lord Audley, sent to Bristow to the Maior to billet 2000 men; which he not only denyed but forbad them on their perill to approach the towne. This message was soe ill taken that the rebells intended revenge; but such provision was made to entertain them, that they desisted. The gates were fortifyed, and such shipps, as were of force, were brought upp to the marsh. The whole strength of the towne was in readyness; for which they received greate commendation of the King."

§ 12. King Henry VII, in the 3*d* year of his reign, that is in 1488, had granted a charter to the burgesses, confirming all the preceding: and now again Dec' 17, 1499, he granted another, containing several new privileges and regulations. By it six Aldermen were appointed, of whom the Recorder was one, who were to have the same authority as those of London: the Mayor and Aldermen are constituted Justices of the Peace and Justices of Oyer and Terminer, and Justices of goal-delivery; and very ample powers are given to them. A Chamberlain was appointed. The single Sheriff was discontinued; but the two Bailiffs were constituted Sheriffs of the county, as well as Bailiffs of the town. It was provided that the Common-council should be elected by the Mayor and two Aldermen of his choice, with powers as before. Two Treasurers were appointed. And lastly the Mayor and Commonalty were empowered to nominate a Water-bailiff, which officer was before nominated by the Crown.

§ 13. "This (*n*) yeare 1499 [*al'* 1497] Sebastian Cabot borne in Bristoll proferred his service to king Henry for discovering new"

(*l*) MS Calendars. (*m*) MS Calendar. (*n*) MS Calendar.

"countries; which had noe greate or favorable entertainment of the King: but hee with no extraordinary preparation sett forth from Bristoll, and made greate discoveries." John Stowe's account is as follows. "This year, a' r' 13 Henry VII [that is in 1498], one Sebastian Gabato, a Genoese son, born in Bristow, professing himself to be expert in the knowledge of the circuit of the world and islands of the same (as by his charts and other reasonable demonstrations he shewed) caused the King to man and victual a ship at Bristow to search for an island, which he knew to be replenished with rich commodities. In the ship divers merchants of London adventured small stocks; and in the company of this ship sailed also out of Bristow three or four small ships, fraught with slight and gross wares, as coarse cloths, caps, lace, points, and such other. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, k't, in his book entitled *a Discovery for a new passage to Cataia*, writeth thus;" "Sebastian Gabato by his personal experience and travel hath set forth and described this passage in his charts, which are yet to be seen in the Queen's Majesty's privy gallery at Whitehall, who was sent to make this discovery by king Henry VII, and entered the same fret, affirming that he sailed very far westward with a quarter of the North, on the north side of Terra de Librador, the 11 of June, until he came to the Septentrional latitude of 67-$\frac{1}{3}$ degrees; and finding the seas still open, said that he might and would have gone to Cataia, if the enmity of the master and mariners had not been." Not long after this, the King, probably vexed at Cabot's unprofitable voyage, and envying the great success of the Spaniards and Portuguese, (*o*) granted letters patent dated 19 May, 16 Hen' VII, that is A' D' 1500 to three persons, Richard Warde, John Thomas, and John Farnandus, empowering them to make voyages of discovery and conquest. It does not appear that any thing was done in consequence: and the King granted other letters patent, dated 9 Dec' a' r' 18 [A' D' 1502], to the same persons as before, and also with them to Hugh Elliot, and Thomas Ashehurst, merchants of Bristol, and to John Gunsalus and Francis Farnandus, esqrs' subjects of the king of Portugal; which letters patent contained licence to discover, and in the King's name to settle in places"

(*o*) Rymer's Foed'.

" yet unknown, to take possession of lands, towns, islands, castles, fortreses, &c. belonging to gentiles and infidels; to appoint governors and establish courts; to be themselves admirals in the countries discovered, and appoint admirals; and to have full dominion over those countries, saving the King's authority. They were also empowered to prevent any person from settling or going there without their consent for 40 years to come, and to drive away by force of arms all intruders, whether English or foreigners. They were also permitted to receive one 20*th* of all goods brought to England from those countries, and to send two ships (the officers of which are said to be in each a master or chief-master, and a contromagister or quartermaster) as often as they could during five years next to come, which might land their cargo in England free of all custom. Such were the speculations which were to raise Mr. Elliot and Mr. Ashehurst to the rank of Sovereigns, and Bristol to be the emporium of East and West India. But the whole affair proved a baseless fabric; " the gold and silver in mass, the jewels and other valuables" which were to enrich the speculators, vanished like a dream, and for many years afterward were nearly forgotten: whether any voyages were undertaken in consequence of these letters patent, I cannot say.

§14. In (*p*) the year 1503, 19 Hen' VII, when the Parliament granted to the King the sum of £30,000, instead of two Aids, which were his due by ancient right of the crown, one for making his eldest son Arthur a knight, the other for the marriage of his eldest daughter Margaret to the king of Scots, which whole sum was to be raised on the several counties, &c; villa Bristol was rated at 185*li*, 8*s*, 1¼*d*: the commissioners, who were to assess and levy this sum were Philip Rygmeston, Richard Warham, Nicholas Broun, and John Jay. Canterbury was rated at 53*li*, 12*s*, 3½*d*.. Bath at 13*li*, 6*s*, 8*d*:—Gloucester at 98*li*, 10*s*, 1*d*:—Hull at 60*li*:—London at 618*li*, 3*s*, 5*d*:—Lincoln at 116*li*, 14*s*, 6½*d*:—Norwich at 80*li*, 6*s*, 11*d*:—Shrewsbury 79*li*, 8*d*:—Salisbury at 65*li*, 6*s*, 10*d*:—Southwark, 17*li*, 3*s*:—Southampton, 47*li*, 11*s*:—York, 160*li*, 10*s*, 0½*d*:—Co' Devon, 803*li*, 15*s*, 9¾*d*:—Co' Gloucester, 1100*li*, 11*s*:—

(*p*) From the Rolls of Parl' probably.

Co' Kent, 1388 *li*, 5*s*, 10¼*d*:—Co' Lincoln, 2548*li*, 9*s*, 4½*d*:—Co' Middlesex, 271 *li*, 6*s*, 9*d*:—Co' Norfolk, 2856*li*, 6*s*, 10*d*:—Co' Somerset, 1129 *li*, 13*s*, 0¼*d*:—Co' Wilts, 1265*li*, 11*s*, 4½*d*:—Co' York, 1934*li*, 18*s*, 11½*d*.—The curious reader will be pleased with these extracts from a paper, which gives a clear view of the comparative wealth of the several counties and towns in that age.

§ 15. Henry VII died April 22, 1509, and his son, Henry VIII, succeeded him.

End of Chapter XXII.

CHAPTER XXIII.

HENRY VIII.

1. *A Charter of Confirmation granted.*—2. *Excessive rain.*—3. *Duke of Buckingham at Bristol: his execution.*—4. *A great dearth.*—5. *War with France: a benevolence.*—6. *Mr. Vaughan murdered by Will' Herbert.*—7. *A Fair at Redcliffe.*—7. *b. The King visits Thornbury.*—8. *Birth of Prince Edward.*—9, 10. *Progress of the Reformation: Archbishop Cranmer at Bristol: Latimer preaches here: disputes on that occasion.*—11, 12. *Further notice concerning Latimer's preaching.*—13, 14. *Edgeworth preaches against Latimer.*—15—18. *Scurrilous letters written against the Magistrates and Clergy.*—19. *An heretical preacher condemned to carry a faggot.*—20, 21, 22. *Suppression of Monasteries in Bristol and elsewhere.*—23. *Bristol made a City and Bishopric.*—24. *A large ship burned.*—25. *Ships sent from Bristol to the siege of Bologne.*—26. *A plague in Bristol.*—27. *The stews suppressed.*—28. *A Mint erected, and a printing press.*—29. *Price of Corn.*—30. *Toll at the gates taken off.*—31. *Death of Henry VIII.*

§ 1. IN the second year of his reign the King granted a charter to the burgesses: but it is merely a confirmation of preceding.

§ 2. "This (*q*) year [1517 or 1518] it continued to rain from Whitsuntide to Michaelmas."

§ 3. In (*r*) the year 1521 the duke of Buckingham came to Bristol; and shortly after in the same year, that is, on May 17, 1521, he was beheaded in London.

(*q*) (*r*) MS Calendar.

§4. About this time was a considerable dearth: different Calendars place it in different years, in 1520, 1521, and 1524. "There was such a scarcity of corn, that wheat was at 4*s* and 8*d* a bushell; and bread was made of acorns and fern roots; by reason whereof the Maior [John Rowland] of his good disposition inclining his charitie to the common weale and his office, authorized Mr. Ware and others under the common seale of the towne to provide wheat and other graine beneficiall for the commons from Worcestershire, by vertue of the King's most gratious letters pattents to that effect: by reason whereof great abundance came in at reasonable rates, and the towne was relieved." To this scarcity of corn succeeded so great abundance, that "in (*s*) the year 1526 or 1527, wheat and malt were sold at 12*d*, a bushell in Bristoll;" and again "in 1534, the price of wheat rose from 8*d*, and 9*d*, to 2*s*, and 2*s*, and 4*d*, a bushel."

§5. In the summer of the year 1522, the King having declared war against France, raised a large sum from his subjects by way of loan or benevolence. An account was ordered to be taken of every person above 16 years of age, and of all property real and personal, in order to raise the above loan. One of our Calendars says, "this year every man was sworn what he was worth throughout the kingdom." This was done by the advice of Cardinal Wolsey, and made him very unpopular.

§6. From several of our Calendars, and from *Aubrey's* (*t*) *Letters*, may be collected the following particulars of a very atrocious murder, committed here July 25, 1527. On Midsummer night of that year there was a great fray made by the Welchmen in the King's watch in Bristol. On St James's day next following, as the Mayor and his brethren were coming from wrestling, Mr. William Herbert, a Welchman, afterward earl of Pembroke, having received some affront or disrespect, or as others say, being arrested, killed Mr. William Vaughan, mercer, on the Bridge; and then escaping through the great gate, which stood at the end of Back-street, into the Marsh, he with much difficulty got into a boat, which was prepared for him, the tide then ebbing, and

(*s*) MS Calendars. (*t*) Aubrey's Letters, &c. from the Bodleian Library, vol' 2, p' 477.

escaped into Wales, and afterward he went to France. Mr. Vaughan had been sheriff in 1516. Will' Herbert was a Monmouthshire man, a younger brother, a mad fighting young fellow, and was called *Black Will Herbert*. On this escape the Back-street gate was walled up, and only a little postern gate or door was left open with a turnstile for a foot-passenger: which continued so, till Bristowe was made a garrison for the King, and the gate was then again opened in 1644 or 1645.

§ 7. "This year (*u*) 1529 [*al'* 1530] a fair was appointed to be held at Redcliffe, on Candlemas day; which in 1542 was again put down."

§ 7. *b*. "King (*v*) Henry and his traine came unto his manor of Thornebury the 18*th* daie of August 1534, where he continued ten daies. And forasmuch as his Grace determined to come to Bristow, had it not been for the plague then raigning here; therefore Mr. Thomas White, Mr. Nicholas Thorne and the Chamberlin of Bristow by consent of Mr. Cooke, Maior, and the Common-councell of the towne, the 20*th* of Aug' resorted to Thornebury, and there in the name of the said Maior and Cominaltie presented to the King tenne fat oxen, and forty sheepe towards his hospitallitie; and unto Queene Anne one cup with a cover of silver guilded, waying 28 ounces, with a hundred markes of gowld in the same, as a gift from this his maiestie's towne and his [her] chamber of Bristow." Another MS says, "king Henry VIII went to Thornbury in his progress, and thence came disguised to Bristol with certain gentlemen to Mr. Thorn's house, and secretly viewed the city, which Mr. Thorn shewed him; and he said to Mr. Thorn, this is now but the *towne* of Bristol, but I will make it the *city* of Bristol: which he afterward did by erecting it into a Bishop's See."

§ 8. Oct' 12, 1537, was born prince Edward, afterward king Edw' VI: "and on (*w*) St Luke's day following, there was a general procession in Bristoll for ioy thereof."

(*u*) MS Calendars. (*v*) Adams's Calendar.

(*w*) MS Calendars.

§ 9. During the reign of Henry VIII the doctrines of the Reformation made great progress, although unauthorized and even opposed by that King. It is evident that they were embraced in Bristol with as much eagerness, as in the rest of the kingdom: even so far back as the days of Wickliffe, the seeds of Reformation were sown in and near this town by that celebrated Reformer, and his asistant Purney, as it has been (*x*) already mentioned. About A' D' 1520, William Tyndale, he who was afterward famous, as the first translator of the Bible, used often to preach in Bristol. He was at that time, being a young man, resident with Sir John Welsh at Little Sodbury, as tutor to his children; and on Sundays he preached at the towns and parishes in the neighbourhood: and frequently he had debates with the Abbats and other Clergy, who frequented the house; with the approbation of his patron, but not entirely to the satisfaction of the lady his wife. These principles gradually spread in all parts of the kingdom, and were occasionally persecuted by the King or Clergy or Parliament. Our Calendars say, that so far back as "in the year 1498 many were apprehended in Bristow for theire consciences, which Papists call *Heresy*, whereof some were burned, and some abiured to bear faggots." And again we are informed, that "in 1525, the reverend martir Dr' Barnes wore a faggot at his backe in Bristow." The writings of Luther gave a new spirit to these doctrines and principles, and those who embraced them became a regular religious party, under the name of *Gospellers* and *Sacramentarians*. King Henry VIII, on account of his quarrel with the Pope, was by no means steady in his opposition to them; he persecuted them on some occasions and favoured them on others; which irregularity of conduct was on the whole favourable to their cause. March 30, 1533, he appointed Cranmer to be archbishop of Canterbury, although he was known to be a friend to the new doctrines; soon after which that Prelate came to Bristol. Our Calendars say, that "in 1533 [*al'* 1534] Thomas archbishop of Canterbury came to Bristow and tarried here 9 [*al'* 19] daies, reforming of many thinges that were amisse, and preached at St Augustine's Abbey and other places." The dissolution of the ancient system of papal government, and the attack on the established opinions and doctrines of religion,

(*x*) Chapt' XVI, § 13 &c.

could not fail of agitating the minds of men, and bringing discord and debate on the most important subjects into half the families of the kingdom. One of our Calendars gives a good representation of this matter. "1534. Great troubles there were all over England about preaching, particularly in Bristol, where Mr. Latimer preached; and there preached against him Mr. Hobberton and Dr' Powell, so that there were great part-takings on both sides; insomuch that divers priests and others set up bills against the Mayor and Mr. Latimer. But the Mayor permitting laymen to preach caused divers priests to be apprehended and cast into the prison of Newgate with bolts upon them; and divers others ran away and lost their livings." Latimer's Benefice was at West Kington in Wiltshire, where they still shew a large tree, under which he used to sit; and from his own parish he seems to have made progresses through the neighbouring districts for the purpose of spreading the doctrines of the Reformation; for which purpose the coarse and familiar language of his sermons was well adapted. His preaching here in Bristol seems to have thrown the whole town into confusion: as the following letters, hitherto unpublished, will abundantly shew.

§ 10. *From Richard Browne to Thomas Cromwell* (as I suppose). "Right (*x*) worshipful master, - - - - It may like you to be advertised, the second Sonday thys Lent at Brystowe there preached M~ Lattemare, and (as it is reported) he hath done much hurt among the people~ &c. - - - It is reported he is assigned to preache agenne in Bristowe Wednesday in Easter week, unless by your commandment unto the Dean there he be denied. - - - The fellow dwelleth in the diocese of Bath and Wells. - - - The good catholic people of the said towne do abhor all such his preaching. - - - This 18*th* day of March by y^r^ trewe obed' serv' *Richard Browne.*"

§ 11. Abstract (*y*) of a letter from John Hilsey (*z*) to the Chancellor.

(*x*) Copied from the Cotton Libr' Cleop' E. V. 75: in the Catalogue p' 596. There is no date of the year.

(*y*) Copied from the Cotton Libr' Cleop' E. IV. 99: in the Catalogue p' 591 *b*. There is no date of the year. The spelling is particularly uncouth.

(*z*) Hilsey was S. T. P. of Cambridge: Præses Dominicani Conventûs Londinensis; and consecrated Bishop of Rochester 18 Sept' 1535. See Godwin de Præsul'.

"Master Chaunsellar, I commend me unto you &c. - - - It is not out of your mastership's remembrance that I wrote to you concerning the divisions in Brystoll, occasioned by the preaching of Latimer, a man not unknown." I wrote also that "he spoke of 'pilgrimage, of worshipping saints, worshipping of images, of purgatory &c, that the people were not a little offended." I wrote also, that some one preached against him, which I thought not right, but that he ought to have been silenced; and "I desired you to do that you thought metest to reform your perishing flock, to whom I wrote, as to the shepperd of the flock." - - - Then he says that he sent the aforesaid letter without his name, but as he is suspected of it, he now acknowledges it. His reasons for writing it (he says) were first "the fame of this man master Latymer" before he heard him; secondly his vehement preaching against the abuse of the things above-mentioned, and also "of masses - - - of pardons, of the fire of hell, the state of the souls in purgatory, of faith without good-works, of our Lady to be a sinner or no sinner. Whereupon the worshipful master doctor Powell, master Goodryche, master Heberdyne, master Pryour of St Jamys, and I, did preach against, approving purgatory, pilgrimage, the worshipping of saints and images; also approving that faith without good-works is but dead; and that our Lady being full of grace is and was without the spot of sin: but when we had done, I reckon we laboured but in vain, and brought the people in greater division than they were, as they do hitherto continue." He adds that since that time he has communed with Latimer, and finds that he speaks much more against the abuse of these things, than against the use of them. He then advises that Latimer may have licence to preach again, and "open his mind in this matter, so that the people shall be content; and this would please the Council of the town well:" and he himself (he says) will do his diligence to bring it to a unity. "And if he (*quod absit*) should hereafter say any thing contrary to the catholical determination of the church, there are many who will take note of it. Wretyn yn Brystoll 2 Maij by me frere John Hylsey, doctor and pryor of the freers preachers."

§ 12. *Letter from John Bartholomew to Thomas Cromwell.* (*a*) He informs him that according to his order he had chosen five or six honest men to asist him in inquiring "concerning Latomer's and Huberdyn's preaching; viz. Richard, Lord Abbott of St. Augustine's by Brystow; John Cabull, Thomas Broke, Richard Tunell, late Mayres; and Thomas Arbowen, gentleman. They sat Sunday July 6, at afternoon, at a place called St Jamys; and then and there appeared before us as well of the spiritualte as the temporalte, to whom we declared and read the commission;" and charged them to give information concerning Latimer's preaching, whereby "the King's town of Brystow fell into infamy, discord, strife, and debate;" and also give information concerning Huberdyn's preaching. It appeared "by the relation of many honest and credible persons, that Latimer came to Bristow, and preached there the second Sunday in Lent last past two sermons, one in St Nycholas church, aforenoon, and another in the Blake Fryers at afternoon; and the Monday next following, he preached the third sermon in St Thomas church; in which sermon he preached divers schismatic and erroneous opinions, as in hell to be no fire sensible; the souls that be in purgatory to have no need of our prayers, but rather to pray for us; no saints to be honoured; no pilgrimage to be used; our blessed lady to be a sinner;" he adds that many persons are infected from the highest to the lowest. At Easter next Huberdyn came to Bristol, and "preached in St Thomas church at afternoon on Easter-eve, and at St Nicholas before noon on Easter day; and there preached sharply against Latomer's articles, proving them by authority, as well by the Old as the New Testament, schismatic and erroneous." Since this time, he says that matters have been still worse than before, between those who favoured Latomer's new manner of preaching, and those who favoured Hyberdine in his old manner of preaching; and without some remedy much more inconvenience is likely to ensue. Likewise that "same Sunday one Gylberte Cogan came to the house of the Grey Friers, and said to the warden of the same house that he should beware what he should write and testify; for there should come iiij C that should testify the contrary." Then

(*a*) From the Cott' Libr' Cleop' E. IV. 38: in the Catal' p' 590. The year is not dated, but from the list of Mayors it may be found that it must have been written after the year 1528.

he says that they examined several persons concerning Hyberdyn's preaching: it appeared that he said in his sermon, there were "twenty or thirty hereties in Brystow, and that all Brystow was knaves and heretics." After this the commissioners agreed to take each man's deposition in writing, and have sent it herewith.

"Signed Per me William Burton,
Abbatem monasterii divi Augustini.
Bye me John Cable.
Thomas Broke.
Per me Richard Tennell.
Thomas Abowen.
Bye me John Bartholomew."

Directed (visible through the paper) *To the ryghte honorable Master Thomas Cromwell—of the Kyng's Privy Councell.* Hubberdin mentioned above is described by Fox, as 'an old Divine of Oxford, a right painted Pharisee;' and he tells a ridiculous story of his preaching against Latimer, and at the same time dancing the puppets of Christ, and Peter and others, so that the pulpit gave way; and on his complaint the churchwardens told him, that they had made the pulpit for preaching, and not for dancing.

§ 13. One of Latimer's opponents in Bristol was Mr. Edgeworth, a zealous Romanist, who was afterward Prebendary of this Cathedral, and in his old age published his sermons under this title. "Sermons very fruitfull, godly and learned, preached and sette forth by maister Roger Edgeworth, doctoure of divinitie, Canon of the Cathedrall churches of Sarisburie, Welles and Bristow, Residentiary in the Cathedrall churche of Welles, and Chauncellour of the same churche. - - - *Excusum Londini in ædibus Roberti Caly, tipographi, mense Septemb. anno* 1557," which was the last year of Queen Mary's reign. In his preface he says, "These my long labours hath been in the most troublous time, and most cumbered with errors and heresies, change of minds and schisms, that ever was in this realm for so long time together, that any man can read of. While I was a young student in divinity, Luther's heresies rose and"

"were scattered here in this realm; which in less space than a man would think had sore infected the Christian flock, first the youth, and consequently the elders, where the children could set the fathers to school, that the King's majesty, and all the catholick clerks in the realm had much ado to extinguish them. - - - Against such errors with their appendences I have inveighed earnestly and oft in my sermons in disputations and reasoning with the Protestants, until I have been put to silence, either by general prohibitions to preach, or by name, or by captivity and imprisonment, of all which I thank God I have had my part. - - - - And when I should preach oftentimes in one place, I used not to take every day a distinct epistle or gospel or other text, but to take some process of Scripture, and to prosecute the same, part one day and part another day: and so you shall perceive by my declaration of the vii gifts of the holy Ghost, which I preached at Redcliffe cross, in the good and worshipful city of Bristow in sundry sermons, although I was interrupted many years by the confederacy of Hugh Lathamer, then aspiring to a bishoprick, and after being bishop of Worcester, and Ordinary of the greatest part of the said Bristow, and infecting the whole. And so by the exposition of the first epistle of St Peter, which I preached also in many sermons at the cathedral church there, where I am one of the Canons, in this also I was many times and long discontinued by the odious schism, that was now lately, and by the doers of the same. And in like manner in the Cathedral church of Welles on the first and second Sundays of Advent, on Axewednesday and others: and there I lacked no trouble by bishop Barlowe and his officers; of which such as be not performed, I intend (if it shall please God) to perform and finish hereafter."

§ 14. The same Maister Edgeworth gives in (*b*) one of his sermons some further account of himself and of the universities in his time. "And here because we speak of the works of piety or pity, very pity moveth me to exhort you to mercy and pity on the poor students in the universities Oxford and Cambridge, which were never fewer in number: and yet they that be left be ready to run abroad into the world, and to leave"

(*b*) Fol' liiii.

"their study for very need. Iniquity is so abundant, that charity is all cold. A man would have pity to hear the lamentable complaints that I heard lately being among them, which would God I were able to releive. This I shall assure you, that in my opinion ye cannot better bestow your charity. Our Saviour Christ saith (Matth' x) *he that receiveth, cherisheth or maintaineth a prophet in the name of a prophet, or as a prophet, he shall receive the reward of a prophet.* All true preachers be prophets; therefore he that cherisheth and maintaineth a preacher, because he is a preacher more than for any other carnal occasion, shall have the reward of a preacher, which is a wondrous reward. *They that instructeth* (Dan' xij) *and teacheth many to justice and virtue, shall shine like stars to everlasting eternity.* As in example; if this exhortation and sermon, which I now most unworthy make unto you, do any good to the souls of this audience, I doubt not but my reward shall not be forgotten, if there be none other stop or impediment on my behalf: and my parents that set me to school in youth, and my good lord William Smyth, sometime bishop of Lincoln, my bringer up and exhibitor first in Banbury to grammar school, with mayster John Stanbrige, and then to Oxford, till I was Master of Arts and able to help myself, shall have reward in heaven for the ghostly comfort, that you receive by this my labour."

15§ The three following scurrilous letters are too curious to be omitted. They give the popular character of many principal persons in Bristol of that age, whose names may for the most part be found in the list of Magistrates; and what is of more consequence, they shew undoubted proof of that fanatic turbulence, with which the baser sort of Reformers in that age propagated their opinions. What was the young Lecturer's name does not appear; his discourse, however, must have been thought seditious and tending to insurrection, otherwise he would not have been brought before the civil magistrate, and obliged to find sureties for his good behaviour. Mr. Harris, the apothecary, was sheriff, in 1538-9, which fixes the date of these (*c*) letters.

(*c*) They are copied from the Cotton Libr' Cleopat' E. V. 72: in the Cat' p' 596. The writing and spelling are of the meanest sort, and the printer has therefore copied it into modern orthography.

§16. "*To the worshipful Mr. Thomas White, in Brede-street, in Bristow, this letter be delivered with spede from Coventre*: Grace and peace be with us. O you enemies to God's word, why hath you accused the same young faithful man that did read the lecture, the very word of God. He did nothing but Scripture would bear him, and to discharge his conscience. Though the King, and his council, with his clergy hath made such ordinance, yet they that be learned will leave the King's ordinance, and stick to the ordinance of God, which is the king of all kings: and we be bound to dy in God's quarrel, and leave the ordinance of man: and there this good young man is trobaled; but I trust you shall all repent it shortly, when my lord Privy Seale [Cromwell] do hear of it. And your foolish Mayor, and that knave Thomas White, with the liar Abynton, the prater Pacy, and featering Sutton, and drunken Tonell, foolish Coke, dremy Smith, and the nigard Thorne, hasty Sylke, strutting Elyott, simple Hart, and grinning Pryn, proud Addamys, and poor Woddus, the sturdy parson of St Stevyns, the proud vicar of St Lenarde, the lying parson of Saynt Jonys, the drunken parson of Saynt Eweens, the brayling Mr. of the Calendars, the prating vikar of All Hallowys, with divers other knave priests, shall all repent this doing. Farewell the enemies of the word of God. Written in haste at the noble city of Colen, by your loviar William Kyppe, of Bristow."

§17. The next is of the same kind or worse; directed *to the worshipful Mr. Thomas Abyngton, in Bristow. This letter be delyvered from Croydyn to Bristow.* - - - - - "Also the knaves do look for the suttyll Recorder; but when he come, if he do not hold with the true word of God, my lorde Pryvy Seale shall bid him walk, like a knave as he is. Therefore, I do advise you beware, and discharge the sureties of the reader by time: or else you will repent it. - - - - - You shall know more of my mind when the Byshopp come from London. Your lovyer and friend Thomas Abynton, in all haste from Rome, the 10th day January."

§18. The next is directed *to the worshipful Mr. John Colys, Town Clerke of Bristow, this letter to be delivered from Shaftisbury in*

haste. "To the stinking knave Sylke, vikar of Saynt Leonard," violently abusive, threatens to cut off one of his ears, "if the reader is not delivered. The knave Shrevys be a great occasion of the same poor man's, the reader's, trouble, and especially that knave Harrys, the pothecary. There is another knave Harrys in town, and that a privy and wily knave as ever lived, crafty and subtle, and a great enemy to the word of God; but when the Bishoppe do come, he shall handle him in his kind. Though that the same knave, Nicoll. Thorne, do favour him, he shall not help him, neither that hypocrite his wife also." He advises them to discharge the sureties. "For if the poyntmakers do rise, some of you will lose their ears, and that shortly." - - - - - "I do not mean my good lord Pryvy Seale, I do not call him knave; but I call Davy Broke, knave, and gorbely knave, and that drunken Gervys, and that lubber Antony Payne, and sloven William Young, and that double knave William Chester, for sometimes he is with us and sometimes with the knaves; but he shall be a long knave for it, and his wife, a foolish drab, for she is the enemy of God's word." Signed in the same stile as the former. "Commend me to that grining knave the false Town-Clerk, he shall repent, &c. Commend me to old foolish Sprynge, and to the angry Pykes, with divers other which do not come to my mind now; but another time beware mo of you."

§19. When men were thus on a sudden set free from former restraints, and found opportunities to read the scriptures, and hear new opinions, and to debate and question religious subjects, from all which they had been hitherto debarred, it is no wonder that some of them went beyond the bounds of moderation in reforming their doctrines. The Calendars of Adams and of Robt' Ricart agree nearly verbatim in giving the following account of a preacher in Bristol, who seems to have adopted notions similar to those which were afterward brought to a system under the name of *Socinianism.* "The 15*th* of May 1539, *George Wisard* or Wisehart, a Scottish preacher, set forth his lecture in St Nicholas church, in Bristow, of the most blasphemous heresie that ever was heard, openly declaryng that Jesus Christ neither hath nor could merrit for him nor yett for us: which heresie brought many of this towne among the comons,"

"into a great errour; and divers of them were perswaded by that heretticall lecture to his heresie. Whereupon the said stifnecked Scot was accused by Mr. John Kearney [Kearne *R. R.*] Deane of this dioces; and soone after he was sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, before whome and the Bishops of Bath, Norwich and Chester [Chichester *R. R.*] and other doctors, he was examined, convicted, and condemned in and upon the damnable heresie abovementioned. Wherefore he was sent backe to Bristow againe, and enioyned to beare a faggott in St Nicholas church, and about the parish of the same, the 13th of July, [*anno prædicto R. R.*]; and in Christ church and parish thereof, the 20*th* of Julie: which iniunction was dulie executed in forme as aforesaid." Wisehart was afterward arraigned for heresy by order of Cardinal Beaton, and burned at St Andrews 2 March 1546.

§ 20. The suppression of the monasteries, which began to take place in 1535, and was carried on during all the remainder of Henry VIII's reign, forms a principal circumstance in the religious history of that age. For the purpose of executing the King's determination against these religious institutions, Thomas Cromwell was appointed Visitor-general of the monasteries, and afterward Vicar-general or Vicegerent in all ecclesiastical affairs. By him were appointed certain Visitors and Commissioners, who made their progress through all England, enquiring into the religious state of the monasteries, and what was more interesting to them, taking an account of their property and revenues. Knowing the inclination of their employers, these men used all means just or unjust to induce the monks, nuns and friers to surrender their houses to the King; they exaggerated their faults, they listened to every infamous and improbable story and recorded it with malice; and where a tale of scandal could not be found, it was frequently invented. Our Calendars say that in 1537, or 38, or 39 the four orders of Fryers in Bristol were surrendered into the King's hands; viz, the White Fryers, the Grey Fryers, and the Austin and Dominican Fryers; and all the Nunneries. The following abstract of a letter (*d*) written by one of these Visitors (an Ex-Fryer) to his superior, probably to Cromwell, shews the mean and

(*d*) Copied from the Cotton Library, Cleopatra E. IV. 161: in the Catalogue p' 593 *b*.

rapacious spirit with which these confiscations were effected.—"My synguler good Lorde," &c - - - - He says that he had been in Bristol and Gloucester, and found a great clamour in both places of people asking for their debts to be paid due to them from the monasteries, so that he was obliged to have a guard in both places. His lord had written to him, that he had still a fryer's heart, although he had put off the habit: this he disclaims in very humble terms. He then says, that if he should not offend "the King's grace nor your lordship he could by just and fair means and do no wrong" dispatch a great part of the friers in England, before his year of visitation was expired; if he might allow them to change their habits, after "their houses were given up: for of truth their hearts be clean from the religion the more part, so they might change their coats, the which they be not able to pay for; for they have nothing. I heartily beseech your lordship be good lord to these poor men, that have given up their houses, that they may have some discharge: I send their names here inclosed." He then relates some accounts of friers detected with 'drabs'. "As for the Black Fryers in Wynche-street [Winc-street] I left it with all the stuff in a secular man's hands, and gave but licence to the prior to say masse there, till that I sent him my letter." - - - - "Sithe that I wrote to your lordship I have received four houses into the King's hands; the White Fryers in Bristowe [now Colston's school, on St Augustine's Back,] the which all that was in it is little more than paid the debts: it is a goodly house mete for a gret man; no rents, but their gardens: there is a chapel and an yle of the church, and divers gutters, spouts and conduits, lead; the rest all tile or slate; a goodly laver, and conduit coming to it. This house was in debt above xvj *li.* of the which paid viij *lib.* the rest discharged by pleges." The remainder concerns the monasteries in Gloucester. It is signed with the writer's name, but almost illegibly.

"Your servant and
"——— Richard Devers - - y."

§21. One of these Commissioners was a Dr' Layton, who began his visitation through the west in Oct' 1535, an extract from whose letters

is here inserted. (*e*) "Pleasith your worship to understand that yesternight we came from Glastonbury to Bristow. I have sent you for relicks two flowers, wrapped up in sarsnet, that on Christmas even *horâ ipsâ in quâ natus Christus fuerat*, at the very hour when Christ was born, will spring and burgen and bear flowers. Ye shall also receive a bag of relicks, wherein - - - - - -. These are all of Maiden Bradley, whereof is a holy father Prior, who hath but six children, and but one daughter, married out of the goods of the Monastery. - - - - There is nothing notable [at Maiden Bradley] the brethren be kept so streight that they cannot offend; but fain they would, if they might, as they confess; and such fault is not in them.

"From St Austin without Bristol. "R. Layton."

§ 22. The fall of these smaller establishments made way for that of the greater. Adams's Chronicle (with which Rob' Ricart and many others agree) thus relates the suppression of our two principal Monasteries. "1539. (*f*) The Abbott and Covent of St Augustine's in Bristow, and likewise the Maister and his brethren of St Mark's, called the Gaunt's [now the City Grammar-school and Mayor's Chapel] with theire assents, surrendered theire monasteries into the King's hands. Also this year the scite and demesnes of the Gaunts of Bristow, then dissolved, with all manors, lands, tenements, and other the hereditaments belonging to the same, were purchased by the Maiour and Cominaltie of Bristow, of the King's Highness, for the sum of 1000 *li*, whereof 600 *li* was presently paid in part, unto Edward North, esquire, treasurer of the Court of Augmentations." Of this £600, 523 *li*, 10 *s*, 8 *d*, was contributed by the churchwardens and vestrymen of the parishes in plate.

§ 23. All our Calendars agree that in (*g*) July 1542, the monastery of St Augustine's, lately dissolved, was converted into a cathedral church, to be called *the Trinity College of Bristol*; and that the Rev.

(*e*) Copied from Boswell's *Historical Description*, &c.

(*f*) R' Ricart dates it 1540, 31 Hen' VIII.

(*g*) The Charter also of 5 Char' I says, that Bristol was made a city July 5, 1542: whereas the Charter for the erection of the Bishoprie in Rymer's Foedera is dated June 4. See the printed Charters, p' 206.

Paul Bushe was made first bishop; and that the town of Bristol was then proclaimed a city. "And (*h*) on the 2*d* day of July, being the day of the Visitation of our Lady, 1544, [*al*' 1543] the Litany, hitherto Latin, began to be sung in English in general procession, going from Christ church to St Mary Redcliffe church."

§ 24. "This (*i*) year 1540, a ship of Brittaine, of the burden of 40 tons, or thereabout, came to the Kay of Bristow, in the Lent, with Newfoundland fish, and other merchaundries: and having made sales, they loaded her back with limestones, coal, lead, and cloth. And as shee was taking the channell to go away with the tide, she fell on fire by the means of a leake, that put the limestones on fire, and she was burned to the keel."

§ 25. "This (*k*) year severall men went with the King to the siege and taking of Bollogne, which was taken in Sept' 1544. Twelve shipps went out of Bristoll with Matthew, earl of Lenox, grandfather to King James. With him went out Sir William Winter and Sir Richard Mansell, who returned again with the earle." Another of our old MSS (*l*) mentions "the great services done to King Henry VIII by the said town of Bristow, especially in the wars against the French king, who landed in the Isle of Wight [in the year 1545] at which time this town did set forth eight ships. When king Henry VIII came on board Bristowe's fleet on that memorable time, he asked the names of their ships; and they answered the King, it is this: the barque Thorne, of 600 tons; the barque Pratt, of 600 tons; the barque Gourney, of 400 tons: the barque Younge of 400 tons; the barque Winter, of 300 tons; the barque Shipman, of 250 tons; the Eliphant, of 120 tons; the Dragon, of 120 tons. The King wished he had many such Thornes, Pratts, Gourneys, and the like in his londe."

§ 26. "In the year 1544-5 was a great plague in this city, which continued a whole year.—And on the 17*th* of July 1545 was a marvellous"

(*h*) (*i*) (*k*) MSS Calendars. (*l*) Quoted by Mr. Barrett, p' 83.

" storm of thunder and lightning, which lasted from eight o'clock at night until four in the morning, at which instant Mr. Richard Abington died, [who had been Mayor in 1525-6 and 1536-7.]—And this year a ship at the kay was fired by the shooting off a chamber-gun [*al'* by breaking of a gonne chamber] which broke and killed three men."

§ 27. " The (*m*) stews were put down this year, 1545; and Aston was burned."

§ 28. " In (*n*) the year 1546, the King caused the Mint for coining gold and silver to be built and set up in the castle, Mr. William Sherington being master there." He appears however to have been unworthy of his office; for another of the Calendars relates, under the year 1549, that " Sir John Sharington, Vice-treasurer of the Mint, was sent prisoner to the tower of London, for supplying lord Seymour the admiral with money, and causing base money to be coined for his use."—" Also (*n*) in the same year, 1546, a press for printing was set up in the castle, which is used dayly to the honour of God." From which last words it may be concluded, that the printing religious tracts in favour of the Reformation was at first the printer's chief employment.

§ 29. ' Wheat was sold this year, 1546, in Bristol at 7*d* and 8*d* a bushell.'

§ 30. It had been the policy of our ancestors from the earliest age to exact a toll at the gates of walled towns from all who passed in to sell their goods. The domestic peace and security, which England had enjoyed for many years, had no doubt by this time considerably encreased it's population and traffic, and we find that great complaint was now made of confusion and turbulent behaviour at the gates of Bristol, on account of the toll there demanded. The Mayor, Aldermen and Common-council therefore consented to abolish it; and the Sheriffs to whom it belonged, received a stated sum of money instead of it. Our Calendars give the following account of this transaction. " June 26 [*al'* July 26]"

(*m*) (*n*) (*o*) MS Calendars.

"it was proclaymed at the high-crosse of this cittie, that the four [*al'* five] gates of the same should be free for all manner of strangers going in or out with their goods, and for all men uppon lawful business; and that the Back and the Kay should be free for all manner of merchandries, except salt-fish, as namely, herrings, milly-vill, ling, New-land fish, or any other."

§ 31. On Jan' 28*th* 1547, king Henry VIII died; and his son, Edward VI, succeeded.

End of Chapter XXIII.

CHAPTER XXIV.

EDWARD VI.

1. A new Charter.—2. The Reformation proceeds.—3. Insurrections in Bristol and elsewhere.—4. Bond hanged.—5. Tolzey built: Anchorage taken from strangers.—6. Sweating Sickness: scarcity and plenty: coin depreciated.—7. Zealot burned.—8. Taverns.—9. The King's death.

§ 1. IN the first year of his reign the King granted to the burgesses a new charter: but it is only a confirmation of the former.

§ 2. In the reign of Edward VI, the Reformation, having made great progress during the life of his father, and being favored by the young King, the Protector and Council, received a formal and legal establishment. "In (*p*) 1548 all the images in the churches were pulled down in order to avoid idolatry, and the service and communion were permitted to be read in English. And in 1551 the altars were pulled down, and tables made to receive the communion."

§ 3. These innovations were far from pleasing to a great part of the nation; and at the same time heavy complaints were made by the lower class of persons in the country of the many inclosures made by rich and powerful landholders, whereby the poor were deprived of the advantages which they used to derive from the wastes and commons; by which and by the abolition of the monasteries, the price of provisions was much increased. From these causes "various (*q*) insurrections were made in"

(*p*) (*q*) MS Calendars.

"the year 1549 in Cornwall, Devonshire, Norwich, Bristol, and other places of the realm, by the discontented commons, moved thereto by the malcontented priests. In May was a great rising in this city; and many young men broke down hedges, and thrust down ditches, that were inclosed near this city; and then they made an insurrection against the Mayor, who with the Council and many armed men went into the Marsh, where the matter was taken up [*al'* closed up]: and within four days after, the chief rebels were taken one after another, and put into ward; but none of them were executed. The walls of the city and of the castle were armed with men and ordinance, and most part of the gates were made new, with watch and ward night and day for fear of rebellion; and otherwise the city made provision of resistance, whereof (blessed be God) they had no need. This trouble was for the most part quenched by the industry of Mr. William Chester, who took great pains likewise to procure pardon for the unruly citizens that were guilty: but the western people were not so easily quelled by the lord Russell. In Bristol lay the lord Grey of Wilton, with a band of men intended against Scotland, having in pay one captain Spinosa, with 300 soldiers billetted in this city: from whence they marched to Honiton, where they beat the rebels."

§ 4. "This year, (*r*) 1548-9, one Bond was hanged in chains at the hither end of Durdhame downe, for murdering his master in the very same place."

§ 5. "In (*s*) the year 1550 the place of justice called the Towlsey [*R. R.* Tolsel. *al'* Tolzey] was built."—"Also (*t*) this year, 3 Edw' VI, there was an order taken about the Admaraltie, that all strangers, that take anchorage of us beyond the sea, should pay like anchorage here."

§ 6 "There (*u*) happened in 1551 the greatest mortality by pestilence, in this city, that any man ever knew, which raged from Easter to Michaelmas, and carried off many hundreds of the inhabitants every week. It was called the sweating sickness, and prevailed through the whole kingdom. Wheat was sold for 4 *sh* and 8*d* a bushel, which greatly"

(*r*) (*s*) (*t*) MS Calendars. (*u*) R' R' Cal'.

"distressed the poor; but the mayor and council provided wisely for them; for he caused every baker to bake bread for the commons at a price agreed on between the mayor and the bakers." But so great were the fluctuations in the price of wheat during these ages, that wheat was (*v*) sold next year at 12*d* a bushel; and again, in 1544, at 5*s* and 8*d*, 6*s* and 8*d*, and 7*s* and 8*d*." "On (*w*) July 12*th* 1551, the 12*d* was cried down to 9*d*, the 4*d* to 2*d*, and the 2*d* to a penny; and in August the 12*d* was cried down from 9*d* to 6*d*; the 4*d* to 2*d*, the 2*d* to 1*d*, and the 1*d* to ½*d*, to the great loss of the King and his subjects."

§ 7 The following event, related in one of the Calendars, gives an example of that headlong violence, with which certain over zealous converts to the Protestant faith attacked and insulted the Romish ceremonies. "One William Gardiner, born in Bristol, a servant of one Mr. Pagett, a merchant of the same city, and employed by him in Portugall, at a marriage there seeing the superstitious adoration of the sacrament, did openly tread their host under foot, and overthrow their chalice, whereupon he was at present wounded, and shortly after burned; and a spark of the fire fired one of the King's ships lying near the place."

§ 8. "This (*x*) year, 1552, six taverns more were erected in Bristoll."

§ 9. July 6*th* 1553, died the young king Edward VI, and his sister, Queen Mary, succeeded him.

(*v*) (*w*) (*x*) MS Calendars.

End of Chapter XXIV.

CHAPTER XXV.

QUEEN MARY.

1. Popery re-established: Bishops and others burned: several burnt at Bristol.—2. Excessive cruelty in burning.—3. Coiners hanged.—4. The Queen's marriage.—5. Great losses by sea.—6. Incorporation of the Merchant Venturers.—7. Price of corn.—8. Queen Mary died.

§1. WITH the Queen's accession the Popish doctrines and discipline were again introduced " (*a*) The true religion was abolished, and the abominable mass with the Latin service and other ceremonies of the Romish religion established in the church. Bishop Paul Bush was deprived, because he had married, being a priest; and John Holiman a monk of Reading, was made bishop." Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, Bradford, Rogers, and a great number beside of all degrees, were burned alive, because they would not renounce the Protestant faith. Latimer's trial before the bishop of Lincoln, is thus related by (*b*) Fox: " Then master Latimer bowed his knee down to the ground, holding his hat in his hand, having a kerchief on his head, and upon it a night-cap or two, and a great cap, such as townsmen use, with two broad flaps to button under the chin, wearing an old threadbare Bristow frieze gown, girded to his body with a penny leather girdle, at the which hanged by a long string of leather, his testament, and his spectacles without case, depending about his neck upon his breast." In the same cause three persons at

(*a*) MS Calendar. (*b*) Book of Martyrs. vol' 3, 498. A' D' 1555.

the fewest suffered in Bristol; our Calendars contain the following notices. "1555. On the 17*th* of October, one William Shepton [*al'* Shapman, *al'* Shapen] a weaver, was burnt for religion." Another Calendar is thus. "1556. This year two men, one a weaver, the other a cobler, were burnt at St Michael's-hill, for religion. And a sheerman was burnt for denying the sacrament of the altar to be the very body and blood of Christ really and substantially." Another Calendar is as follows: "1556. In this year two men suffered the fire for the profession of the gospel of Jesus Christ in Bristoll. One was Edward Sharpe, an ancient man of threescore, a Wiltshire man born: and the other a young man, by trade a carpenter." Here follows another account. "Three men suffered here as martyrs. 1*st*, Richard Sharpe, a weaver, of Temple parish; who being examined by Dalby, the Chauncellor, March 9*th* 1556, was by him persuaded to recant; of which he sorely and openly repented, and shortly after was brought to the flames. The 2*nd* was Thomas Hale, who shook hands with the said Richard Sharpe at the fire, May 7, 1557; he was a shoemaker. He was by David Harris, alderman, and John Stone, one of the common-council, caused to arise out of his bed, and committed to the watch, and by them charged to be conveyed to Newgate, and shortly after he suffered. The 3*d* was Thomas Benion, who was burned Aug' 27, 1556. More were questioned, but escaped." All three were condemned by Chancellor Dalby. Fox says, (*c*) that the two former were burned in one fire, bound back to back.

§2. There remains one more extract from our Calendars, too interesting to be omitted. "1555. This Mr. John Griffith" [one of the sheriffs] "was a very forward man in apprehending the martyrs; and with David Harris, and Dalby, the Chancellor, deserve to be enrolled. Three suffered in Bristoll, and more had done, had not Queen Elizabeth's coming to the crown hindered; which brought back again from banishment Mr. Pacy and Mr. Huntingdon, two preachers of this city. The said Mr. Huntingdon, after his return, preaching at the Cross in the Colledge-green, charged those men there present with ill using both those that suffered and those that escaped, in these or like words: *Oh*"

(*c*) Vol' 3, p' 892.

"*cruelty without mercy! that a man should act so laboriously that, which without hearty repentance shall hasten his damnation! Know ye not, who made the strict search for Mr. Pacy? whom if God had not hid, as Jeremiah, you had burned stump and all,*" he being lame, "*yet you had no pity. And who you know went to Redland to buy* green *wood for the execution of those blessed saints that suffered: when near home at the Back or Key he might have had* dry. *Take heed: a little sorrow will not serve; God may cast you into unquenchable fire, worse than the soultering of green wood.* Mr. Fox [in his Book of Martyrs] remembers Harris, Stone, and Dalby."

§ 3 On (*d*) the *4th* of April 1555, four men, viz. John Walton, Robert Hadley, Gilbert Sheath, and John White, were hanged, drawn, and quartered in Bristoll, for coining money, and their quarters set on the gates."

§ 4. "Queen Mary (*e*) was married July 25, 1554, to Philip, Prince of Spain, son of Charles V: and on the Monday following a solemn procession was made in this city on that account; and on Friday Aug' 4, they were proclaimed at the high-cross."

§ 5. "In the year (*f*) 1655 the merchants of Bristol, in a great conflict on the sea, lost ships and goods to the value of £40,000 or thereabout."

§ 6. In the year (*g*) 1556, queen Mary incorporated the Merchant-adventurers to Russia into a company, consisting of four consuls and 24 asistants: and Sebastian Cabot, born in Bristol of Genoese parents, was constituted first governor, being the chief encourager of this branch of trade.

§ 7. According to our Calendars the price of wheat varied during this reign, as follows. "In 1555 wheat was sold at *5 sh* a bushel, and"

(*d*) (*e*) (*f*) MS Calendars. (*g*) Calendar quoted by Barrett

"also the rose-penny fell to be nought. In 1556 wheat sold for 8*s*, and 9*s*, and 10*s* a bushel; and at the latter end of the year at 22*d*. In 1557 it was sold for 12*d* per bushel."

§ 8. Queen Mary died Nov' 17, 1558, and was succeeded by her sister Elizabeth of immortal memory.

End of Chapter XXV.

CHAPTER XXVI.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

1. *Charter granted.*—2. *New coinage.*—3. *Bristol exempted from the Marches of Wales.*—4. *Tumult in Bristol.*—5. *Aurora borealis and intense frost.*—6. *Expedition to Ireland.*—7. *Settlers in Florida.*—8. *River of Bridgewater.*—9. *Duke of Norfolk's visit.*—10. *Embarkations to Ireland.*—11. *Election of Burgesses to Parliament.*—12. *Earl of Bedford's visit.*—13. *Midsummer night Wake.*—14. *Reform of barrells.*—15. *The Queen's visit.*—16. *Traffic between England and the Netherlands.*—17. *Accidents by gunpowder.*—18. *Plague.* 19. *Loss of a ship in Kingroad.*—20. *Bristol Pirates.*—21. *Captain Forbisher's voyage.*—22. *A Fire.*—23. *A Comet.*—24. *Bridewell.*—25. *Ship taken by the Turks.*—26. *Ship lost in Hungroad.*—27. *Earthquake.*—28. *New Charter.*—29. *Earl of Pembroke's visit.*—30. *Ship lost at Portshead.*—31. *Three Aldermen died.*—32. *A Fire.*—33. *Earl of Pembroke made Lieutenant.*—34. *Extraordinary darkness.*—35. *Fray in Kingroad.*—36. *Earls of Leicester and Warwick visit Bristol.* 37. *Spanish Armada.*—38. *Number of ships in England.*—39. *Defeat of the Armada.*—40. *Gaunts made a Hospital.*—41. *A Wherry sails from London to Bristol.*—42. *Sir Walter Devereux slain at Rouen.*—43. *A Porpoise caught.*—44. *Plague.*—45. *Coiners.*—46. *Prices of Corn.*—47. *Spaniards land in Cornwall.*—48. *A Porpoise taken.*—49. *Death of Queen Elizabeth.*

§ 1. IN the first year of her reign, the Queen granted a new charter: it is merely a confirmation of all the preceding.

§ 2. "About (*h*) Michaelmas 1559, the testones were cried by proclamation to go but for 4 *d*, and the worser sort for $2\frac{1}{2}$ *d*, and the 2*d* for $1\frac{1}{2}$ *d*. And in 1560, all base money was called in, and the Queen restored to her subjects fine and pure sterling money, both of gold and silver, for their base coin, calling the same into her Majesty's mints. And in 1561 all outlandish money was forbidden to be taken."

§ 3. "In (*i*) the year 1561 or 2 the citizens of Bristol, by the cost and industry of this Mayor [Mr. John Pikes] were exempted for ever from the Marches of Wales; which before had been great trouble and expence to them." The meaning is, that Bristol was hereby exempted from the burden of furnishing men and money for the defence of the marches of Wales: as the Welsh became more orderly and civilized, this burden became gradually lighter.

§ 4. Adams's Calendar, under the year 1561, has the following singular notice. "This year was much trouble about the christening of a child, for which the whole city was in an uproar, and went all armed in the marsh one among another, not knowing scarce their foes. The Mayor commanded the marsh-gates to be taken off (which were never put on since) to make more passage for the commons; and he with his brethren stood trembling in the marsh, to see what would become of the stir: which in the end was pacified by the help of Mr. Chester, a pointmaker, with his company."

§ 5. "This (*k*) year 1564, on the 7*th* of October, here was seen in the element red beams in length like the pole, and also fire like a furnace: and after that followed a very hot plague, which endured a whole year in this city, whereof here died above 2,500 people. From Dec' 21*st* to Jan' 3*d* was such an exceeding hard frost, that the Thames of London was so hard frozen, that men, women, and children went upon it so boldly as upon the land. And at Bristol and Hungrode the river was frozen over; and the people passed over the channel upon ice unto St George's side safely."

(*h*) (*i*) (*k*) MS Calendars.

§ 6. "This (*l*) year, 1565, came 700 soldiers to Bristoll, at the end of St James fair, which were bound for Ireland against the rebel O'Neale. The wind being contrary, they tarried here six weeks, in which some growing rude, three or four ruffians of them began a brawl with the citizens, at 9 of the clock at night; and though many blows were given on each side, yet no man was killed, by reason the captains and magistrates came quickly thither upon hearing of it, and soon appeased the matter; especially captain Gilbert one of their captains, who being lodged at the New Inn, behind All Saints' church, came with his sword and target requiring peace. But afterwards captain Randall, their general, who lodged at the castle, making enquiry of the cause and beginners thereof, put the chief offenders of his men in prison in irons, and two days afterwards intended to execute martial law upon them: their names were Lawes, Herring, Carvell and Grant. A gibbet was erected in the midst of the High-street, over against the end of St Maryport-street, against the Mayor's door: all the soldiers were commanded to come thither unarmed, to see the execution. And when the time and hour appointed for the execution was come, the offenders being penitent, by much intreaty of the worshipful of this city, with other captains and gentlemen, the general forgave them contrary to his purpose, but nevertheless put them from his banner and cashired them; he was so fiercely bent against them to maintain justice: only he was intreated for the Drumslade. They sailed from hence October 8*th*, and coming to Ireland many of his men died, and were sick of the flux by reason of the cold of the country. The 29*th* of November the said general, having but 300 men, met with O'Neale and his kearners, which were in number 800, and gave him battle, in which O'Neale was put to flight, and 600 of his men slain, and not one Englishman slain, but only the general, captain Randall, which was only by wilfulness of his horse."

§ 7. 'One (*m*) Mons' Landonniere landed in Bristol in the year 1565. He had carried a party of French Protestants to Florida in order to form a new settlement; but the Spaniards landed and attacked them. Landonniere himself escaped; but the settlers (although they surrendered"

(*l*) MS Calendar. (*m*) Charlevoix Histoire de la Nouvelle France.

" themselves) were murdered by the Spaniards, who hung them on a tree with this inscription: *Ceux-ci n'ont pas été traités de la sorte en qualité de Francois, mais comme heritiques & ennemies de Dieu.* This was amply revenged two years after by a Mons' de Gourges, who with a body of French surprized the Spaniards, and hung several of them with a similar inscription: *Je ne fais ceci comme a Espagnols, ni comme a Maranes; mais comme a traitres, voleurs et meutriers.*"

§ 8 " This (*n*) year, 1567, a new cut was made in the river of Bridgewater, within the lordship of Hanip juxta Bridgewater, belonging to this city, by reason of a great compass or fetch about of the water of the said river. The sea banks or walls of the said river upon the north-east part thereof nigh to a tenement in the tenure of R—— Popham, were so decayed and worn (notwithstanding yearly reparations done, to no small charges) that if the sea should have broken over, whereof the inhabitants of the country there, nigh to the same, were in great fear, it would have drowned about 10,000 acres of ground, beside other great harms which might have ensued thereof. It was therefore prevented and foreseen by the Commissioners of Sewars [*Adams* Seawalles] namely Sir Hugh Pawlet, Sir George Speake, Sir Morreys Berkeley, knights, Mr. Humphry Coles, Mr. Henry Portman, esquires, and others of the said Commission, with the advice of the best heads of good yeomen of the said country, that a new cut should be made straight over."

§ 9. "Thomas (*o*) duke of Norfolke, with the earl of Worcester, lord Barkley, lord Rich and others, came from Bath to Bristoll in May, 1567, on Trinity Sunday, and was honourably entertained. He went to Redcliffe May 24*th* to sermon, and after to Temple, where he had the bells rung, to try the truth of the report of the tower's shaking at such times. The said Duke was sent for by the Queen in all haste."

§ 10. The situation of Bristol has in all ages made it a convenient port for the embarkation of troops to Ireland. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth it was much frequented for that purpose, in consequence

(*n*) R' Ricart's Cal' and copied literally by Adams. (*o*) MSS. Call'

of the disturbed state of that island. One example of this has been already given in 1565: again "in 1568 (*p*) or 9, captains Ward and Scot, with 400 men, passed from hence to Ireland. In 1578 or 9, on account of the invasion of Ireland by James Fitzmorris, &c, there came many soldiers to Bristol to be shipped for that country; but none went, except the earl of Ormond and his company. In the year 1579 or 80, Sir Wm' Morgan, with 700 [*al'* 500] soldiers and officers, passed from this city to Ireland; and in 1580 an army of soldiers came to Bristol in their way to Ireland, the lord Grey being their general; and after their arrival in Ireland joined their power with the earl of Ormond, and Sir William Winter who commanded the Queen's navy then on the Irish coast; where by the help of God and his providence, they overcame the rebels and vanquished the Spaniards.—In 1583 [*al'* 1585] the earl of Ormond coming from Ireland landed at Bristol, and brought over with him the head of the earl of Desmond, who had been beheaded at Castlemaine, which he shewed to the mayor and aldermen at the Tolzey: he afterwards presented it to the Queen, and it was set up on London bridge.—In the year 1589 there came to this city 400 soldiers for Ireland upon news that was brought, that the Spaniards intended to land there the same summer; but the report proving false, the soldiers returned again two months after.—About the 24*th* of April 1595, the lord general Norris came to this city with 50 horse, bound for Ireland against the rebellion of Tyrone." This rebellion of Tyrone obliged the Queen to augment her army in Ireland, until it amounted to above 20,000 men. A great number of them passed through this city.—"Nov' 8*th*, 1596, came to Bristoll 750 soldiers, and remained seven weeks to look for a wind for Ireland, and then were sent every man to his home.—In May following here came 800 soldiers, 700 of which were shipped presently for Ireland.—And again on the 17*th* of July 1598, there came 800 more, who were transported to several places.—In 1599 a great many soldiers went out of Bristol for Ireland, to quell the rebellious Irish, who did much cruelty to men, women and children. In Feb' 1598-9 went 1000 foot soldiers; at Shrove-tide 100 horsemen with their horses and furniture; and on"

(*p*) MS Cal'

"the 29*th* March 1599, 1200 footmen, together with the two earls of Southampton and Rutland, and Sir Henry Dovers [Danvers], who went with them."—"In this year also 600 Welshmen were sent over into Ireland:" but whether they are to be reckoned separately, or as part of the above mentioned, does not appear. In this year the lord Mountjoy was sent as general in the room of the earl of Essex.—"On the 23*d* of Jan' 1600 there went 400 soldiers from Bristoll to Ireland." These, perhaps, were a part of the last or of the next mentioned.—"In Feb' 1600-1 came 800 soldiers to go for Ireland.—On the 17*th* of August 1601, Florence Macarta and James Desmond, two great rebels were taken prisoners in Ireland and brought to Bristoll, and from thence to London, and committed close prisoners to the Tower. James Desmond had an English boy manacled with him with strong irons by the hand-wrists; so that one could not go without the other's company, besides a strong guard ever to attend him for fear of escaping.—In the spring of 1602 came 1012 soldiers to Bristol with the earl of Tinmouth, their general, to go for Ireland. The mayor had much trouble in shipping them off and keeping them in good order; for they were so unruly that the citizens could not pass the streets in quiet for them, especially by night, so that many affrays were made on both sides, although the soldiers had commonly the worst. And when they should have taken barge to go down to the shipping, on May 26*th*, they began to draw their weapons in the Marsh, against the mayor, whereupon the citizens were raised by the ringing of the town-bell, and by the serjeants at mace and others, so that a great number of citizens ran into the Marsh with clubs and other weapons, where they beat the soldiers very much, and made them betake themselves to their barges and go away presently. Some of the soldiers were sore hurt, and one of them killed, and the chiefest of them that began the affray were put into prison. The 27*th* day three of the soldiers had judgment of execution in the High-street upon a gibbet, whither they were brought with constables and halters about their necks: and when one of them being mounted, had prayed and prepared to die, their pardon was begged, and they released. Also on Whitsone Eve, 1602, there came 800 of soldiers to Bristoll, to be transported for Ireland under the command of Sir Edward [*al'* Wm'] Wingfield, who sailed"

"June 30*th*:" but these were probably part of the 1012 above mentioned. One of the Calendars under the date of 1599 says thus: "The mayor received a blow with a stone from a soldier, as he endeavoured to force them aboard, being unruly. The man was condemned, but not executed, because the mayor would not lay his death to him." This transaction may, perhaps, be only a different account of that which was last mentioned.

§11. The prosperity which England had now long enjoyed, had naturally thrown much additional wealth into the hands of the commons; and an increase of the power and importance of the commons House of Parliament was the unavoidable consequence, and a seat in that house began to be an object of ambition. Our Calendars tell us, that "in the year 1570-71, there was great variance at Bristol about choosing the burgesses for parliament, so that the sheriffs were at great debate a long time after."

§12. "The (*q*) earl of Bedford and his son visited Bristol in the year 1569, and was entertained at Mr. Higgins's, in Small-street."

§13. From some imperfect and obscure paragraphs in the Calendars, it may be collected that 'the Mayor, John Stone, for the amusement of the citizens, in 1572 set up a *Watch*, which I suppose to mean a *wake* or *revel*, on Midsummer night, and another on St Peter's night, where the several trading companies of the city and companies of trained bands walked very stately with pageants, drums and auncients, and many delightful shows were exhibited: and further, that the next Mayor turned these watches by night, which his predecessor had instituted, into a general muster in warlike sort on Midsummer-day and St Peter's day; wherein the burgesses mustered every year on those days, with all kinds of warlike furniture and weapons; all the crafts and companies, each severally by itself, having their drums and colours; all which was well used and made a comely shew: and lastly, that the shooting on Midsum-'

(*q*) MS Cal'.

'mer, St Peter's and St Bartholomew's days began on this occasion; and that the butt of artillery was set up in the marsh for that purpose, which hath continued ever since.'

§ 14. "This (*r*) Mayor [John Browne] in 1573, caused a good reformation to be made for measures of barrels and kilderkins, which were made larger, and of a bigger assize, than they were before; and the old vessels were repelled."

§ 15. In the summer of the year 1574, queen Elizabeth paid a visit to Bristol. An account of that visit, as of the rest, is to be seen in *the Progresses of queen Elizabeth*, collected and published by Mr. Nichols. That one of which we are now speaking is reprinted from *Churchyard's Chipps*, the title of which is as follows. "The whole order, how our sovereign Lady queen Elizabeth was received into the city of Bristow in 1574, and the speeches spoken before her presence at her entry, with the residue of verses and matter, that might not be spoken for distance of the place, but sent (*s*) in a book over the water."

§ 15.*b*. Our local account (*t*) of this visit is as follows. "On Saturday the 14*th* of August 1574, our gracious queen Elizabeth in her progress came to this city. She first alighted at St Laurence's Hospital, where she changed some apparel; after which the Mayor [Mr. Thomas Kelke] and all the Common-council, riding in scarlet upon good steeds, with their footcloths and pages by their sides, with the companies and many citizens, went to meet her Majesty [*al'* Highness] and received her within Lawford's gate, where Mr. Mayor delivered the gilt mace unto her Grace [*al'* Majesty], and she then presently delivered it unto him again. And so Mr. Mayor kneeling before her Grace, whilst Mr. John Popham esquire and Recorder of this city made an oration to the Queen, did after it was ended stand up and delivered a fair needle-work purse, wrought with silk and gold, unto her Highness, with 100 *li*"

(*r*) Adams's and Ricart's Calendars.

(*s*) 'A gentleman swam across the river cloaths and all, and delivered the book handsomely covered with velvet to the Queen, and spake a speech of his own making.'

(*t*) Adams's and Ricart's Calendars and others.

"in gold therein. Then the Mayor and his brethren took their horses, Mr. Mayor himself rode nigh before the Queen bareheaded, carrying the sword, between two serjeants at arms, and the rest of the Council rode next before the nobility and trumpeters; and so they passed through the city; and at the High-cross some pleasant sights were shewed, and then they brought her Highness unto Mr. John Young his house on St Augustine's back, where she lay seven days until Saturday the next following. [Next day (*u*) being Sunday she went to the College to hear sermon, where was a speech to be said, and a hymn to be sung. The speech was left out by an occasion unlooked for, but the hymn was sung by a very fine boy]. On the day of her departure hence, she made five knights, viz, Sir John Young, Sir Richard Barkley of Stoke, Sir —— Tracy, Sir Thomas Porter, and Sir William Morgan of Penyquoit. During her abode here, divers pageants and feats of war by land and by water were shewed before her: among other things devised for her pleasure there were 400 soldiers mustered of one suit of apparel, whereof 300 were harquebusiers, and 100 were pikemen in white armour [*Ricart* corslets]. Also there was made a great large fort in Treene-mill-meades over against Gibtailer, which was assaulted by land and water three days: and also another lesser fort, called the *base fort*, standing upon a hill beyond it, which was won the first night that the assault was given. [Now (*v*) served the tide, and up the water from Kingroad came three brave gallies, chasing a ship, that came with victuals for the fort.] The Queen was present during the said three days; for whose standing there was built a large scaffold of timber in the marsh, where she had the full sight of every action that was performed by the best experienced men in martial practice about this city, with very great charges, especially of gunpowder, whereof was no spare made to give content. All which pleased our Queen and nobility very well, who commended it, and gave the Mayor and his brethren thanks for such entertainment." It seems also from the following passage, that queen Elizabeth took the present opportunity of viewing the beauties of the river Avon. "Now (*w*) here is to be considered, that the Prince [so the Queen is called throughout this pamphlet] went into the gallies, and so down to Kingroad, e'er these things were brought to an end."

(*u*) (*v*) From the *Progresses*. (*w*) From Mr. Nichols's *Progresses*.

§ 16. "While the Queen remained in Bristol, some article of agreement between the English and the Dutch relating to the traffic (*x*) with the Low-countries was here settled by the consent of the king of Spain."

§ 17. "The day before the Queen came into the city, the Pelican inn in St Thomas-street was blown up with gunpowder and ten men burned therewith; whereof five died presently, and the rest about eight days after And about as many men were likewise burned by misfortune with gunpowder in Treene-mills."

§ 18. "The (*y*) pestilence was exceeding hot in Bristoll about St James tide [July 25] 1575: whereof there died in one year, especially between St James tide 1575 and Powles tide [Jan' 25] 1576, upwards of 1900 persons. Among them were Mr. John Northall, pewterer, Mr. John Stone, brewer, Mr. John Cutt and Mr. William Carre, merchants, all having been mayors of this city, and the three latter, aldermen; together with Mr. Northbrook a preacher at Redcliffe, a worthy man and a learned preacher, who did very much good in word and deed, by teaching publicly and in private from house to house."

§ 19. Sometime "in (*z*) the year 1576, a ship of Bristoll, named the Peter, of 120 tons, belonging to Mr. Tho' Williams, merchant, richly laden with oils, secke, and other merchandizes, was lost and cast away in Kingroad within 12 miles of the city. Of all her men but four were saved, and the most part of the goods was lost and taken away."

§ 20. "And (*a*) this same year certain sailors stole out of Crokham-pill a barque or barge, with which they robbed the barques, especially the Irish, that were coming to St James's fair [*al'* that went from the fair]. They left the barque in Wales; but four of them were taken at Crokham-pill and brought to Bristoll. They were araigned on the 25*th* of Sept' and condemned; whereof three were hanged on a gibbet erected"

(*x*) See Mr. Nichols's Progresses of Q' Elizabeth.
(*y*) All the MS Cal'
(*z*) Ricart and other Call'
(*a*) Several MS Call'.

" in Canou's Marsh, on the point near the river's mouth over against Gibtailer, that the tide might run over them, (where was then a house, which since was burned by one James Young negligently in tarring of ropes); but the other pirates was saved."

§ 21. " In (*b*) the year 1578 a great ship of our Queen's called *the Aid*, al' *the Ann* of 200 tons [with a small barque, *R' R'*] came into Kingroad from Cattaie, Martin Forbisher being captain of her, after having attempted to find the North-west passage to the East-Indies, China, and Cattay. She brought certain ore, which was esteemed to be very rich and full of gold; heavy and so hard that it would strike fire like a flint. Some of it was tried in our castle, and the rest sent to London, where it was esteemed not worth the charges in refining. They brought with them a man of that country called *Callicho* [al' *Cally Chough*] with his wife, called *Ignorth*, and a child. They were savage people, clothed in Stag's skins, having no linen nor woollen at all, and fed only upon raw flesh: she suckled her child, casting her breasts over her shoulders. Oct' 9*th*, he rowed up and down the river at the Back of Bristol, it being high tide of sea, in a boat, the which was about fourteen feet long, made of skins, in form like unto a large barge or trow, but sharp at both ends, having but one round place for him to sit in; and as he rowed up and down he killed a couple of ducks with his dart; and when he had done he carried away the boat through the Marsh on his back. The like he did at the Weare, and at other places. Within one month they all three died. [These were Greenlanders or Eskimaux.] Also on May 31*st*, the said captain Forbisher set out on another voyage to Cathay; but he returned without success."

§ 22. " In (*c*) this same year 1577-8 the house of one Wolfe, a joyner near the Tower, on the Quay, took fire in the night; and it and two more with it were burned to the ground."

§ 23. " On (*d*) the 8*th* of Nov' in the same year there was seen in the sky a comet or blazing star, which came from the west into the east,"

(*b*) Adams, Ricart', and other Call'. (*c*) (*d*) MS Call'.

"and so continued every evening for ten days space." This notion of a comet's rising in the west and setting in the east, was formerly very prevalent, although it might be supposed that a single night's observation would be sufficient to confute it. Our old historians frequently record such an event.

§ 24. "This (*e*) year, 1577, was a collection for the erecting of a Bridewell, at the old house called "Mombridge," [*rather* Monkbridge] "where much cost in building and reparing was done: and one called *Meg Lowrey*, was the first ill person there corrected. She feigned herself mad."

§ 25. "The (*f*) ship *Swallow* was taken by the Turks in 1578."

§ 26. "A (*g*) gallant ship, called *the Golden Lyon*, of the burden of 540 tons [*al'* 400 tons] well appointed from Andalusia, but not all laden, came into Hungrode in 1577, or 78 or 79; and not being well moored for want of anchors and such like, she broke loose and drove upon the rocks in Hungrode, the stern hanging upon the rocks: and when the tide left her, she was overthrown and sunk into the river, and sunk a new hulk that was moored by her, that was of 400 tons. She had in her 200 tons of salt, and 60 tons of sack; of which the salt was for the most part lost. There was great danger that the river would utterly have been stopped, if great care and diligence had not been presently provided by the mayor and commonalty, who gave great enterprizes with ships, casks, lighters, and great engines, on Sherehampton side, with great expences and many men's help; but the rain that fell in March every day more or less, much hindered their labour. They once moved her a good height, but the engines and a great cable brake; after which time they could not move her again, but at low water tore up all they could come at. Some part of her was seen long after at a low ebb on Sherehampton side; but I hear of no great hurt taken against her since."

(*e*) MS Cal'.

(*f*) A MS Coll'.

(*g*) Three MS Cal'.

§ 27. "On (*i*) Tuesday [*al'* Thursday] in Easter week, 1580, there was a great earthquake in London, Bristol, Sarum and many other places of this realm, which made many people sore afraid."

§ 28. A new charter was granted to the city July 28, 1581, whereby among several grants the number of Aldermen was increased from six to twelve. (*j*)

§ 29. In March 1582 "the earl (*k*) of Pembroke came to Bristoll and was royally entertained. He was met by 60 horsemen of honest burgesses out of the city [*al'* by 400 citizens]; the Mayor and Aldermen and Common-counceil received him in Wine-street [*al'* at the gates], and then went to the Tolzey, where they stayed until one Mr. Temple, a preacher, had made an oration in Latin."

§ 30. "A (*l*) ship called the Dominick was cast away July 24, 1581, about Portshutt Point, and 27 men cast away in her. Much spices and oils were in her."

§ 31. "Three (*m*) Aldermen deceased and lay unburied all in one week, in the year 1582, viz. Thomas Chester, Thomas Kelke, and William Tucker."

§ 32 "The house (*n*) of one Roger Bowman, at the Key-head, a merchant, sometime in the year 1583, took fire by the negligence of a boy leaving a candle burning on the head of a barrel of pitch all night, and in the morning before it was espied, it burned so furiously that the people within could but save themselves. They pulled down other houses to prevent its spreading. The smoke was so thick that one could not see the skies over it."

§ 33. "In 1584-5 the (*o*) earl of Pembroke was made lieutenant of Bristol, Somersetshire, and Wiltshire, for training soldiers, and the"

(*i*) MS Cal'. (*j*) See the Charters of Bristol, p' 171. (*k*) Ricart and others.
(*l*) A MS Cal'. (*m*) MS Cal'. (*n*) (*o*) Adams's Cal'.

"mayor was deputed to execute martial law within the city and liberties under him."—"The earl (*p*) came to Bristol from Wells [*al'* Wales] March 17, 1586, to take a general muster of the trained bands; and the Queen having notice by some of the citizens, that the Earl presumed to take the upper hand of the Mayor (at which there was a great grudge) her Majesty sent for him and gave him a sore check, and sent him to the tower, for a certain space, until he had paid a fine."

§ 34. "On the (*q*) 19*th* [*al'* 9*th*] of September 1586, there was darkness in Bristol at noon-day for the space of an hour."

§ 35. "In July 1587, near about (*r*) St James's fair, Mr. Thomas James, [he who afterwards was Member of Parliament] and many other merchants of Bristoll, having obtained letters patent from our Queen for the transportation of calf-skins, had intelligence that a woodbush of Brockwere was laden with calf-skins by Edw' Whitson, of Newland, in the county of Glowcester, tanner, to be shipped aboard a French ship called *the Esperanso*, in Kingrode, without compounding with the merchants for the same, or paying any other custom. Whereupon Mr. James, Thomas White, John Brimsdone, merchants, and others to the number of 13, went from hence in the Searcher's pinnace, having one musket, half-pikes, and some other offensive weapons, to meet the said woodboush, and to make seizure and forfeit of the said goods prohibited. The forest men were bold; and suspecting blows might happen, the said Edward Whitson, with Walter Ely, and others to the number of 11, had well fitted themselves with bows and arrows, pikes, targets and privy cotes, stronger than our men, for offence and defence. They met in Kingrode, resisted and shot arrows at the pinnace, whereof Mr. Thomas White and others were hurt. But our men being hurt and so moved in their own defence, a musket was shot off (supposed) from Mr. James, which killed John Gethen, master and owner of the boat: for which the two Sheriffs troubled him and seized upon his goods, and others that were with Mr. James. But Mr. James himself was indicted and arraigned at the Marshalsea in Southwork; and when no man gave evidence against him, he was released, as not guilty; but it cost him much, besides his trouble."

(*p*) All the Call'. (*q*) Several MS Cal'. (*r*) Adams's Cal'.

§ 36. "The 15*th* of April (*s*) 1587, the earls of Leicester and Warwick came from Bath to Bristoll, and lay at Mr. Robert Kitchen's in Small-street. Upon Easter-day after dinner the earl of Leicester and the Council were assembled together about some secret business in the Council-house: and the next day they departed from hence."

§ 37. The year 1588 will be ever memorable for the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Stowe gives an imperfect list of ships and other vessels under command of the Lord High Admiral of England this year, 1588. Some of them are as follows. "London sent of brave warlike ships 16, and pinnaces 4. From Bristow there were sent of serviceable ships 3, and one pinnace. Barnstaple of ships 3. Plimmouth of ships well appointed 7, and one fly-boat." One of our Calendars contains the following account. "April 20*th* (*t*) departed from this city four ships of war, well furnished with men and ammunition for Plymouth, to meet the rest of the fleet: the names of them were, the great Unicorne, the Minion, the Handmaid, and the Aid. All the canvas that was brought to St James's fair and laid in the Back-hall to be sold, was bought up and carried to London, to make tents for the field for her Majesty's army, the camp being pitched on Tilbury hill. Prayers were made for safety and the Spaniard's overthrow."

§ 38. The number of ships throughout the realm, in the year 31 Eliz', collected out of the Certificates returned in anno 1588, was as (*u*) follows.

	Above 100 *tons.*	*Under* 100 & *above* 80.	*Under* 80.
London	62	23	44
Cornwall	3	2	65
Devon	7	3	109
Bristol and Somerset	9	1	27
Southampton	8	7	47
Gloucester	0	0	29
York	11	8	20

&c &c, I copy only few. It appears from the whole of this paper, that the shipping of England had rather declined since the 20 Edw' III.

(*s*) (*t*) MS Cal'.

(*u*) This list is taken from Bree's *Cursory Sketch*, p' 358.

§ 39. "On (*v*) the 24*th* Nov', which was the day appointed by her Majesty for a general thanksgiving on account of the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the same was observed here with the greatest solemnity. The Mayor and all the Council in scarlet, with the serjeants and other officers before them, and every company and craft in their proper dresses, and with their proper ensigns, went to the College and heard a sermon; after which they received the holy communion; and as they went home, the magistrates with other well-disposed persons gave money to the poor, delivering it to those persons which were appointed to stand at Sir John Young's house, and at the Grammar-school gate."

§ 40. In the year 1590 part of the monastery of the Gaunts on St Augustine's Green was made a hospital for the maintenance of poor boys.

§ 41. "One Richard (*w*) Ferris, a London wherry-man, undertook for a great wager to sail his wherry from London to Bristol. He set out June 24*th* 1590, having twelve months allowed him; but he performed it in eight weeks and four days, and arrived safely in Bristol on August 23*d* at half ebb with his wherry under sail, and landed at the further slip on the Back. And presently his wherry was brought on men's shoulders up to the Tolsey, and so put into the store-house under the Guildhall."

§ 42. "In the (*x*) month of June [*al'* March] 1591, Sir Walter Devereux, knight, a good captain, was slain in Fraunce, viewing the walls of Roane, being shot into the head with a musket from the city, his headpiece being off. His dead body was brought in a horse-litter through this city soldier-like, with the shot of all our trained soldiers, and so towards Carmarthen to be buried."

§ 43. "The 16*th* of (*y*) Sept' 1592, a great porpoise fish was caught and taken in the haven between Bristol bridge and the castle, brought in by the tide, and given to the Mayor.'

§ 44. "In the (*z*) year 1592, the pestilence reigned sore in most places of this land, but especially in London."

(*v*) MS Calendar. (*w*) Several MS Cal'. (*x*) (*y*) Adams's Cal' and another. (*z*) A MS Cal.

§ 45. "In the (*a*) year 1594-5, one John Corsly, a goldsmith, and Saunders, were taken in Bristoll for coining of pistolets and Spanish money; but they were not executed."

§ 46. We of the present age (1823) during the last twenty or thirty years have had reason to complain of the frequent fluctuations in the price of corn; nor has modern policy yet attained such a consistency as to secure us from similar fluctuations in future. But whatever inconveniences *we* may sustain on this account, the evils which our ancestors suffered were greater in a manifold degree. Many examples of excessive prices, high and low, within short spaces of time, have been already given, and many others still remain to be recorded: the distress occasioned by which variations must have been grievously felt, in one case by the poor consumer, in the other by the cultivator. I have brought together into this place all the examples of this kind, which our Calendars record during the reigns of Elizabeth and James. It is difficult, or rather impossible, to find a real medium between such fluctuating prices; and therefore the true proportion between the present age and any other cannot be calculated with certainty; at a hazard, however, we may say that multiplying the prices of the age of Elizabeth by 3, 4, or 5, according to circumstances, we shall find the corresponding prices in money of the present day.—"In 1568 there was such a dearth and famine in Wales, that notwithstanding great store of corn sent over out of Bristoll to them, yet many died for want of food. In the year 1581 wheat was at 9*s* 6*d* a bushel; but the dearth had a supply by six ships, which came home laden, and brought down the prices. There was at this time much grudging among the commons for the shipping away of butter; a practice whereby the merchants gained as much cursing as profit, and after sell it as cheap beyond the seas as our own markets will afford it."—"Corn was at (*b*) great price this year (1586) and the last. Wheat was at 8*s* and 9*s* a bushel, and barley at 4*s* or 5*s*; so that there was more barley baked than wheat: and the poor commons began to make insurrection, for work grew scant with them, by reason of the imbarment in Spain. But five ships arrived here from Linne and Boston, laden with wheat, rye,"

(*a*) Adams's Cal'. (*b*) MS Cal'.

"malt, and barley; and the Mayor and Council caused Penceford bakers to come into the city every day with bread. Also the Mayor procured great store of corn from Dansk [Dantsic] which was sold at 4*s* a bushel. Mr. Mayor likewise hearing of a barque in Hungrode, wherein was good store of butter bound for Fraunce, went down himself by water and seized on it. The sailors at first resisted him and abused him in words: notwithstanding he unladed the butter into a barge, and brought 140 kinterkins into the Back-hall and sold it unto the commons in the market for $2\frac{1}{2}d$ per *li:* and the mariners that resisted he committed to ward, where they lay in irons, until they paid the fine laid on them for disobedience. But the next year (1587) God of his mercy sent such plenty of corn that wheat was sold for 16*d* and 2*s* a bushel the best; and barley for 10*d* and 12*d* a bushel." One of the Calendars says thus. "The 12*th* of August, 1587, wheat was sold for 5*s* a bushel; but on the 19*th* of the same month, it fell to 22*d*." Again we read that "in 1594 wheat was at 6*s* p' bushel, and the Mayor, Francis Knight, mercer, laid out money to provide corn for the common sort of people; and by his means much corn was brought from Dantzick to Bristol. And the same year, 1594, Thomas Aldworth, alderman, did buy to the use of the commons of this city from Christmas to Michaelmas following 1200 *li* worth of wheat and rye, and did bring, and caused to be brought into the market every market-day a quantity; and the other days did the commons of the city to the great good of the whole commonalty, as by (*c*) account may be seen." I copy the following paragraph from Adams and Ricart, not only as concerning the price of corn, but also as relating a circumstance in the life of a very eminent citizen and benefactor of Bristol.—"The scarcity still continuing in 1595, Mr. John Whitson, merchant, bought in the month of November, by order from the Mayor and Aldermen, 3000 quarters of Danske rye, of Mr. Thomas Offely, of London, merchant, at 28*s*. the quarter, to be delivered to Mr. Whitson here, free of all charges, before the last day of May [1596] next ensuing But the said Mayor by procurement of others disliked the bargain, alledging it to be too dear, in regard it was so long before the rye"

(*c*) This last period is from R' Ricart's book; and the *account* he mentions must be the Account-book in the Council-house.

"would come; whereupon the Mayor and Aldermen would pay but one half of the charges and expences that Mr. Whitson had laid out, which was 8*l* 2*s* 6*d*, in riding to London in and about this business; so that Mr. Whitson was to stand to one half of the charges, and to one half of the bargain himself. But so it fell out, that when the said rye was arrived in Bristol, it was well worth 44*s* a quarter and more. And then the said Mayor and Aldermen intreated to have the whole bargain, and would pay Mr. Whitson 50 *li* for his charges and running the adventure of the bargain: whereunto after some persuasions he (being of a good nature) consented. And within 20 days after, this rye was all sold at 6*s* the bushel, much under the rate of the market, and many pecks and half bushels were given among the poor of the city. And in conclusion there was gained upon this bargain 774 *li*, all charges and petty charges being deducted. A great part of which profit was employed at the Parliament by Sir George Snig, recorder, and Wm' Ellis a merchant, alderman, being then burgesses of Parliament, to procure an Act of Parliament for Orphan's causes to be tried and determined in Bristoll, in such manner and form, as is now and was accustomed: and the residue of the money remained to the Mayor and Commonalty."—The scarcity still continued in 1596: "wheat sold at 7*s* and 8*s* and even at 12*s* a bushel. Meal was cheaper after the rate than wheat; by reason that the measure was first heaped up, and then thrust down as hard as could be, and then heaped again; so that a peck of meal weighed 22 or 23 pounds." In 1596 and 1597 the scarcity amounted to an actual famine throughout the land. "Wheat was sold at 18 and 20 *sh*, malt at 8 *sh*, and rye at 10 *sh*." Another MS gives the prices of 1597 thus: wheat was sold for 10, 12 and 16 *sh* a bushel; and barley at 5 and 6 *sh*; beans at 8 and 10 *sh*; pease at 4 and 5 *sh*; oats at 4 *sh*; beef and veal very dear, eggs 2 for 1 *d*; and other wares at an excessive rate: and had we not been supplied with corn and rye from Danske, the rich as well as the poor would have been in a miserable condition. There came to Bristoll and other places above a dozen ships laden with rye, which was sold here at 5*s* 8*d*, some at 6*s*, 7*s* and 8*s*, which did great service. To relieve the poor, it was concluded upon by the Mayor and Council, that every alderman with the rest of the worshipful, and every burgess that was of any worth, should every day"

"give one meal of meat to so many poor people that wanted work, some 8, some 6, some 4, and some 2, according to his ability; whereby the poor of our city were all relieved and kept from starving or rising. And the executors of Mr. Robert Kitchin, alderman, gave weekly 100 marks for the relief of the poor in divers parishes." In 1601 the Parliament appointed a weekly relief for the poor in every parish, and the manner how it should be raised. "In 1607 the great frost occasioned provisions to be very dear: wheat was at 8*s* a bushel, rye at 5*s*, barley for 4*s* 4*d*.—In this year, 1608 and '9, was great dearth and scarcity of corn throughout the land; [*one MS adds*, and many people perished for want of food.] Wheat was sold at 6*s* 8*d*, and rye at 5*s* 4*d* a bushel. Many had perished, if God of his mercy had not provided for us by sending in from Dantzic and other places more foreign corn to this city this year, than ever came to man's memory or record before. There came from the 23*d* July 1608, to the 24th July 1609, according to their several entries in the custom-house books (which (*d*) I have seen and from thence did collect the sums underwritten) 60 ships with corn, whereof were 23 great Hollenders, and one great ship of London; all which one with another contained 100 tons a piece and better. The rest were of smaller burdens from France, Ireland, and other places.

34,629 bush' of wheat at 5*s* per bush' - - - - - - - -	£8,657	5	0
73,770 bush' of rye at 4*s* per bush' - - - - - - - - -	14,754	0	0
4,040 bush' of barley at 3*s* per bush' - - - - - - -	606	0	0
112,439 bushels, amounting to - - - - - - - - - -	£24,017	5	0

This I have valued at the lowest rate; for much of the wheat was sold for a noble a bushel, and the greatest part of the rye for 4*s* 8*d* and 5*s*. And it pleased our good God (blessed be his name therefore) to send a plentiful harvest, and our wheat was sold, before August was ended, for 4*s* a bushel, rye at 3*s*, and barley at 2*s* 6*d*."—"In 1611 was a very dry summer; not one day of rain in four months; so that butter was sold for 6*d* a pound, and hay for 3*li* a load."—"In the year 1613-14 was a great scarcity of corn in England; and there was brought to this city from France, Danzwicke [*al'* Denmark] and other parts from Sept' 1613 to"

(*d*) This article is copied for the most part from Adams's Cal'.

"August 1614, of ships great and small [*al'* of ships and barges] 104; and in the custom-house was entered 25,105 quarters of all sorts of grain."

§ 47. "On Wednesday (*e*) July 24*th*, 1595, certain Spaniards landed in Cornwall at 6 in the morning, being dark and cloudy, and burned Penzance, Mousehole, and a parish church, and the house of Mr. Chinnerton, a justice of the peace: and after they had done their pleasure, they took shipping, the wind being fair with them."

§ 48 "A great (*f*) porpoise was taken between Gibtayler and Rownham, April 21, 1600, or 1601, by Wm' Chandler, lighterman."

§ 49. March 24, 1602-3, queen Elizabeth died, and James, king of Scotland, succeeded to the crown.

(*e*) MS Cal'.

(*f*) MS Cal'.

End of Chapter XXVI.

CHAPTER XXVII.

JAMES I.

1. *King James I proclaimed.*—2. *The Plague.*—3. *Maritime Expedition: Settlement of Newfoundland.*—4. *Heavy snow.*—5, 6. *High tide.*—7. *Strange fish.*—8. *Great frost.*—9. *Cruelty punished.*—10. *Dispute with the Cathedral.*—11. *Visits of the dukes of Lenox and Brunswic.*—12. *Mulberry trees: Alum.*—13. *Great shipwrecks.* 14. *Death of Prince Henry.*—15. *Lord President of Wales &c visit the city.*—16—20. *The Queen's visit.*—21. *A felon pressed to death.*—22. *A ship lost.*—23. *Attempt of the Bakers.*—24, 25. *Challenges with musquetry between Bristol and Exeter.*—26. *Earl of Arundel visits Bristol.*—27. *Earl of Essex &c visit Bristol.*—28. *Ship wrecked.*—29. *Death of king James.*

§ 1. "KING James (*g*) was proclaimed in this city the 29*th* [*al'* 28*th*] of March 1603, by Mr. George Snigge, recorder, at the high-cross, the Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen, and all the worshipful standing in their scarlet, and every one of the companies attending in their order, the King's picture being placed on the cross over the Recorder's head. First Triggs the trumpeter sounded four times solemnly and mournfully, turning himself four several ways upon the cross, for the death of her Majesty; then four times and four ways joyfully for the entrance of king James; and then our Recorder read and pronounced the proclamation aloud. Then the Mayor and Aldermen with the rest of the"

(g) Adams and other Cal'.

"Council went to St Nicholas to sermon, and all the companies in order; to praise God for giving us so wise, learned and religious a King: whereas the Papists hoped to have a day of joy at the death of the Queen."

§ 2. "The 18*th* of (*h*) July, 1603, the great plague began in this city, in Pepper-alley in Marsh-street, and continued 18 months: whereof died between July and Michaelmas following, 100 persons or thereabout [*al'* 50 persons]. All that time and the most part of the year 1604, the sickness was very hot," and did not wholly cease until the beginning of 1605. Adams says "the plague ceased in Lent 1605; and the whole number that died in Bristoll from the 18*th* of July 1603 until Feb' 20*th*, 1605, according to the church books and printed tickets is 2956, whereof 2600 were of the plague, of which number 160 were out of Gloucestershire and buried at St Philip's. So the whole number that died in this city is 2440." On consulting the register of St Philip it was found, that in 1603 and 1604 there died or rather were buried in that parish 333 persons, who are described as dying of the plague; among whom was Thomas Colman, the vicar.

§ 3. When the discovery of so many countries and seas hitherto unknown had given a considerable impulse to maritime adventure, the merchants of Bristol were not behind the rest of their countrymen in seeking celebrity and profit by the same means. In what year the following transaction took place is not recorded in our Calendars; Mr. Whitson was Mayor in 1603 and 1615, and Mr. Aldworth in 1609; about which time it probably happened. "Mr. John (*i*) Whitson and Mr. Rob' Aldworth and others set forth a ship for the discovery of the North-west passage, under the command of Martin Prinne, being then but 23 years of age, who after proved a very good seaman in the East-India voyages. He is buried in St Stephen's, on the north side of the chancel. And in the year 1609, Mr. John Guy, merchant, one of the Council of Bristoll, intending a plantation in Newfoundland, procured a licence and charter of the King for the same, having some rich merchants of London"

(*h*) (*i*) MS Calendars.

"joyned with him: and many of this city did put in their money with them. And so Mr. Guy and some other young merchants went over to make trial, whether the land would bear corn. They also carried cattle and swine over with them to increase the land."—And again we read, that "in the year 1611 Mr. John Guy, merchant, went for Newfoundland victualled for the plantation of 40 men for a whole year."

§ 4. "On the (*k*) 4*th* of Oct' 1604, was the greatest snow that was ever known by the memory of man, which continued four days. And by reason that the leaves were upon the trees, very many were thrown down by the roots, and the limbs of many others were broken in pieces."

§ 5. "The 20*th* of (*l*) January 1606-7, being Tuesday in the morning, the wind blowing hard at south-west, there was so great a flood at high-water, that the sea broke over the banks, and overflowed all the marsh country in England and in Wales, drowning their cattle, and carrying away their corn and hay, some houses and many trees. Some lost their lives, and many saved themselves by climbing up on the roofs of their houses, and others on trees and mows. In the marsh country about Aust and Henbury, the flood was so high that it could not all run off again, but remained a fathom deep, and the people on the trees could not come down, but remained there two or three days. The Mayor, Mr. Barker, hearing thereof commanded cock-boats [*al'* cork boats] to be hauled thither to fetch them off, that they might not perish. In the city it rose on the Back 4½ feet above the street: so that a small boat about 5 tons came up laden to St Nicholas crowd door; and the boatman put his hook against the lower step and thrust off his boat again. All the lower part of the city was covered; it was in every house on the Back and most part of the Key, doing much hurt in cellars to woade, sugars and salt; butts of secks swam in the cellars above ground, therefore worse in vaults under ground. In Redcliffe, Temple and St Thomas streets, the water was so high as men's girdles. In St Stephen's, St Thomas and Temple churches, it was half way up the seats. The Bridge was stopped and the water bayed back higher towards Redcliffe-street:"

(*k*) (*l*) MS Calendars.

"it rose five feet at Trin-mills. At it's return it brought great trees down the river, but did no harm to the bridge."

§ 6. Some further particulars of the mischief done by this calamity may be seen in the Gentleman's Mag' for July 1762: which, the writer says, was extracted from a pamphlet written soon after the event, and preserved in the Harleian Library. He dates it Tuesday Jan' 27, 1607. "The first bursting of the sea over the banks in prodigiously high waves, he describes as tremendous. The whole vale from Bristol to Glouster was overflowed for six miles distance from the river on both sides; and most of the bridges and buildings were destroyed. From Chepstow to the further end of Caermarthenshire it came on so fast, that it was supposed 500 persons, on a moderate computation, lost their lives, beside many thousand cattle, and vast numbers of sheep, hogs, horses and poultry; and many climbed to the top of houses, trees and towers, whence they saw their cattle and other substance perish, and sometimes their wives and children, without being able to afford them any assistance. At Cardiff a great part of the church next to the river was carried away. Children at school, and travellers on the road were alike involved in this general calamity: if they fled to the house-tops or tops of hills, they were alike in danger of perishing by hunger and cold; but many were involved, before they were aware of their danger. On the English coast the same calamity was suffered, the whole way from Barnstaple to Bridgewater. It is a most pitiful sight to behold, what numbers of fat oxen were drowned, what flocks of sheep, what herds of kine have been lost. There is little now remaining there to be seen, but huge waters like to the main ocean: the tops of churches and steeples like the tops of rocks in the sea: great ricks of fodder for cattle are floating like ships upon the waters, and dead beasts swimming thereon, now past feeding on the same. The tops of trees a man may behold remaining above the waters, on whose branches multitudes of turkies, hens and other such like poultry were fain to fly up to save their lives, where many of them perished for want of relief, not being able to fly to dry land by reason of their weakness."

§ 7. April 10, 1606 or 1607, a strange (*m*) fish, called *a Fryer*, was taken in Kingroad, and brought up to the Back in a Cardiff boat. It was five feet long and three feet broad, having two hands and two feet, and a very grisly wide mouth. It was hauled from the Back on a dray to the Mayor's house."

§ 8. "In 1607, (*n*) on Nov' 20*th*, began a very severe frost, which lasted nine weeks and more to the 8*th* [*al'* 18*th*] of Feb'. Severn and Wye were frozen from Bristoll to Gloucester and upwards, so that people did pass on foot from one side to the other, and played gambols, and made fires to roast meat on the ice: during which time no trows nor woodbushes could come to the city. Yet in all this time the river at the Back and Key and so downwards to Hungroad was not frozen, as it is reported to have been anno 1564. When the frost broke, there came swimming with the current of the tide huge flags of ice, which did endamage many ships, that were coming up the channel into Hungroad. This frost made corn very dear, and killed that which was in the earth, so that the summer following it was very scarce and dear: and it starved most of the fowls of the air, especially the blackbirds and thrushes; that in riding 100 miles in the summer following a man could scarce see a blackbird."

§ 9. "A smith (*o*) was whipt in the pillory at the high-cross some time in 1607-8 for putting out horses eyes."

§ 10. Early in the year 1609 arose a great and unfortunate dispute between the Bishop, Dean and Chapter on one side, and the Mayor and Common-council on the other, concerning some seats and a gallery in the Cathedral, lately built by the latter, which the Bishop took down. The particulars will be given in another place.

§ 11. "The 10*th* (*p*) of April 1609, being Monday before Easter, the duke of Lennox, the King's uncle, came from Bath to Bristoll, whom the Sheriffs with 200 horse met in Kingswood, and brought to Sir John"

(*m*) Two MS Cal'. (*n*) (*o*) MS Cal'. (*p*) Adams and other Cal'.

"Young's house, the Bishop of the city then dwelling there, where he lodged that night; and at his entering there was an oration in Latin made unto him, and after that 30 pieces of ordinance were discharged in the marsh. On Tuesday in the morning he rode with the Mayor and many others to Hungrode and returned by water. On Wednesday morning he brake fast at the Mayor's [*al'* on Wednesday he dined at Mr. Mayor's], and then he rode away for the Court, being accompanied with the Sheriffs and like company again beyond Kingswood. And on the 10*th* of May 1610, being Good-Friday, the duke of Brunswick, queen Anne her sister's son, about 18 years of age, came to this city from Gloucester. He was brought in with 200 horse, and 25 pieces of great ordinance were discharged in the marsh at his entry. He was met by Mr. Mayor, the Aldermen and Common-council at the Tolzey, and there was an oration made unto him; which being ended, the Mayor &c brought him to his lodging at the White Lyon in Brode-street, where the Mayor and many of the Council supped with him; and at supper time sundry vollies of shot were performed by all our trained bands, 300 men or thereabouts. The next morning he walked round the marsh with the Mayor and Aldermen, where the great ordinance were twice discharged. Then he dined at the Mayor's, and in the afternoon took his journey for Bath [*al'* for London, being Easter evening]."

§12. "Near (*q*) about this time (1609) was the first planting of Mulberry trees in England, by the King's special orders. And in this year the making of alum in the King's dominions was first devised and found out; and a proclamation forbidding the bringing in of alum from foreign parts."

§13. "The (*r*) winter of 1610 proved very foul and stormy, which caused the greatest shipwrecks that ever were known in England. A great Flemish ship, which came from the Indies laden with sugars, oils, spices, and other rich commodities, was lost at Possett's Point on Wednesday, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the 24*th* of October 1610. She split and sunk before she came to Kingroad in sight of many ships"

(*q*) (*r*) MS Cal'.

" and barques, and not one of her company was saved, for no man durst put forth to help, the storm was so great. One half of her was driven up above [*al'* towards] Awst; much of her lading was taken up, but all spoiled."

§ 14. " November (*s*) the 6*th*, 1612, Henry, Prince of Wales, the hope of this land, died, supposed to be poisoned; he was a wise, valiant, and religious prince, and a great enemy to Popery. On the 7*th* of December, he was buried in Westminster; and on the same day the Mayor, with his brethren, and the Common-council, and all the Companies going before them in their gowns, did so solemnize Prince Henry's funeral, going from the Tolzey, every one in order, to Redcliff church to hear a sermon, maintaining thereby their love to the prince, and their sorrow for his death, and the magistrates put themselves in mourning attire."

§ 15. " In the (*t*) month of April 1613, the Lord President of Wales, the lord Delaware, the lord Clifton, with divers other knights and gentlemen, with their ladies, came to this city, where they were accommodated with lodging and entertainment by the Mayor and Sheriff Baker, who took the same very kindly."

§ 16. " On Friday (*u*) the 4*th* of June queen Anne, daughter of Frederic king of Denmark and Norway, and sister to Christiern, the now King of those countries, wife of our king James, came from Bath, where she had been for the recovery of her health and for her recreation, to this city, accompanied by the earl of Worcester, who was in the coach with her Grace. The Mayor and Council made such provision for receiving and entertaining of her Majesty, as could be accomplished upon so sudden and short warning: whereupon he caused all the streets, where her Majesty should pass through, to be sanded, and all the companies of arts and mysteries, with three bands of trained soldiers, to the number of 500, well apparelled and furnished under the charge of three captains, to be in readiness for the attending and guarding her Highness through"

(*s*) MS Cal'. (*t*) Ricart's Cal'. (*u*) All the Cal'.

" the streets. And so the Maior, Aldermen, Sheriffs and Common-council, all in scarlet gowns, took their horses and rode two by two on foot-cloths, each one attended by a page, and accompanied by the chiefest Masters of the several trades with their hoods, from the Tolzey to Lafford's gate, where they met and received her Maiestie, whose Herald went before her, sounding with a trumpet. Whereupon the Maior fell on his knees, and Mr. Lawrence Hide, Esquire, then Recorder of the city, gravely uttered a brief but very handsome oration to her Majestie; which being ended, the Maior using some gratulatory speeches in few words presented to her Highness a fair purse of satten, embroidered with two letters for her name, viz, A. R. in which purse were 100 unites of gold, amounting to the summe of 110 *li* as a gift from the Maior and commonalty of this city, which her Majestie most graciously accepted. The Maior and Recorder having taken horse again, the last Common-council-man did ride first; and the Maior with chain of gold about his neck being placed between two gentlemen-ushers rode bare-headed next before the lord Carie, who rode next before her Majestie's chariot. When they came up Wine-street all the trained soldiers of the city stood along each side of the street, every one according to his ability, having their apparel suitable to their colours, with hats and feathers accordingly, one company in red hose and white doublets; another in black and white, and the third in white and scarlet, every one by his dress seeming to be a commander rather than a private soldier. And so the Maior with his brethren and companie brought her Maiestie to the house of the ladie Marques, sometime the house of Sir John Younge, knight, no sword being then borne before the Maior; (her Maiestie being guarded by the souldiers, as she passed through the streets) and no sound of drumme or gunne being heard, as she passed. But when her Highness was placed and settled in her lodging, the bands of soldiers being all set in good order upon the Kay, they loaded their guns and by a private notice from the Earl of Worcester, who being at a house on the kay held his handkerchief out of a casement, they gave a handsome volley, and immediately thereupon 60 pieces of great ordnaunce were discharged near the kay [*al'* 42 guns were fired from the Tower on the"

"Quay]. Then the soldiers marched to the Green before the Queen's lodgings, and fired another volley, her Majestie beholding them forth of her chamber-window, and much commending them. Then they departed leaving an honourable guard at her Majestie's lodgings."

§ 17. "The next day being something rainy weather, her Maiestie made her abode in her house, Mr. Maior entertaining many of her servants at dinner in his house that daie. On Sunday following, June 6, the Maior and Council in their scarlet gowns with their officers went on foot to her Highness' court and attended her to the College, the Maior walking before the coach; which was drawn by four white horses; but the sword of state was not carried by him in honour to the Queen. Her Grace was accompanied in her coach by the Earl of Worcester and the lord Bishop of Wells; the Maior going on foot next to the coach bare-headed with the chain of gold about his neck, and all the Council in their places before him and the ladies of her court riding on horses next behind the coach; the trained soldiers making a guard for her Majesty unto the College. When she came out of the coach, the lord Worcester on the right side and the lord Bishop of Wells on the left side did lead and conduct her into the chancel, where she heard the sermon preached by Mr. Doctor Hobson, the Dean; and then she returned to the court in the same state that she was conducted therefrom."

§ 18. "Next day Mr. Mayor invited the lords and ladies and other knights, who dined at his house: and in the afternoon to shew the Queen some diversion, there was a shew made on the river at high-water against the mouth of the river at the Gibb; and there was built a scaffold in Canon's Marsh finely decorated with ivy-leaves and flowers for her Maiestie to sit in and see the fight. And when the time came, the Mayor and Aldermen in their black gowns did bring her Majesty thither, they riding before in their foot-cloths; and having placed her, a ship came up under sail and cast anchor, and drew their ensigns upon their top-masts, making obeisance to the Queen. After that they spread their flag again; and up came two gallies of Turks and set upon the ship, and there was much fighting and shooting, three bands of soldiers being placed, one on"

"each side of the two rivers, having apparel for the time. The Turks boarded the ship and were put off again with loss of men: some of them running up the main mast to pull down the flag were thrown overboard into the river, while the ship's side did run over with blood.(*a*) At length the gallies were beaten off and fled, and some of the Turks remained prisoners and were presented to her Majesty, who laughing said, that they were not only like Turks by their apparell, but by their countenances. This fight was so excellently formed for the time, that it delighted her Majesty much; and she said, she never saw any thing so neatly and so artificially performed. The crowds which attended to see this exhibition were astonishing; not fewer by computation, than 30,000 persons on the three sides of the two rivers. Her Majesty was then conducted back to her lodging by the Mayor and Council, and the trained soldiers gave her two vollies at parting. The same night the Ladie Drummond with other ladies and gentlemen being her Majesty's servants supped at Mr. Maior's house. And then the ladie Drummond did deliver unto Mr. Maior a fair ring of gold set with diamonds very richly, supposed to be worth £60, as a favor from the Queen's Maiestie, which he wore next day about his neck, hung by a chain of gold."

§ 19. "On the next day, being Tuesday, about two o'clock the Maior and Council, as they did bring her into the city at first, so they attended her on her departure, guarding her with the trained soldiers in their armour; and at Lafford's gate the Maior on his knees, and his brethren took their leaves of her Maiestie, who gave them great thanks for her entertainment, and promised to shew the city any favor in any thing, wherein she might have occasion: and she was pleased to say that she never knew she was a Queen, till she came to Bristoll: and so thanking all the people, she departed with tears in her eyes unto Siston in Gloucestershire, to the house of Mr. Henry Billingsly."

§ 20. Beside the Calendars from which the preceding account is for the most part derived, Adams in his Calendar has inserted a long

(*a*) A note informs us, that "six bladders of bloud were powred out of the scubber-holes."

poem written on the occasion "by one Robert Naile a prentice in Bristoll' and one of the trained soldiers, 'who dedicated his book to the Maior and Aldermen here;" from which poem some few particulars in the preceding narrative are extracted. The Poem was printed in the Bristol Memorialist, No. 3, 1816.

§ 21. "One (*b*) Phelpes a fellon was pressed to death in Newgate in the year 1615-16 for denying to be tried by his country, but by God and Somersetshire, which was no plea to his indictment."—This barbarous custom continued unrepealed until the year 1772.

§ 22. "The (*c*) Zabulon of Bristoll, a ship of 100 tons and better, with 30 men in her, was cast away near unto Carmarthen, loden for the most part with oiles."

§ 23. "The (*d*) Maisters and company of Bakers here at their great charges procured letters Patents from the King's Maiestie under his Highness' great seal of England, whereby they endeavoured in the year 1616 to exempt themselves wholly from the government of this cittie; which doubtless, if they had proceeded and had been suffered in their wicked purpose, would have been very hurtful to the state of the city, especially to the poor sort of people. But they were prevented by the Maior, Mr. Knight and Mr. James, two aldermen having power given them by the said letters patents to swear John Gibbons, Maister of the Company: who refusing to take oath, they procured a writ out of the High Court of Chancery, commanding the maior and aldermen to minister the oath unto the said maister; which nevertheless he and the bakers refused to do, saying they would forbear baking. Whereupon the maior and justices gave free liberty to two country bakers, one of Wreington and another of Portbury to bring into this city so much bread as they could make; who made their twopenny wheaten loaf to weigh 36 ounces, and the twopenny white loaf 26 ounces, making all other sorts of bread accordingly; which white loaf was 8 ounces, and wheaten 10 ounces heavier than our bakers bread: and by those means our bakers were glad to submit themselves."

(*b*)(*c*)(*d*) MS' Call'.

§ 24. I cannot persuade myself to omit the following account of a contest with musquetry, which is related by Adams under the year 1616: to some readers it may appear tedious; but representing the manners, particularly the military habits of the age, it is not unworthy of being preserved. "This summer there happened great challenges to be made between certain merchants and shopkeepers of Bristoll against so many more of Exeter, for the exercise of shooting with musquets open sighted and soldierlike at a but of artillery with bulletts, which was by each side agreed upon and covenants drawn between them. Our men went first to Exeter with 15 musquets chested and carried on horseback, themselves being well suited; and every man's bandolere suitable and covered with crimson velvet, silver lace, and silver fringe which cost them 50*s* apiece. Sherife Tomlinson rode with them, accompanied with two captaines of our cittie and other worshipful men to the number of 40 horse and upwards, all expert men in military discipline. These departed Bristoll on Monday the 27*th* of May 1616, and the 28*th* day they were gallantly brought into Exeter with 200 horse cullers, drummes and trumpets, and sumptuously feasted. The next day being Wednesday our men proved their pieces privately, and shot well. On Thursday they prepared themselves, and marched together to the place appointed, where the Exeter men by a secret spie (unknown to our men) were acquainted of their good private shooting; whereof fearing themselves too weeke fell to wrangling, and put our men off for that day with grife. That night our men supped at the Sherifes house, where was great provision and many healths drank, and great protestations made how sorry they were for the great abuse offered to our men by yong wilful heads. So after supper and many healths they brought our men to their lodgings, where many more healths and burnt secke was spent near all night, not one of the shooters of Exeter men in their company all that night. Friday morning most of our men being sick with drinking and watching prepared themselves to take horse for Bristoll. Then was speeches given forth, that our men were cowards, and dared not to shoot with them; which so enraged our men, that they would go presently to try the victory, where one of our men struck out the pin. Our men were best and second at the marke: yet by reason of one bullet from Exeter struck but the edge of the target"

" more than was done on our side, it was judged thereby that they won two rounds, and our men one, whereby they lost 100 nobles, which otherwise they had wonne so much. Otherwise all our men were there kindly used: no man suffered to spend one penny for diet, wine, beer, or provinder. Besides this small loss, our men shewed themselves valerous and bountifull. They gave away about 100 £ in Exeter among officers and poor people of the cittie: for every man that rode thither did put 5£ a piece into a common purse."

§ 25. "The first day of July in the same year the Exeter men came to Bristoll, with three of their captaines and many other gentlemen to the number of 55 horse. Out of our cittie rode above 300 horse, with all our 3 captaines, who met them four miles off, and with trumpets and cullers brought them in gallantly, lodged them at the Bear, and bountifully feasted them with all dainties that for money might be had. The next day being Wednesday, they caused a but to be erected in the Marsh, which they refusing, our captaines to give them content erected another by agreement in St' Augustine's green with three tents fitting each business. Thursday afternoon our men in number 18 prepared themselves, being led by 3 worthy captaines with 3 ensignes and 6 drummes came to the door of their lodging; the sight whereof so daunted their adversaries, that they fell to jangling between themselves, insomuch that though before they seemed all ready, they durst not come forth, but strived to put one the other foremost. Which our men seeing that no persuasion could move them, then our men marched away to the place and house appointed, attended by the Maior and Councell and many knights and gentlemen; whom they placed in a fair tent as expectators and judges for the business. There our men tarried two hours for the Exeter men, who at last with much intreaty of their gentlemen came. The wind blew hard at southwest all that day; which so much disturbed their hands, that our men that time of 52 shots put in but 7, and they 5 shots. Then night overtaking them, four of each side were to showt for trial the next day one shot a piece. Next morning meeting there againe, and the wind being calm, three of our men shot into the target, and the fourth one inch over, and never a one of their four shots came within"

"half a foot of the target. So our men were best, second and third, won the three rounds, and 100 £ in money, besides much bets won on our side, all which was spent uppon them, and 100 £ to double repay their curtesie. Our captaines willed their treasurer to put every penny to account which they had laid out, and repaid them again; not suffering them to give ought to any officer or poore in our cittie. So on Friday afternoon they all took horse, and our men accompanied them good part of the way."

§ 26. "The (*e*) Earl of Arundel came to Bristoll, and had noe entertainment of the city, which he much resented; and after refused the courtesie proferred him."

§ 27. "This (*f*) year [1621] the Earl of Essex with his brother, and the Earl of Clanricard their father-in-law, with other gentlemen came from Bath to see this city in the Whitson week; who were received very honourably by the Mayor and his brethren, and two peals of ordnance were discharged in the Marsh at their coming. They lay at the White Lion in Brode-street. Next morning they walked round the Marsh, the ordinance firing again, and having dined at the Mayor's they rode back to Bath."

§ 28. "In the (*g*) month of Dec' 1623, the good ship called the Jonathan of Bristol, which was builded in 1618, was cast away entering into the Streights. She struck against a rock, and went to pieces to the great loss of many, but all her men were saved. It was reported, that she was worth £12000."

§ 29. King James I died March 27, 1625.

(*e*)(*f*) MS' Call'. (*g*) Adams's Cal'.

End of Chapter XXVII.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CHARLES I.

1. *King Charles I proclaimed; grants a Charter.*—2. *Turkish Ambassador.*—3. *Soldiers shipped to Ireland: Lord Villers passes to Ireland.*—4. *Plague.*—5. *The ship Charles.*—6. *Extraordinary Guards and Watchings: rainy summer.*—7. *Soldiers sent to Ireland, and assassination of the duke of Buckingham.*—8. *Castle annexed to the City.*—9. *Birth of prince Charles.*—10. *Scarcity.*—11. *Sheriff Jackson fined in the Starchamber.*—12. *Armoury built.*—13—28. *Voyage of Captain James.*—28. *b. Privateers against Spain.*—29. *Thunder Storm.*—30. *Snow.*—31. *Ship-money raised in Bristol.*—32. *The ship Drown-boy.*—33. *Great Flood.*—34—37. *Oppressive measures of the Government.*—38. *Scarcity.*—39. *Sickness.*—40. *Soldiers pressed for the War against the Scots.*—41. *Irish Rebellion.*—42. *Civil War in England: Catalogue of Books and Pamphlets.*—43. *Table of Events.*—44. *Ancient Walls and the Castle repaired.*—45. *New Fortifications: Brandon-hill.*—46. *The Royal Fort.*—47. *Prior's hill Fort, Lawford's gate &c.*—48. *Fortifications on Somersetshire side.*—49. *Time when the lines were drawn and of what materials.*—50. *Preparations for Defence.*—51. *Situation of the neighbouring Towns, and of Bristol.*—52. *Movements in Somersetshire.*—53. *Parliament Forces admitted into Bristol.*—54, 55. *State of Parties in Bristol.*—56. *Colonel Popham.*—57. *Bristol Petitions the King for Peace. The King's answer.*—58. *Col' Essex kills one of his own men.*—59. *Col' Fiennes is appointed Governor.*—60, 61. *his vindication of himself.*—62. *his military conduct,*—63. *and mode of raising money.*—64. *his disloyalty,*—65. *and oppressions.*—66. *Contributions sent to the Protestants of Ireland.*—67. *State of Religion.*—68. *Puritans.*—69. *Story of Mrs. Grace Cary, a Puritan lady.*—70—74. *Attempt of the Royalists. Trial of Mr. Yeomans, and Mr. Boucher.*—75. *Their Execution.*—76. *Confiscation of their Property.*—77, 78. *further Par-*

ticulars.—79. *List of the Conspirators.*—80. *Fiennes endeavours to justify himself.*—81, 82. *Rebel account of the Plot.*—83. *Royalist account.*—84—95. *additional Accounts.*—96. *Battle of Lansdown.*—97—99. *Siege and Capture of Bristol.*—100. *Articles of Surrender.*—101. *Outrages, misconduct of the Governor.*—102. *Other particulars of the Capture.*—103. *Trial and Condemnation of Col' Fiennes.*—104. *Importance of the Capture.*—105. *Prince Rupert appointed Governor. The King goes to Bristol.*—106. *The King's Printer.*—107. *Submission of the neighbouring Country.*—108. *Petition of the Gloustershire Clothiers for relief.*—109. *The King's departure.*—110. *Proposal for removing the Court to Bristol.*—111. *Military Establishment.*—112. *Church of England restored.*—113. *Lord Hopton Lieutenant-Governor.*—114. *Chepstow surprized.*—115. *Duke Hamilton imprisoned in the Castle.*—116. *Irish Forces land at Bristol.*—117, 118, 119. *Movements of the Garrison.*—120, 121, 122 *Prince Charles comes to reside in Bristol, and the West.*—123. *Prince Rupert prepares for defence.*—124, 125. *Preparations of the Parliamentary Army.*—126. *Bristol is invested.*—127—129. *Progress of the Siege.*—130—132. *Proposals for Surrender.*—133. *The Lines taken by Storm.*—134. *The City surrendered on terms.*—135. *Oliver Cromwell's Account of the Siege.*—136. *He enters Bristol.*—137. *Vindication of Col' Fiennes.* 138, 139. *Accusation and Defence of Prince Rupert.*—140. *General Skippon appointed Governor of Bristol: a City-Regiment raised under Major Kem.*—141. *Election of Mayor &c*—142. *Price of Corn.*—143. *The King's death.*

§ 1. ON the death of his father, Charles I succeeded to the throne; "and on (*h*) Friday April 1 he was proclaimed King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, on the High-cross, by Sheriff Clements, who with the Maior and whole Council were all in scarlet standing at the Towlzey bareheaded with great reverence, while the proclamation was reading. Four trumpets sounded both before and after, as it was at the death of queen Elizabeth, and entering of king James." Aug' 18, 1626, he granted to the city a charter of confirmation.

(*h*) Adams's Cal'.

§ 2. "Jeffry (*i*) Allagagha, a Græcian born, but a Turk by education and chief Basha of Constantinople, having redeemed 50 captives, landed at Plimouth, and brought certain presents of strange beasts and fowl for our King: who being bound for London took Bristoll in his way and came hither on Thursday the last day of March 1625. He was present at the proclaiming of king Charles, and from the Towlzey went and dined with the Maior, being accompanied with all the Council, and many marchants of good account, where he was royally entertained. After dinner he walked to view the city; and that night the marchants invited him to supper at his lodging at the Crown in the High-street with admirable cost and provision upon so short a warning. He came to treat of conditions of peace and release of captives; wherefore his entertainment was very bountiful, in requiting goodness for much evil formerly done by the Barbarians. They would not suffer him nor any of his followers to spend one penny in this city, but expended liberally for the honour and good of all Christendom. Understanding that the said Basha wanted a horse for his journey and intended to hire one of a carrier, the marchants freely bestowed a good gelding upon him, fitted with rich furniture, beseeming his greatness and their credit; and he departed on the 2*d* day of April. Our marchants accompanied him part of the way; and so they lovingly took leave of each other. Since which time we hear of no English ship, that hath been taken at sea by any Turks, being at the instant writing hereof a whole year since."

§ 3. "This (*k*) year [1624-5] two companies of soldiers were with much adoe shipped for Ireland."—"The same year the lord Villers went over from Bristol to Ireland, and was lord President of Munster next after the earl of Thomond, who lived not long there. He was entertained at the Maior's (Henry Gibbes), whose year had more troubles, than any other Maior for twenty years."

§ 4. The (*l*) pestilence sore raged, in the year 1624-5, in London, Exeter, and Bath, whereof in one week there died in London 5205 persons: but God miraculously preserved Bristoll, although it came so"

(*i*) Adams's Cal'. (*k*) (*l*) MS' Cal.

"near as Lawford's gate. Which merciful preservation was so deeply taken to heart by Mr. Yeamons, the worthy pastor of St. Philip's, that scarce any (*m*) exercise past him all his life after, without commemorating the same."

§ 5. "Jan' 4, 1626 a (*n*) new ship called *the Charles* was launched at Gib Taylor, being about the burden of 300 tons or more, carrying 30 great guns."

§ 6. In the (*o*) summer of 1626 it was generally reported, that the kingdom was in great danger of foreign invasion. "Prayers (*p*) were consequently offered up in the churches, and there were great musters throughout the kingdom, and the Cinque-ports and places near the sea-side were watched day and night. And by commandment from the lords of his Majesty's Privy council, corporals with their squadrons of trained bands, furnished with halberds and musquets charged with powder and bullets to the number of 40 and 50 in a night were appointed, and watched at our gates in Bristoll; with gentlemen walking the rounds in warlike manner for the space of 16 days, beginning on the 22*d* of July 1626, until all St' James's fair was ended, and strangers gone home. Yet few men knew the cause:" and many were of opinion, that no real cause existed; but that the King's ministers raised a false alarm, that they might have a better pretence for levying money.—"And this same summer proved very wet and rainy, insomuch that it was imagined that the corn and other fruits of the earth would not ripen. Whereupon our King commanded a fast to be kept solemnly throughout the realm upon Wednesday the 2*d* day of August, which was obeyed and kept with devout prayers to Almighty God to turn his indignation from us; and sermons were used in most churches exhorting people to repentance. And the same day it pleased Almighty God to send us fair weather, which lasted a considerable time, and we had a plentiful harvest."

(*m*) This word in the religious dialect of that age signified *divine service*.

(*n*) MS' Cal'. (*o*) Hist' of Engl'. (*p*) Adams's Cal'.

§ 7. "In July (*q*) 1628 came 1500 soldiers to Bristol, who were very unruly: but when news came of the duke of Buckingham's being stabbed at Portsmouth by one lieutenant Felton, these soldiers were like lambs, walking the streets like apparitions or ghosts, not knowing what to do: and soon after they were all sent to Ireland."

§ 8. April 13, 1629 the King at the request of his queen, Henrietta Maria granted a charter to the city, whereby the castle of Bristol was withdrawn from the county of Gloucester, and annexed to the county and city of Bristol. And "on Wednesday Aug' 12*th* the Mayor and Aldermen took possession of the castle, and incorporated it with the city."

§ 9. Prince Charles, afterwards Charles II, was born May 29, 1630; and "on Tuesday (*r*) June 1*st*, news of his birth came to Bristol, which was accepted with great joy, and expressed with thanksgiving and prayer in all the churches, for his prosperity. The bells rang all that day; and in every street were such bonfires, that the like in Bristoll was never seen."

§ 10. "This (*s*) year [1630-1] wheat was at 8*s* the bushel here: and dearer it would have been, as it was in other places, but that much came in by shipping."

§ 11. "Sheriff (*t*) Jackson in the year 1631-2 was much troubled by one Bonerag a messenger, who was sent from the Lords of his Majesty's high court of Privy-council concerning an insurrection this last summer by the tenants in the forest of Dean in the county of Gloucester, about inclosures and cutting down of woods contrary to ancient privileges long before granted unto them, which now was taken from them. Among whom one Vertie that led a company in riotous manner was taken, arrested and committed to prison in Bristol by this Bonerag. This Vertie, being a perverse fellow, arrested the messenger in an action of 500 *li* for wrong imprisonment; for which he was committed to prison on the Sabboath day. At which abuse our Council being much grieved"

(*q*) MS' Cal'. (*r*) Adams's Cal'. (*s*) MS' Cal'. (*t*) Adams's Cal'.

"that their officers should so err in disobeying our King's authority and abusing his servant, released him on Monday, with good intreaty to pacify him. But he riding to London within few days after, caused our Sheriff and many other officers to be sent for to the star-chamber; where it cost them dear, before they were all discharged."

§ 12. In the year (*u*) 1632 the commanders of the trained soldiers, who used to exercise in the military yard, "purchased a piece of ground in the castle and builded thereon a fair armour house, which stood them in £200, beside the annual rent of £5. Wherein they of that honourable company bountifully bestowed their benevolence as well toward building, as in maintenance to a good understanding teacher, and other officers thereunto belonging, which cometh unto above £50 a year. Whose wisdom I must commend in so honourable an action; for they do much deceive themselves, who under shadow of their mightiness, wisdom and policy, or in consideration of our long peace, do imagine still to make the same (*v*) perpetual." The following publication shews that this company of Artillery conducted their proceedings with considerable decorum.—"*Bristol's Military Garden;* A Sermon preached unto the worthie Company of Practisers in the Military Garden of the well-governed city of Bristol. By Thomas Palmer, M' A' and vicar of St' Thomas and St' Mary Redcliff in the same city. London, 1632, 4to."

§ 13. The immense accession of wealth, power and importance, which the Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch nations were acquiring by means of their intercourse with the East, was a continual incitement to the English to attempt a participation in that lucrative commerce. The imperfect knowledge of the Northern parts of Asia and America, which Europeans in that age possessed, naturally suggested the probability of finding a passage into the Pacific Ocean either by the North-east round the extremity of Asia, or by way of America on the North-west. Our king Charles interested himself much in this attempt; and in the spring of the year 1631 he sent a ship of 80 tons burden, manned by 20 men and two boys, commanded by Captain Luke Foxe to attempt the

(*u*) Adams's Cal'. (*v*) Adams seems to have foreseen what happened ten years afterward.

discovery by the latter way. Fox passed through Hudson's streights, and after having searched the coast unsuccessfully was forced to return in the autumn of the same year. He printed a narrative of his voyage, entitled *North-west Foxe;* a small thin quarto with the *Imprimatur* of S' Baker, domestic Chaplain to the Bishop of London. In the same year 1631 the merchant-adventurers of Bristol associated for the same purpose, and agreed to employ Captain Thomas James, a Bristol man, as commander of the expedition. Their first care was to procure the King's approbation and asistance; for which purpose they sent Captain James to Sir Thomas Roe, who was lately returned from his embassy to the king of Sweden, and who together with Sir John Wolstenholm had been appointed by the King to superintend Capt' Foxe's enterprize. The letters which passed on this occasion are preserved in the books of the Society of Merchant-adventurers in Bristol. The following pages contain copies or abstracts.

§ 14. "*Sir Thomas Roe his letter to Mr. Mayor to invite the Marchants of Bristol to goe forward in the enterprize.*"

"To the right Woor^{ull} and my very good brother Mr. John Tomlinson, Mayor of the citty of Bristoll.

"Sir, His Ma^{tie} having graciously pleased to take to his care the discoverie of the North-west passage to China, and given one of his shipps to that use, and commanded me to attend the dispatch of that business, and to give those directions and instructions which were requisite, I have now newely begun to putt in execution his royall order, and to prepare the shipp fitt for such a voyadge; when very opportunely and to my greate incouragement there came to me Captaine James of your citty, propoundinge from you that you were resolved to make an adventure that way, and had fitted a shipp for that designe: provided that you might have granted equall priviledges with those whoe were undertakers under his Ma^{tie} &c &c. For your perticular, I receyved from you a kind letter, which I have not opportunitie to answere by reason of my infirmitie; but against the next season of Venison I will provide you of Venison in such measure as I am able. So desiringe you to remember my love to your wife, my sister, I will ever rest your very loveinge friend and brother to serve you

"St Martin's lane 25*th* of January 1630 [1630-1.]" "THOS. ROE.

§ 15. The Mayor having communicated the above to the company, the following letter was consequently sent.—"*The Companies letter to Sir Thomas Roe for the obtaining of conditions to encourage them in the enterprize with Captain James for the discovery of the N. W. passage.*"

[This letter is merely introductory.]

§ 16. Captain James had sent Sir Thomas Roe's letter inclosed in a letter from himself; which produced the following answer.—"*The Companies letter to Captayne James concerninge their desire of his care in prosecutinge the designe.*"

"To our worthie and most respected friend Capt' Thomas James, at the three Cupps in Bredstreet in London.

"Captayne James, We have receiued yours of the 26*th* ult^mo [January] with the inclosed from Sir Thomas Roe, the coppie whereof wee now send you herewith, as also of your [our] answere thereto, whereby you may perceive what doth passe twixt us. He doth presuppose that wee have already fitted a shipp, but you knowe the contrary, and that wee have done noe more than to procure adventurers for £800 or thereaboutes."—[They then inform him that if the King has granted privileges to other Adventurers, they wish to have the same: otherwise they are content that the trade be left open.]—"Thus leavinge the successe of the interprize to the blessinge of God, and commendinge our lovinge salutation to yourselfe, wishing you all true happinesse, and desiringe to bee advised of your proceeding we rest "Your affectionate friends

"JOHN BARKER "JOHN TAYLER
"Bristol, Feb' 3, 1630. "RICHARD LONGE "GILES ELBRIDGE."

"'Sir, I thanke you for your kind letter directed to myselfe. Lett mee request you to recommend my humble respects to Mr. Cary and his noble consort, who are pleased to accept and esteem the toies I sent them much more, than they merritt. It is their humanitie and noblenesse so to doe.

"'Yours "'JOHN BARKER.'"

§ 17. The next letter is as follows.—"*The Companys letter to the Lord Treasourer in the behalfe of Capt' James, and to crave his Lordshipps favour for equall priviledge with others that shall attempt the enterprize.*"

"To the Right Ho^ble our very good lord, Richard Lord Weston, lord Highe Treas^r of England.

"Right Ho^ble, The Marchants of this citty beinge ambitious to serve his Ma^tie and their countrie, as also to enlarge trafficque for their future employment, are willing to sett forth a shipp this springe of the yeare for the discovery of the North-west passage into the South Sea, under the command and conduct of the bearer captaine Thomas James, a well-deserving gent', very expert in the arte of navigation, valiant and a good commander, &c &c. Thus being confident of your honorable inclination to this our suite, we most humbly take leave and do rest your Honours in all dutiful observance

"JOHN TOMLINSON, Mayor "RICHARD LONGE
"HUMFRIE HOOKE "JOHN TAILER
"JOHN BAKER "GILES ELBRIDGE."

§ 18. It appears from the following letter that Capt' James was introduced to the King on his Majesty's return to London.—"*The Earl of Danby his letter to Sir John Worstenham, knighte, concerninge his*"

"Ma^ties pleasure to speak with the Captayne, whereby he shall receive grace and encouradgement for the undertakinge of the voyadge."

"To the Right Worshipfull Sir John Worstenham, knight.

"Sir, According to your desire I have moved his Ma^tie concerninge Captaine James and the towne of Bristoll, who is graciously pleased to speak with the man, and will then express himself both thankfull to the towne of Bristoll for this present enterprize of discoveringe the North-west passage, and likewise for their good indeavor performed in this last warr with Spayne more actively and with better successe than any other port in those parts: where alsoe Captaine James shall receive grace and encouragement from his Ma^ties owne mouth for his worthie undertakinge of the voiadge intended. And Sunday next about nyne of the clocke in the morninge I thinke the fittest tyme, if you and hee can bee in the presence or privy chamber, I will not faile to meet either of you there to accomplish the effect thereof, God willinge. "Your very lovinge friend

"St' James Feb' 4, 1630. "DANBYE."

§ 19. Captain James was accordingly introduced at court, and presented the following.—"*To the King's most excellent Majestie. The humble petition of Thomas James, in behalf of your Marchants Adventurers, citizens of the citty of Bristol.*

"Whereas your Majesties most faithfull subjects the citizens of the citty of Bristoll, understanding that your Ma^tie hath pleased not onely to desire the discovery of the North-west passage into the South Sea, but to grace and protect all those, that shall endeavor to seeke it; whereby incouraged your said subjects the merchants of Bristoll have determined to sett out one good shipp well furnished and provided for such a service, which shall be ready in the beginninge of May next. And in full assurance of your Ma^tis gracious disposition and equall distribution of your favors to all your subjects that shall equallie persue the waies of honor and the benefit of your Ma^tis kingdomes, they have presumed most humbly to petition your Ma^tie; that you wilbee pleased to graunt to them, the Adventurers of the citty of Bristoll such equall share and priviledge both of trade and libertie, as you shall vouchsafe to graunt to other the Adventurers of the citty of London proportionably to their charge and adventure: and they (as in duty bound) will ever pray for your Ma^tis longe and happie raigne."

§ 20. The Company in Bristol having received an account of the presenting this petition, wrote the following answer.

"Captaine James, Wee have received your last letters of the first and second present with the coppie of the petition which you exhibited to his Ma^tie on our behalfe inclosed: wee approve well the method thereof and doe rejoyce, that it was so graciously accepted and interteyned by the Kinge &c. We pray you forgett not to conferr and consult effectually with Sir Thomas Button and any other judicious men, whom you can learne have byn formerly ymployed in this discovery, comparinge their mapps and cardes with yours, and collectinge all their observations for your better information and satisfaction. Alsoe we thinke it necessary (if you approve thereof) that you enterteyne two or three men before your retorne from London of those which were last ymployed in this enterprize, if any may bee procured on reasonable termes, which you deeme industrious and usefull for us. And we pray you"

" informe yourselfe fully touchinge the season of your departure hence; what extraordinary provision of victuall or any thinge els is to bee made, and all other necessaries for the voyage &c &c. Thus desiring you hasten home with all convenient speed, concluding with our hartie salutations, we rest

" Your loveinge frynds

" HUMFRIE HOOKE " JOHN TAYLER
" JOHN BARKER " GILES ELBRIDGE."
" RICHARD LONGE

§ 21. " *His Ma^ties answere to the petition signed by the M^r of Requests*, Sidney Montague. At the Court of Whitehall 3 Feb' 1630."

[The King grants the prayer of the Petition.]

§ 22. " The next is " *Captain James his letter to the Company, of his proceedings and intent.*" It contains nothing material. Then follows a letter of civility from Sir Tho' Roe. The next letter is dated Feb' 26, 1630, and is intituled " *The Company their letter to the earle of Danby, in thankfulness of his favour shewed them in procuringe Captayne James speedie successe to his Majestie, and recommending the service of this citty unto him.*"

[It contains nothing worthy of transcribing.]

§ 23. Next follows.—" *The Comp: letter to Sir Thomas Roe, giveing an Accounte of their desires and doeinge in the affairs of the pretended voyadge.*

" To the Ho^ble Sir Thomas Roe, knight, at his house in St' Martin's in the field.

" Ho^ble Sir, We have received your letter by Captaine James, whereby you are pleased to expresse the continuance of your undeserved love and favour unto this citty in generall, and in particular unto the company of marchants; whereof wee are all very ambitious, and will strive to make ourselves worthie of it: and that posteritie may take notice of your noble goodnesse to us in this enterprize, and your affection to all vertuous and laudable actions, we have caused both your letters to be transcribed in the register of the Company of Marchants, to perpetuate the remembrance of your curtesie. Wee desire not to take out a pattent, till the discovery be made, being till then fully satisfied with his Ma^ties signature to our petition &c &c. Wee have provided a shipp for Capt' James of fourscore tons burthen, which is nowe in the docke under the carpenter's hands. And in honour of the Queene, whose chamber this citty is reputed, as auntiently it hath byn of her highnesse predecessors, queens of England, wee have destined the shipps name to be *the Mary*, in expression of our humble thankfulness for the gracious favours we have already received from her Ma^tie nowe lyvinge. The shipp (God willinge) shalbee well manned, furnished with all necessary provisions and ready to sett saile by the end of Aprill. Thus, Sir, haveinge given you an account of our desires and doeings in these affaires and sending you most humble"

"thanke for the honor you have done us in generall and Captaine James in particular by your recommendation of us to the Kinge our soveraigne, from whom we have received a message transcendently gracious, wishing unto you the increase of all happiness and honour, we humbly kisse your hands and doe remaine "Yours in all due respect and observance."

"Bristoll, Feb' 26, 1630."

§24. "*The coppie of a warrant for paiement of the Companies wages of the Henrieta Maria.*"

"Whereas for the setting fourth and furnishinge of the shipp called *Henrieta Maria* of Bristoll, whereof Thomas James goeth captaine, pretending a voyadge by the grace of God for the discoverie of the North-west passage to China &c &c. - - - - - - - - - the Maisters and companie of the said shipp have subscribed their names the thertith day of April Anno dni 1631, in the seaventh year of the raigne of our Sovraine lord Charles, by the grace of God &c."

§25. Capt' Foxe mentioned above set sail from Deptford May 5, 1631, and sailing round Scotland passed through Hudson's Streights and searched the South-western coast of that great inland sea, improperly called *Hudson's Bay*, which latter is only a bay of that sea. Here he met with Capt' James engaged in the same adventure. Foxe being disappointed in this part of the sea steered to the NE, and being again disappointed he thought fit to return homewards before he should be prevented by the ice, and arrived in the Downs Oct' 31. It appears by his own printed account that he was much blamed for returning without having accomplished his purpose, and the following letter speaks the same language—"*Sir Thomas Roe his letter concerninge the retorne of Mr. Foxe from the NW discovery.*"

"My worthie friende, I have received from you an ho^{bl} testimonie of your love soe farre above any merritt in me, that it maketh my obligation the greater; which I value and estem as highlie as they did, who for eminent services were made citizens of Roome in the greatest glorie. That I acknowledge it soe late you will not impute to any neglect; because uppon the returnne of Fox from the North-west discoverie I desired to give some true information of the voiadge, and particularlie of Capt' James. But Fox hath absented himselfe, whether for shame or (as hee pretende) to make his cause perfect, I cannot judge. I have onlie twice spoken with him, and hee hath not given upp his accompte, which he shall doe before his Ma^{tie}: but we have examined the Maister and his mate in the Trinitie House; and I find that they have erred from their instructions, not haveinge made their first search to the North-west passage beyond Cape Comfort, but runne downe from Mansfield's island into the bay, which they have exactlie discovered and found that land of Sir Thomas Button's in Hudson's discoverie southward all shut upp. This errour proceeded from too much trust to the speculation of Mr. Prigges [Briggs], and hath donne us noe other good, but to know there is no passage nor tide, nor rising of water to the south. As they report, Captaine James fell uppon the same southwardlie search, having beene much troubled"

"and beaten with ice they meete and left him about fiftie and seven degrees about Port Nelson, resolved to winter there, and desirous that they would stay with him: but (as they say) that being in August, they hoped they had time to amend their errour and to search for the NW passage, being the freest time from ice: but they committed a worse in my judgement; for finding the high floode and current about Nottingham island, they say they followed it North-east and that it led them to that coast to 67 degrees; and then winter approaching, and (as they pretend) the land and tide both tending easterlie, they resolved that those waters, though they confess four faddome high, came from *Fretum Davies*, and soe they returned; and now would say there is no passage: and they can say no lesse for themselves. But I never knew men seek a North-west passage on a North-east shore; nor doe I believe that there is any channell from Fretum Davies, now [nor] that so much water as doth dilate itselfe into soe great a bay can make the tide rise four faddome in any place, that is not a streight, coming in at Hudson's straight, where at no place it riseth more. Soe that all our hopes now rest uppon Captaine James, whoe will attempt it next yeere, and resolved to loose his life or returne with more honour: and though hee cannot find it if it be not there, yett hee shall and hath gained infinite reputation to have taken this resolution, and not to come home like a sluggard, and say *a lion rores or was in his way.* And in this honour I thinke myselfe nowe to have interest, beinge by your favour made a member of your cittie: soe that, as I will preserve for you his Ma^tie^ gracious grant of priviledge, wherein you have now noe concurrent nor emulator, soe I wilbee ever readie to doe you all service, as hee that is

"Your most affectionate brother and servant

"London the 28 of November 1631." "THOMAS ROE."

§ 26. Captain James sailed from Kingroad May 3, 1631, having on board the Henrietta Maria, of 80 tons, 20 men and 2 boys; he likewise, as well as Fox, published an account of his voyage. It is a small 4to' containing more than 120 pages, and is entituled *The strange and dangerous voyage of Captaine Thomas James in his intended discovery of the North-west passage into the South Sea, &c. London, printed by John Legatt*, for John Partridge, 1633. It contains a map of Hudson's and Baffin's bays, and particularly of James's bay where he wintered: in one corner of which is the author's (*w*) portrait. The book being scarce I copy some few lines at the beginning. "The second of May 1631 I took my leave of the worshipful merchant-adventurers in this action in the citie of Bristoll; and being accompanied with a Reverend Divine, one Master *Thomas Palmer;* and divers of the Merchants with others"

(*w*) I am indebted to Ch' Jos' Harford, Esq' for the use of this book. A MS note of his is as follows. "This Portrait of Capt' James has occasioned the destruction of many copies of the book by the *Graingerites.* Three guineas, Harding assured me, have been given for it. He re-engraved it, and that cannot now be had. I have in vain searched for a Portrait of this certainly great seaman in the Council-House and Merchants' Hall."

" of my kindred and native countrymen, I repaired aboord. Here Master Palmer made a sermon, exhorting us to continue brotherly love amongst us, and to be bold to professe the true Christian religion, whereever we should happen, in this our perigrination. After they had received such entertainment as my estate could affoord them, they departed for Bristoll. This afternoone I made review of all things, as well of clothes and other necessaries, as of victuals; and where there was found any want, wee were presently furnished. The 3*d* of May (after prayer for a prosperous successe to our endeavours) about three a clocke in the afternoone we came to sayle, and stoode downe the channell of Severne with little winde &c &c." He passed through Hudson's straights, intending to search for the passage in the north-western part of that inland sea: but finding all thereabout wholly encumbered with ice, he concluded, that it would be impossible to proceed by that way during the present season, and therefore July 16, he turned to the south-west. In this quarter he searched the coast in vain during the remainder of the summer, being almost daily in extreme danger from the ice, during which time he met with Capt' Fox as mentioned above. The latter returned home; but Captain James determined to winter there, that he might be ready for the next season: and finding that the ship was in daily danger of wreck, he took a bold and strange resolution: he landed his company and provisions, and sunk the ship in shallow water about a mile from shore. Here in two or three huts they spent a miserable winter on an island in the bay now called from him *James's bay*, in latitude 52. When the ice began to thaw they raised the ship; and July 2, 1632, they set sail again. They coasted the western shore of that sea to no purpose, and then turning to the North they went as far as latitude 65°, 30′ at least: where finding the sea almost wholly covered with ice, and the ship nearly surrounded with it, Capt' James says " with a sorrowfull heart (God knows) I consented that the helme should bee borne up, and a course shapte for England, - - - - and on the two and twentieth of October we arrived in the rode of Bristoll." One thing deserves particular mention: prayers were regularly made every day during the voyage, and the sabbath observed to the best of their power according to the service of the Church of England: and they finished in the same exemplary manner; for

"being here arrived we went all to church and gave God thankes for his preservation of us amidst so many dangers."

§27. Soon after his arrival Captain James went to London, as appears by the following letter.—"*Captain James his letter to the Company having delivered their letter to the Lords, and given his Ma^tie an account of his perigrination in the voyadge.*"

"To the Wors^ll Mr. Humfrie Hooke, Alderman, in the cittie of Bristoll.

"Sir, Soon after my arrivall at London I delivered your generall letters to those hon^bl personages, to whom they were directed, except to the Earle of Danby, who was not in towne. They were received and my selfe by your undeserved commendations honourablie entertained: and as by experience I have found, they respect the worsest of your servants, the more amplie to make to appeare how much they favour you in generall, and any of the noble-minded of the citty in particular; in convenient time they presented me to his Ma^tie, who accepted of the plot I presented him of my perigrinations, and with a gracious patience heard mee read the briefe of my endeavours; with which the conference by way of questions and answeres continued about two houres time. His Ma^tie seemed to be well contented with my faithfull perseverance in the action, and commanded mee a second time to attend him and give him a further relation, and to bringe with me Captaine Fox and Captaine Bruton, which went forth this yeere; the better comparativelie to judge of our proceeding. My weake service by your encouragement and bountifull accommodations in my setting forth appeared in all humilitie, so that his Ma^tie welcomed me home, and was pleased to say, it satisfied his expectation. Hee hath commanded me to attend here in London and make an abstract of my journall and perfect my observations, and bring it to him; which I am about and brieflie intend to effect and know his further order. As I am but one of many, and albeit a partie to that which was necessarie to peforme the action, I was not forgetfull to make knowne to him the charge you were at, and the speciall kindness you have showed to mee: as likewise to many Lords, at whose tables I have been entertained. All which doth the more bind mee ever to remaine your faithful servant

"London, Nov' 19, 1632. "THOMAS JAMES."

§28. In the letters and papers of the earl of Strafford is a letter dated Oct' 16, 1633, from a Captain Thomas James to Lord Strafford, when Lord Deputy of Ireland. It appears that he was employed by the Lord Deputy to sail round the isle of Man, and make a Report of it's state: for it was at that time the open and undisguised resort of pirates and their prizes: the pirates were for the most part English. This Capt' James I suppose to be our townsman. I have found no account of his family: he was probably a son or at least a relation of Alderman James, who was Mayor in 1614, whose dispute with Alderman Whitson will be mentioned hereafter. He was a member of the Temple; as appears by

a letter prefixed to his book, addressed *to my worthy friend and fellow-Templar Captaine James*, and signed *from the Inner Temple, Thomas Naish;* his portrait is in one corner of the map. He appears from the preceding account to have been a man of piety, property, courage, good-conduct and science, of good education and somewhat of a poet: Adams, his cotemporary, in his Calendar calls him "a man of great learning and experience in navigation, and well seen in the Mathematical science:" but Captain Fox in making his remarks on James's voyage, allows him to be skilled in Mathematic and Astronomy, but seems to question his skill in practical seamanship; and hints that he threw himself into much unnecessary danger amid the ice. It is not at once apparent, why he chose to winter in that inhospitable climate: for if he had sailed home in the autumn, he might have returned to the same spot in the spring, and might have been as early in searching the coast, as he actually was. Perhaps he suspected, that he should not be able to persuade his employers to a second attempt, and was therefore resolved to use to the utmost the *golden* opportunity, which then presented itself. For it may be collected from the narrative of all the voyages of discovery in the North at that time, that the imagination of the voyagers was filled with the idea of mines of gold and silver, of barbarian empires to be conquered, Christianity planted, and English colonies to be settled. Later discoveries have ascertained, that no way into the Pacific Ocean exists either toward the NE or the NW, such as may be always practicable for general commerce. The Geography of the NW is particularly uncertain, notwithstanding the many voyages made that way. Now however when the spirit of investigation has left so small a part of the globe unknown, it may be expected that this which lies in our own neighbourhood will not long be unexplored. Two or three expeditions by land setting out from the settlements of Hudson's Bay could scarcely fail of success, and would at least clear up some opprobrious uncertainties in Geography, not without a probability of national advantage.

§ 28.*b*. War with Spain was carried on from 1625 to 1630; during which time many private ships of war were sent out from Bristol. The

following cotemporary rhymes record a desperate battle fought by one of these privateers; the number of the slain is probably exaggerated, otherwise the narrative has the appearance of truth. The original is printed in black letter, and was furnished by B' H' Bright, Esq' whose communications I have frequent occasion to acknowledge.

The Honour of Bristol.

Shewing how the Angel Gabriel of Bristol fought with three ships, who boarded us many times, wherein we cleared our decks, and killed five hundred of their men, and wounded many more, and made them flye into Cales, where we lost but three men, to the Honour of the Angel Gabriel of Bristol,

To the Tune of "Our noble King in his Progress."

ATTEND you and give ear awhile
And you shall understand,
Of a battle fought upon the seas
By a ship of brave command:
The fight it was so famous
That all mens' hearts did fill
And make them cry "to sea
With the Angel Gabriel."

The lusty ship of Bristol
Sail'd out adventurously
Against the foes of England
Their strength with them to try:
Well victual'd, rig'd, and man'd,
And good provision still,
Which made them cry "to sea
With the Angel Gabriel."

The Captain famous Netheway
So was he call'd by name,
The Master's name John Mines,
A man of noted fame:
The Gunner Thomas Watson,
A man of perfect skill,
With other valiant hearts
In the Angel Gabriel.

They waving up and down the seas
Upon the ocean main;
It is not long ago, quoth they,
Since England fought with Spain;
Would we with them might meet
Our minds for to fulfill,
We would play a noble bout
With our Angel Gabriel.

They had no sooner spoken,
But straight appear'd in sight
Three lusty Spanish vessels
Of warlike force and might;
With bloody resolution
They thought our men to spill,
And vow'd to make a prize
Of our Angel Gabriel.

Then first came up their Admiral
Themselves for to advance
In her she bore full forty-eight
Pieces of ordinance;
The next that then came near us
Was their Vice-Admiral,
Which shot most furiously
At our Angel Gabriel.

Our gallant ship had in her
Full forty fighting men,
With twenty pieces of ordinance
We play'd about them then:
And with powder, shot and bullets
We did imploy them still,
And thus began the fight
With our Angel Gabriel.

Our Captain to our Master said,
Take courage Master bold;
The Master to the Seamen said,
Stand fast my hearts of gold;
The Gunner unto all the rest,
Brave hearts be valiant still,
Let us fight in the defence
Of our Angel Gabriel.

Then we gave them a broadside
Which shot their mast asunder,
And tore the bost-spret of their ship
Which made the Spaniards wonder:
And caused them to cry,
With voices loud and shrill,
Help, help, or else we sink,
By the Angel Gabriel.

Yet desparately they boarded us
For all our valiant shot,
Threescore of their best fighting men
Upon our decks was got.
And then at their first entrance
Full thirty did we kill,
And thus we cleard our decks
Of the Angel Gabriel.

With that their three ships boarded us
Again with might and main,
But still our noble Englishmen
Cried out "a fig for Spain;"
Though seven times they boarded us
At last we shewed our skill
And made them feel the force
Of our Angel Gabriel.

Seven hours this fight continued,
And many brave men lay dead,
With purple gore and Spanish blood
The sea was coloured red.
Five hundred of their men
We there outright did kill,
And many more were maim'd
By the Angel Gabriel.

They seeing of these bloody spoils
The rest made haste away,
For why—they saw it was no boot
Any longer for to stay,
When they fled into Cales
And there they must lye still,
For they never more will dare to meet
Our Angel Gabriel.

We had within our English ship
But only three men slain
And five men hurt, the which I hope
Will soon be well again:
At Bristol we were landed,
And let us praise God still
That thus hath blest our men
And our Angel Gabriel.

Now let me not forget to speak
Of the gift given by the Owner
Of the Angel Gabriel
That many years have known her,
Two hundred pounds in coin and plate
He gave with free good will
Unto them that bravely fought
In the Angel Gabriel.

Printed for J Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray.

§29. "On (*x*) Sunday night, being the 13*th* of Jan' 1633, were great storms of lightning, wind and thunder between the hours of 6 and 8 o'clock; about which time the steeple of Kainsham church was thrown down; and the church shaken and rent in divers places. Before 9 o'clock the storm ceased, and all the night after proved fair and calm."

§30. 'In the (*y*) beginning of the year 1635 was an uncommon fall of snow, which began Jan' 22, and continued during the remainder of the month; "by means whereof many Christians and cattell perished. It hindred the coming of barques to our fair, and trows could not come down Severn for ice in a month after. After Candlemas day commandement was given to rid away the snow from the streets, which was so hard frozen, that it put the city to great charges; and people were forced to break and dig it up with pickaxes, bars of iron and hatchets."

(*x*) (*y*) Adams's Cal'.

§ 31. "In the (*z*) year 1634 the writs for ship-money began." The first writ of this kind was to the city of (*a*) London, dated Oct' 20, 1634: about which time it is probable that a similar writ was sent to Bristol, and other places, ordering the contribution to be raised for 1635. The immediate reason for levying this tax was to equip a fleet for the protection of the kingdom, which was threatened by the alliance of France and Holland: but the real cause was to raise a revenue for the King without the authority of a Parliament. The nation was divided in it's opinion concerning this affair and probably in nearly equal numbers: some maintained that the King had no legal right to raise money on the subject by his own authority: others supposed that such a right was constitutionally inherent in the Crown. Adams, the writer of the MS Calendar so often quoted, seems to have adopted the latter opinion without a question. "As this city hath been always loyal and faithful to it's princes in all former ages, so hath it been found serviceable always and willing to contribute and asist their kings and sovereigns in any kind of wars, whensoever they had occasion to use them; namely in the *5th* year of Edward I, in the 46*th* year of Edward III, in the 36*th* year of Henry VIII, and in the reign of queen Elizabeth anno 1588. So this year our king's Majesty having intelligence of great fleets and levying of men in France and Holland being in league together, and his Majesty being not certain of true peace from either of them, would not sleep securely, but like a wise and politic prince provided for the safety of his realm, and furnished a royal fleet to watch their intents, under command of faithful, worthy generals and captains of great experience and valour; unto whom many Hollanders and French men of war passing by our coasts yielded much honour by striking down their colours and sails in greater submissive manner, than was expected from them. Towards the maintenance and setting forth of this great fleet our city gave 2163*l*. 13*s*, 4*d*." Rushworth (*b*) under the year 1636 gives the *distribution of ships to the several shires of England and Wales, with their tonnage, number of men, and charge; together with the sum set on Corporate towns in each county.*

Bristol - - - one ship of 100 tons - - - 40 men - - - £1000 charge.

(*z*) Ricart's Cal'. (*a*) See Rushworth, vol' 2, where is a copy of this writ. (*b*) vol' 2, p' 336.

The next leaf of Rushworth contains a line, which may amuse a reader, who wishes to make comparisons.

Liverpoole - - - no ship - - - - £25 charge.

§ 32. "On (*c*) Wednesday morning the *5th* of August 1635, a small ship was lanched from the key at a spring-tide, at which action a lamentable mishap ensued by giving the cable too much scope in length; by means whereof her stern struck against the red rock on St' Augustin's side with such violence that she reeled to one side. The carpenter's son and other boys at four o'clock in the morning got aboard her, and hid themselves in the cabbion: and many more thrust themselves aboard as the manner is, when ships be lanched. Then as she reeled to one side, they all fell that way, which made her overset. Some were saved by help of boats, others by swimming, but 12 persons were drowned with those that were in the cabbion."—Another account of this event is as follows. "In St' James's week [*al'* in July] the ship ***Drown-boy*** was lanched at the Key and eleven boys drowned in her. Barrett dates it 28 July 1638. The tradition of this accident which befell the Drown-boy was current among the boys of this city within the writer's memory.

§ 33. "On Friday (*d*) night the 12*th* of Nov' 1636 about 9 oclock, the southwest wind, blowing very hard upon a full spring tide, caused so great an inundation of waters to flow, that all the shops and cellars on the back and key were filled therewith and received much loss by that sudden and unexpected storm: the rage whereof brake in over the sea walls in and about Kingstone, Cleeveden, the low marish grounds between Bristoll and Aust, and other low grounds both in England and Wales, doing much harm, and drowning much sheep and cattle. Yet this flood in my judgement and by the judgement of others, who set marks for both, was not so high by a foot, as it was in the last great flood in Jan' 1606-7."

§ 34. While the King was endeavouring to govern his kingdom without a parliament, he resorted to many strange and oppressive expe-

(*c*) (*d*) Adams's Cal'.

dients to raise money. One of them, denominated *ship-money*, is noticed by all our historians, and is mentioned above in § 31. Bristol was particularly annoyed by these extortions. My learned friend Benjamin H' Bright, Esq', refers me to *a* (*e*) *Special Commission, to enquire what monies have been illegally collected at Bristol:* dated at Westminster Nov' 30, 1637. It is directed to the Marquis of Hamilton, Lord Mohun Baron of Okehampton, Sir Willm' Balfour, knight, Warwick Mohun, Esq', Sir James Hamilton, knight, and Robt' Powlet and Charles Fox, Esquires. The substance is as follows. 'Whereas the King has been credibly informed that divers sums of money have been illegally collected in Bristol from the subjects of his father and himself by order of the magistrates and other officers of that city, whereby they have been grievously oppressed; and whereas the magistrates, officers, merchants, citizens and other persons of Bristol, have unlawfully assumed to themselves power to levy great sums of money upon goods and merchandizes brought into and carried out of Bristol, amounting to a very great sum yearly, forcing the owners to pay the same by distraining their ships &c, the King therefore gives to the Commissioners above named, or any two of them, power to enquire by examinations and depositions on oath what sums of money have been collected during his own or his father's reign from any person by warrant or order of any magistrate, or other officer of that city, and to examine all writings and records which mention any such sums collected, and to inquire in whose hands such writings now are; and to enquire what warrant or authority those magistrates and officers had for taking such money; and by what persons any money due to the King had been received, and into whose hands it is come, and what records &c there are of such money and in whose hands they now are; and how those sums of money have been kept or expended; and also what grievance or damage the levying of that money has occasioned. And likewise to enquire what sums of money have been levied on goods exported or imported, and what was the amount of those sums yearly; and what ships and merchandizes have been attached and distrained for those sums, and where are the accounts relating to'

(*e*) Rymer's Foedera, Vol' XX, p' 177; or Vol' IX, p' 119.

'those ships &c. And the King orders them to require the perusal and inspection of all records, registers, &c which mention the levying the sums mentioned above; and to take copies or abstracts of those records &c, and to take care that those records &c shall be kept safe, and ready to be produced by those who have the custody of them at their peril without being altered, interlined or any way vitiated. Moreover the King gives authority to enquire into all other frauds and oppressions whatsoever, which may tend to discovering and recovering any sums of money levied as aforesaid, and to enquire into all forfeitures and penalties accruing to the King thereby; and likewise into all other frauds, contempts and misdemeanors concerning the premises. Lastly the King orders all Mayors &c to asist them.'

§ 34. *b*. From the tenor of the preceding document it might be supposed, that the object of this Commission was to make a general inquiry into all frauds and extortions and unjust levies of money, which had been practiced for many years by the magistrates and other persons of Bristol, that justice might be done to those who had been oppressed. They were also to enquire, what sums of this kind were due to the King; which last enquiry seems merely incidental, and by no means a principal part of the inquiry. But the following extract from Adams's Calendar by shewing how this Commission was really executed, will prove that raising money for the King by all possible means was it's real object. Such oppressions were a prelude to the Civil war which broke out three or four years afterward, and were in fact one great cause of it; and the relation of them is curious and interesting, and well deserves a place in these Memoirs.—"Our marchants of Bristoll were much troubled this year (1637-8) and the year before by pursuivants, and many were served to appear in London, where by oaths they were severally examined and constrained to swear, what commodities they had sent to sea and what commodities they had received home from foreign countries in many years before in sundry ships, according to notes of information, which the Commissioners had procured and collected of their entries in the custom-house books; and likewise what they did know of others, their friends, and partners, that had not made true entries: whereby"

"some were constrained, for discharge of their consciences, to accuse one another. These examinations and answers were recorded; and many of our marchants after their coming home were served up again, and new examined. From Sept' to the month of Dec' 1637 our city was never free from commissions, commissioners, and pursuivants of sundry sorts, which lay in several parts of our city, to make enquiry not only against marchants, but against other tradesmen, who were examined and sent up to London, and great impositions laid on them to the grief of many: insomuch that all shopkeepers stood in great fear of them, especially sopemakers, who were constrained to pay £4 custom for every ton of sope they made and every man rated what quantity he should yearly make; and account of every man's doings was weekly taken by some appointed for oversight thereof. Some were known to make more than they were allowed or paid for; whereupon about 30 of them were served up to London, where against their wills they were retained long with great expences, imprisoned and fined in above £20,000, and were bound to more inconveniences before they could be discharged."

§ 35. "Another sort of commissioners were for brewers, in which behalf some of the chiefest of that company rode for London, where they had no remedy granted, but every brewer was enjoyned to pay 40 marks a year for a commission: of all which the poor commons do feel the smart. Besides all which many owners and masters of ships, as also of Welsh boats and many others who they thought could give them any intelligence, were examined and sworn what they knew or could remember of any butter, or calve-skins or any other merchandizes sent out or brought home or taken at sea by letters of mart, since the death of queen Elizabeth. Another sort of commissioners were to make enquiry for church lands, for which any thing was due or owing to the Crown; which office they likewise purchased from our king's Majesty for their own benefit. These men likewise made enquiry of all ministers, clerks, constables, churchwardens, and other officers and antient men, examining them what they knew more than such notes and names of houses and religious places, which they brought with them: so they were brought unto sundry places, from whence they collected great sums of money for matters not enquired of in many years before."

§ 36. "Those foresaid commissioners for marchants were so extreme, that they examined clerks belonging to the marchants to hear what they could inform; of whom one clerk they here imprisoned for not giving them satisfaction; and then carried him to London and imprisoned him again. Another clerk being from home, they came about midnight into his house and bedchamber to take him away; where not finding him, they searched his house for books."

§ 37. "All these severe extremities, being more than their commission could maintain, our marchants taking into consideration, four Aldermen and other marchants of good estimation rode voluntarily to London in the cittie's behalf, accompanied with attendants to wait on them, and some others likewise, that were served up with them. These gentlemen upon their knees made petition to our king's Majesty to take consideration of their miseries: whereupon his most excellent Maiestie graciously embraced them, being sorry that by wrong information he had granted such commissions, which then he could not recall. He gave them liberty to prefer a bill against them in the starchamber; and to retain any counsellors whom they pleased, to plead for them before the lords of his most honourable privy-council: which was a most gratious favour; for before, those commissioners, being their adversaries, were as lords and judges over them; as if all law and justice lay in their own hands. These gentlemen stayed in London about eight weeks at no small expences for trial, whereof as yet they could come to no end. But his Majesty graciously wished them to follow their suit, and when it came to the highest, his Grace would mediate between them."—It cannot be matter of surprize to find that after such provocations a considerable part, perhaps a majority, of the inhabitants of this city joined in the opposition which was made to the King and his ministers."

§ 38. "All kind (*f*) of corn grew scant in England in the year 1638. Wheat was sold for 9 *sh* a bushel, and rose every week; and it was supposed that it would be at 20 *sh* a bushel, if God and good people had not brought in great store of French wheat and all other sorts of"

(*f*) Adams's Cal'.

"grain into all ports and havens of our kingdom. From about March unto the end of July there came such store to Bristoll, that at the first it fell to 6 *s* and 4 *d*, and lastly to *5 sh* and under."

§ 39. "In (*g*) the month of August our English corn was ripe in most places, and God sent as plentiful harvest as ever man saw, and good seasonable weather withal; but such a fainty sickness and weakness in most places, that people wanted strength to fetch it home without great loss; and some people were so weak in whole families, that they were not able to milk their own kine, but gave it to those that would fetch it."

§ 40. "Two hundred soldiers were pressed in the city anno 1639-40 to go against the Scots." Being thus pressed into the service, in a cause which they disapproved, and sent to fight against the Scots whom they considered as their friends, this army suffered itself to be defeated, or rather ran away without fighting, near Newcastle, on Aug' 27, 1640.

§ 41. On the 23*d* of October 1641 broke out the Irish Rebellion, with circumstances of unexampled ferocity. The King and Parliament were so engaged in their own quarrel, that neither would pay much attention to this momentous affair. Few soldiers only were sent at this time, some of whom went from this place: we read that "Feb' 21, 1641-2, 200 men (*h*) went from Bristol to Ireland to Duncannon Fort, under Capt' Wilding and Capt' Austen: 300 more went to Minehead to be transported under the Captains Pinchback, Manners and Roberts."

§ 42. We are now arrived at that unfortunate period of English history, when after a long series of mutual distrust and crimination, the two Houses of Parliament took up arms against their Sovereign; of which war the battle of Edge-hill, fought Oct' 23, 1642, may be deemed the commencement. For relating the events of this deplorable era so far as they belong to Bristol, many printed materials are still to be found in the possession of private persons, as well as in public libraries. By lapse of time they are becoming scarce, and collections of them are valuable;

(*g*) Adams's Cal'. (*h*) MS' Cal'.

for the use of those which relate to this city I am indebted to the kindness of many friends; to Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart' of Stourhead, whose topographical library is unrivalled: to Francis Freeling, Esq', Secretary to the General Post-Office, a native of Bristol, and much interested in every thing relating to it: to Charles Joseph Harford, Esq', whose valuable library, and multifarious local knowledge have always been a certain source of information: to Benj' Heywood Bright, Esq', my coadjutor in this part of my work, as in many other, whose stores of this kind are almost inexhaustible: to John Mathew Gutch, Esq': to whom these volumes are indebted for the elegance of their typography; and to several other gentlemen, who interest themselves in the success of these Memoirs. The following is a Catalogue of books and pamphlets relating to Bristol, which were published between the commencement of the war, and the King's death; I cannot venture to call it *compleat*.

A. A small quarto pamphlet, *in the hands of Mr. Gutch,* published by Parliament, containing a representation of the state of various places in Nov' 1642; among which is BRISTOLL. This is one of those minor publications, which the two Houses were accustomed to put forth weekly or oftener, consisting each of some few leaves, two or more, containing intelligence from the armies and different parts of England, which practice was the origin of our present Newspapers. If we were to believe these publications, a collection of which to the number of 62 lies before me, their armies were victorious in almost every engagement, and their partizans, all of them, virtuous and religious men. But the very existence of the party depended on keeping up the spirits of the lower classes and scandalizing the King and his friends; and for this purpose their leaders made little scruple of representing facts according to their own inclinations; that the Cavaliers did the same systematically does not appear from the general history of the two parties.

B. *Special Passages, &c.* No. 10, Bristow, Oct' 10, 1642. Another of the same sort as the preceding.

C. A pamphlet published by Parliament, of the same kind as A, entituled *The Lord Marquesse of Hertford, his letter sent to the Queene.*

D. A second (*a*) letter sent from John Ashe, Esq' to William Lenthall the Speaker, of the same kind as A. It gives an account of the affairs of Somerset. *A copy is in the hands Sir R' C' Hoare, Bar't.*

E. A letter written by Aldworth the Mayor, giving an account of Yeoman's plot: and another letter giving an account of the battle of Lansdown. *In the hands of Fr' Freeling, Esq'.*

F. *The humble Petition of the citie of Bristoll to his Majesty for peace, &c.*

G. "*A full Declaration of all particulars concerning the march of the forces under* COLLONEL FIENNES *to* BRISTOLL, *and their carriage upon their enemies approach. Also a relation of the late*"

(*a*) The *first* letter does not appear: it does not relate to Bristol.

"*bloody abominable conspiracy against the city of* BRISTOLL, as appeareth by the examination of the Parties, discovering their plot and intention. Together with sundry letters annexed: with the certaine information touching the death of WILLIAM KENDALL, a trooper of Collonel *Essex*, who was shot by the said Collonel. From a Noble hand. April 18, London. Printed for R' D' 1643." 4*to.* 18 pages.— It is signed by Major Hercules Langrishe. Prynne says it was written by Fiennes himself, or his Major Langrish for him. It is in the Collection of Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bar't.

H. "*A brief relation of a most hellish, bloudy and cruel plot* against the city of BRISTOLL, hatched and contrived by the Malignants of the said city, prince Rupert, George lord Digby, and their fellow Cavalliers to have massacreyd, plundered, and destroyed not only the well-affeeted in the said city, but all others that had not the mark of the beast upon them: Mareh 13, 1642 [that is, 1642-3] ordered by the House of Commons, that this relation be forthwith printed. A' Elsynge, Cler' Parl' D' Com'. London, 1642."

I. "*The severall examinations and confessions of the treocherous conspirators* against the citie of Bristoll. London, 1643. [It is a pamphlet of 15 pages.] Printed by authority of Parliament, Die Lunæ 22do Maij 1743. H' Elsynge, Cler' Parl' D' Com'."

K. "The *two State-martyrs*, or the murder of Master ROBERT Yeomans, and Master GEORGE BOWCHER, citizens of Bristoll, committed on them by Nathaniel Fiennes, second son to the lord Say, the pretended Governor of that city, and the rest of his Conspiracie, whom some call a Councell of Warre. Psalm 94; 20, 21: Wilt thou have any thing to do, &c &c. Printed in the year M' DC' XLIII." 4*to.* 34 pages.

L. Three or four *Letters*, one of which is from Col' Fiennes to his father, relating to Mr. Yeomans's Conspiracy. Printed in black letter. A Parliamentary publication as A.

M. "*Mercurius Rusticus: or the Countries Complaint* of the murdhers, robberies, plunderings and other outrages, committed by the Rebells on his Majesties faithful subjects. Jer' 15. 13. *Thy substance and thy treasure* &c. Printed in the year 1648." It is a small 12*mo.* closely printed: being a Collection of Papers first published at Oxford weekly, but here collected into one Volume. It is written by a loyal and religious man with great warmth and acrimony against the Parliament and the Puritans. The XIX*th* Paper relates the murder of Mr. Yeomans and Mr. Bowcher, copied from the preceding pamphlet. A page or two is omitted at the beginning, and as much at the end, and one page in the middle; otherwise the *Mercurius* is a literal transcript of the *State martyrs.*

N. *England's black Tribunal*, 8*vo*; which book contains a short history of the sufferings and death of King *Charles*, and many of his friends, among the rest of Mr. *Yeomans* and Mr. *Boucher:* but it seems to be compiled from *Mercurius rust';* at least it contains nothing more.

O. Mr. Barrett, p' 128, mentions a little pamphlet published on this occasion, where a very explicit account is given of the most barbarous usage inflicted on these suffering gentlemen (*Yeomans* and *Boucher*) extended even to their young families after their death. This pamphlet and perhaps some others on the same subject, I have not been able to procure.

P. "*A Copie of the articles agreed upon at the surrender* of the city of Bristol, between Colonell Nathaniel Fiennes, Governor of the said city on the one party, and Colonell Charles Gerrard and Captain William Teringham for and on behalf of Prince Rupert on the other party, the 26 of July 1643. With a letter hereunto added, in which this copie of Articles was enclosed: wherein is manifested how well those perfidious Cavaliers have kept the said Articles; and may serve as a warning to the whole kingdome, how to trust againe the faith of such Cavaliers. Published according to Order. London." 4*to.* 8 pages. A copy is in the hands of Benjamin H' Bright, Esq'.

Q. "*A Letter sent to the Right worshipful* William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker in the Commons House of Parliament, from the Major of Bristoll and others, whose names are hereunto subscribed. Intimating the free Benevolence of the city of Bristoll for the relief of the Protestants in Ireland. Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, that this letter be forthwith printed and published. Hen' Elsynge Cler' Parl' D' Com'. London May 5, 1643." 4*to.* 8 pages.

R. "*A true Relation of the late fight between Sir William Waller's forces,* and those sent from Oxford. With the manner of Sir William Waller's retreat to Bristoll, and the condition of his army at this present. Sent from a Colonell in that army now in Bristoll to a friend of his in London. Published according to Order. London 1643." 4*to.* 5 pages, black letter. Benj' H' Bright, Esq' has a copy.

S. "*A Relation made in the House of Commons* by Col' Nathaniel Fiennes, concerning the Surrender of the city and castle of Bristoll, Aug' 5, 1643, together with the transcripts and extracts of certain letters, wherein his care for the preservation of the city doth appear. *Imprimatur*, John White. London printed for R' D'." 4*to.* 28 pages. It was published by himself in justification of his conduct, and beside his speech in the House, which he made in the week next after the surrender, it contains other curious papers. Copies of this pamphlet are in the hands of Benj' H' Bright, Esq'.

T. *Articles of Impeachment* and Accusation exhibited in Parliament against Colonell *Nathaniel Fiennes,* touching his dishonorable surrender of the city and castle of Bristoll; by *Clement Walker* and *William Prynne,* Esquires. Together with a letter from Mr. Prynne to Colonell Fiennes. London: printed in the yeer, 1643." 4*to,* 16 pages: but the whole of it is contained in Prynne's *True and full narration &c.* Benj' H' Bright, Esq' has copies of this pamphlet.

U. "*An Answer to Col'* NATHANIEL FIENNES Relation concerning his surrender of the city and castle of *Bristol.* Petron: Arbiter. *Universus mundus exercet histrioniam.* Printed in the yeere M.DC.XLIII. 4*to.* 13 pages, written by Clement Walker. B' H' Bright, Esq' has a copy of this pamphlet.

V. After the Trial *a Defence* of Fiennes was published in the *Mercurius Britannicus.* It is quoted by Prynne in his *True and full Relation.*

W. Then came out *A Check to Britannicus;* written against Col' Fiennes: it is quoted by Prynne in the same book.

X. Next follows "*A Check to the Checker of Britannicus;* or the honour and integrity of Colonell Fiennes revived, re-stated and cleared from certain prejudices and mistakes occasioned by late misreports, &c &c. London, printed by Andrew Coe, 1644." 4*to'.* about 35 pages. B' H' Bright, Esq' has a copy of it. It is quoted by Prynne, who thinks that it was written by Fiennes himself.

Y. In a book of Prynne's, called *Rome's Masterpiece,* something is said concerning the cowardly surrender of Bristol.

Z. "*The Tragedy of Bristol;*" published by Captain Birch, Mr. Powell, and other citizens of Bristol, friends to the Parliament. It contains, as I suppose, an account of the Surrender to Prince Rupert.

AA. But I believe that every thing relating to Colonel Fiennes's Defence of Bristol is contained in the following book. "*A true and full relation of the Prosecution, Arraignment, Tryall and Condemnation of Nathaniel Fiennes,* late Colonel and Governor of the city and castle of Bristoll, before a Councell of war held at St' Alban's during nine days space in Dec' 1643 &c, by William Prynne and Clement Walker, Esqrs'. London 1644." It is in 4*to.* very closely printed, in two parts: Part I of 119 pages, containing the trial: Part II is "the Catalogue and depositions of the Witnesses &c" containing 40 pages. In reading the trial it is impossible not to admire Prynne's skill in the conduct of it, his extensive

knowledge of Law and Antiquity, and the unfeeling, dry solemnity with which he steadily pursued his prey. I have endeavoured to extract the chief matter contained in this book; yet there are in it so many interesting circumstances relative to Bristol, in fact there is scarcely a page without something of this kind, that a new edition of the whole would form a volume useful and agreeable to Antiquaries, and creditable to our city. The Account in *the State Trials* (*b*) is partly copied, and partly abridged, but in a very imperfect manner, from this book of Prynne's. Copies of it are now extremely scarce. Ch' Jos' Harford, Esq' has a copy. If this representation of it's value should be the means of procuring it to be reprinted, it would be desirable to annex to it *Col' Fiennes's Relation* quoted above.

BB. "*The Association, Agreement and Protestation* of the counties of Cornwall and Devon, Jan' 5, 1643, i' e' 1643-4. Bristol; printed by *Robert Barker* and *John Bill*, Printers to the King's most excellent Majesty. M.DC.XLIII." 4*to*. 6 pages. B' H' Bright, Esq. has a copy.

CC. "*A Declaration of his Highnesse Prince Rupert;* with a narrative of the state and condition of the citie and garrison of Bristoll, when his Highnesse prince Rupert came thither; of the actions there during the siege; of the treaties and rendition thereof. London, printed by Edward Griffin, 1645." 4*to*. 34 pages. It is strange that prince Rupert should have published many parts of this pamphlet, which we might have expected from the Parliament rather than from him; and in London in the midst of the King's enemies. Benj' H' Bright, Esq' has a copy.

DD. "*Mercurius Aulicus.*"

EE. "*An historical relation of the military government of Glocester*, by John Corbet, a minister of God's word. Published by authority, 1645." This work being become scarce has been lately [1823] reprinted at Glocester.

FF. "*Remarks on the military history of Bristol*, by Edmund Turnor, Esq'. London, 1803." 4*to*. Redd at the Antiquarian Society June 1801.

GG. *Anglia rediviva* by Joshua Sprigg M' A'. folio. London. 1647.

HH. "*A true Relation of the storming of Bristol &c*, published by order of Parliament." It is a pamphlet, written evidently by a person who was in the rebel army at the time of the storm, and with Mountague's Brigade. He signs his initials J' R', probably Colonel Rainsborough.

II. "*A perfect relation of all Proceedings* between his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax &c." Published by authority.

§ 43. The following table of Events, which happened during the reign of Charles I, relating to Bristol, will be found useful.

Sir B' Throckmorton bears a message from the King to the Common-council of Bristol,	Feb' 1641-2
Cannon sent by the Mayor to Marlborough against the King	Feb' 1641-2
Marquis Hertford arrives in Somerset	July 1642
Aldworth elected Mayor	Sept' 1642
Battle of Edge-hill	Oct' 23, 1642
Colonel Essex's two Regiments admitted into Bristol	Dec' 2, 1642
Petition for peace presented to the King	Jan' 7, 1642-3
Essex turned out of Bristol, and Fiennes succeeded	Feb' 27, 1642-3

(*b*) State Trials, Vol' IV, p' 186, 8*vo* edition.

Supplies sent from Bristol to the Protestants in Ireland - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - April 1643
The King's Proclamation concerning the Navy ; sent to Bristol - - - - - - - - - March 1642 (1642-3)
Execution of Mr. Bowcher and Mr. Yeomans - May 30, 1643
City surrendered to Prince Rupert - July 26, 1643
City surrendered by Fiennes, according to a relation made by him in the House of Commons - Aug' 5, 1643
Association of Devon and Cornwall printed in Bristol by the King's Printer Jan' 5, 1643, that is, as I believe, 1643-4.
City surrendered to Fairfax - Sept' 11, 1645.

§ 44. Both parties plainly foresaw the rising storm ; and the King knowing the importance of Bristol, in the spring or summer of 1642 sent a letter to the Mayor, exhorting the city to obedience, and complaining of 'upstart sects in religion,' and of the rebellious conduct of 'some malevolents to his person,' and exhorting the city not to join in raising forces against him. The Common-council however thought fit to put themselves in a posture of defence. At the expence of the chamber, the old walls were first repaired, which work was finised before the day of the battle of Edge-hill, Oct' 23, 1642 ; the "gates and (*c*) porteullisses were repaired and made strong, with great chains hanged up within them ; and great strong rails full of long iron spikes without every gate, so that no horses could pass by or over them. The castle likewise was repaired with many forts on the walls," and cannon were planted on them . the walls of the great tower were found by workmen to be very strong ; the battlements therefore were repaired, where decayed, and cannon mounted on it, as represented in the Plate VII, 42 ; which was done partly by the city, and partly by Fiennes, when he became Governor. By these means the castle was rendered extremely strong according to the military power of that age ; and is represented by the unquestionable evidence of many Engineers and other military men of both parties, which was produced at Col' Fiennes's trial, as being defensible against any attack whatever, and capable of holding out for many weeks, nay months, even after the city should be taken. The Royalist officers repeatedly declared that they never could have won it but by Fiennes's cowardice : and from the testimony of Major Allen we not only hear the same thing, but we learn also who was the great military terror of *that*

(*c*) Barrett 225, 226, apparently from a MS Calendar.

age; for he says that he would have undertaken to hold it against the Grand Seigneur and all his army. The following account of it as it stood at the time when the city was taken by Prince Rupert in July 1643 is worth transcribing; particularly because it is the last description we have of it before it's demolition; it is part of the evidence of Sergeant-Major Edw' Wood, one of Governor Fiennes's officers, apparently a brave and intelligent man. "The (*d*) castle was a very large strong hold, fortified with a very broad deepe ditch or graft, in part wet and dry, having a very good well in it: the castle stood upon a lofty steepe mount, that was not minable, as Lieutenant-Col' Clifton informed me: for he said the mount, whereon the castle stood, was of an earthly substance for a certain depth; but below that a firme strong rocke, and that he had searched purposely with an awgor, and found it so in all parts. The foote of the castle upon a mount or rampart was fortified with a gallant parrapet well flanking; which with it's well scraping must needs strengthen it from battering; the parrapet at the base being, as I ghesse, twelve foote thicke. The walls of the castle were very high, well repaired, stored with strong flancking towers and galleries on the top, and if with a little earth lined, I am sure had been past the power of cannon to batter; but as they were, not much hurt (I thinke) could have been done by the enemy unto them. Within these walls was an exceeding high fort or tower that commanded both towne and castle, and I am persuaded so strong, that it could not have been battered: and in case the walls of the castle had been beaten down, there was open ground large and possible enough to have made retrenchments. As for souldiers and armes to defend this castle there were more than was needful: Mr. Hazard (who was reported the chief store-keeper) said in my hearing that there were 70 barrels of powder remaining in it at the surrender; and the governor said, he could make match every day as fast as he should spend it. I know not any necessary provisions either of men, armes, artillery, victuals or any thing else necessary for the defence of the castle that was wanting, but that there was plenty of all things for it's defence for divers moneths: as likewise the forts about the town were held and victualled; by which means of holding the forts and castle, the enemy would have"

(*d*) Prynne Catal' p' 11.

"had bad possession of the town, which was commanded by these. I conclude this testimony with this opinion, that the castle of Bristoll might have beene kept untill this day, Nov' 1, 1643."

§ 45. With regard to new fortifications, it was agreed that the ancient walls were insufficient; and therefore they resolved to draw a line round the city, as had been done round London, by an Ordinance made in March 1642-3. For this purpose a fort was built on the summit of Brandon-hill: the area is of a very irregular form, according to the natural situation of the hill, about 45 yards long by 30 wide, exclusive of the conical mount mentioned below. This area is surrounded by a wall three feet thick and in some places 15 feet high from the bottom of the ditch to the level of the area: how much above the area the wall was raised cannot now be ascertained. But the most remarkable part of Brandon-hill is a conical mount; the top of which is 45 feet in diameter, and as much as 20 feet above the ground immediately below: it's form is so regular, that I cannot but suspect, that it was artificially constructed as a barrow or a beacon by the early inhabitants of the country, taking advantage of the natural form. This mount is surrounded by a very deep ditch, and joins the area described just above, like the Keep of an acient castle; and as such it was certainly intended by those whom the Common-council employed to fortify the city. On this Brandon-hill fortress were planted six cannons. From hence a double ditch and double rampart were carried down the hill towards the river to another new fort, called the *Water-fort*. The ditches are from 10 to 15 feet deep, and the ramparts as many feet in height, there being in some places an interval of 100 feet between the two ramparts; which altogether form a barrier so strong, that we have no account of any attempt to break in at this place. The distance between these two forts is about 320 yards; and midway on the line is a semicircular bastion, at the foot of which the ditch is from 12 to 15 feet deep. This bastion is perfectly visible and accessible; yet it has been hitherto unnoticed. From the Brandon-hill fort the ramparts and ditches are still perfect for about 60 yards; after which the western ditch and rampart are somewhat levelled, and scattered. The Water-fort was built on the very edge of the rock over-

looking the river, and seven cannons were there placed; the distance between it and the brink of the river may be about 150 yards. From the Water-fort, or rather from the foot of the rock close under it, the ditch was without doubt continued to the river, and there must have been a gate at the road leading to the Hotwell. The annexed Plate gives a sufficient representation of these lines on Brandon-hill. From Brandon-hill fort on the other side, the line, consisting of a single ditch and rampart, passed down the hill strait toward the *Royal Fort*, through a field called *Bullock's Park*, on which Berkeley-square now stands, and nearly on the south-eastern border of that square: it's track was easy to be discerned on the grass within the writer's remembrance: and there was also about the middle of the field the trace of an angular redoubt projecting from the line; it is recorded that there were many all along the line, but few traces of them remain. In the lowest part of this line, midway between the two forts, was the breach made by the Royalists under Prince Rupert; not far from which place, and so near as to command it, if manned with 20 musketeers, was *Essex Fort*, the precise situation of which is not mentioned; probably it was in Park-row, 50 or 100 yards within the line. It may be thought that Essex-fort was the angular redoubt in Berkeley-square, just now mentioned: the name *fort* is no objection, because it is said in (*e*) Prynne, that what are called in the Charge *forts* or *sconces* were small works or redoubts formed on the line. But there is this difficulty in supposing Essex-fort to be the redoubt in Berkeley-square: after the assault the Royalists kept possession of Essex-fort; whereas out of the redoubt they would have been immediately driven by the fire of Brandon-hill and Windmill forts. Neither according to my remembrance was the redoubt large enough to contain 20 musketeers.

§ 46. The line proceeded up the hill, on the top of which they built *the Windmill Fort:* afterward in 1644, when Prince Rupert and Lord Hopton were governors, it was made pentagonal, and called the *Great Fort* or the *Royal Fort*, and 22 guns were mounted on it; and in 1650, during Cromwell's Protectorate, walls were (*f*) made about it by order of Parliament, who gave £1000 towards the work.

(*e*) True and full Narration, p' 20. (*f*) Barrett, p' 691.

§ 46. *b.* The Windmill-fort was probably erected in 1642, where the south-bastion was afterwards placed, and was probably but a small building; but the *Royal Fort* was spacious, as will appear further on. There is an ichnographical plan of it in the margin of Millerd's map, which is copied in the adjoining Plate. The following inscription is there also. "A grounde platt of the Royall Fort on the north-west side of Bristoll, built by his highness prince Rupert An: Dom: 1644. This fort being now demollished is converted into houses and pleasant gardens." I have also before me another plan nearly the same as the former, but drawn more according to the manner of modern engineers; it was copied from Mr. Gough's MSS in the Bodleian Library: it contains one or two slight buildings in the area, apparently of no consequence; whereas the area of Millerd's is open. I suppose the gate of entrance to have been, where it now is, on the top of Fort-lane, leading into the Fort-yard. The first house on the left adjoining the gate is the gate-house, said to have been the Governor's residence; and at the end of the garden and gravel walk of this house appears to have been the first, that is, the south-eastern bastion. In or near this bastion, as I was once informed, was a powder-magazine. The next (the southern) bastion was within Mr. Tyndall's present garden, 30 or 40 yards distant from the gate of entrance into the Park out of Tinkard's Close. This bastion being near the footway through the Park was readily discernible; but is now obliterated or hidden from sight by the enlargement of the garden about 20 years ago. I suppose that Mr. Tyndall's house and garden and stables are on and about the western bastion. The house and garden which were once occupied by Richard Hart Davis, Esq' M' P' stand on and near the northern bastion: and the north-eastern bastion was at the house and garden adjoining to the gate-house, where the Rev' T' T' Biddulph dwelled for many years. There is a very deep and inexhaustible spring in the yard. This is all which I have been able to collect concerning the Royal Fort, although I dwelt in the gate-house for 20 years: so completely is it demolished, and the memory of it passed away.

§ 47. From the northern bastion of the Royal Fort the line passed across the main street of St' Michael's hill, at the back part of the gardens

of Southwell-street, until it came to *Colston's mount*, so called in Rocque's map, 1742: it is an artificial hillock situate behind the Mountague-tavern, the greater part of which is cut away by the road, the remainder is still to be seen in a garden. This must be the place, called in Mr. Turnour's Remarks (*g*) a *redoute*, and was mounted with 7 pieces of ordnance: it must therefore have been much larger than it's present appearance will warrant. From the last-mentioned redoubt, the line must have gone strait to *Prior's hill fort*, but there is no trace of it. It was situate on the very edge of the hill properly called *Prior's hill*, but frequently *nine-tree-hill;* commanding a fine and extensive prospect over a populous country. It must have been a large and strong work, for it was mounted with 13 pieces of ordnance and had two tiers of loop-holes; the exact site is discernible from the unevenness of the ground, but it's form cannot be traced. We have no account of any work between Prior's hill and Lawford's gate; only we are told that the line passed close to the Pest-house, for which purpose it must have crossed Stoke's Croft obliquely nearly where the Baptist Academy now stands: the Pest-house stood within memory in Newfoundland lane, separate from any other house, as usual: but the lane, now called *a street*, being closely built, the site of the Pest-house must be found by the old maps. From thence the line went to Lawford's gate, and therefore it must have crossed the Frome; and a bridge is mentioned in the account of the assault: Lawford's gate was enlarged and strengthened, for it had 7 pieces of ordnance mounted there. From the river to Lawford's gate, no new work was necessary, the old town-ditch must have been sufficient, and the same was surely the case with the remainder of the line, as far as the river Avon.

§ 48. On the Somersetshire side, Temple is said to have had 14 pieces of ordnance mounted; in which is probably included Tower-harratz, as well as Temple-gate: the former of these is represented by Prynne (*h*) as an extraordinary strong fort. At Redcliffe were 15 cannons, some of them were probably mounted on the side of the river, and some at the church; for Prynne mentions the church as a military post of great

(*g*) See the preceding Catalogue, No. FF. (*h*) Prynne's *true and full relation*, p' 65.

strength; and the royalist officers in their debate concerning the storming of the town inquire in what manner Redcliffe church shall be possessed; and if possessed, how maintained. Through the whole Somersetshire side, no new works were necessary, the old walls, ditches and gates being uncommonly strong.

§ 49. Such were the lines and fortifications constructed around the city; but it would be difficult to determine the precise time, when the several parts were finished. The Common-council began the work; but when Fiennes took the governorship, very little was done, for he expended large sums on it. It will be seen further on, that when Mr. Yeomans and his party consulted how they might introduce Prince Rupert, not a word was said of any difficulty, which the Prince might find in advancing to Frome gate, so that the line was not then compleated across St Michael's Hill; and Prynne says expressly, that Mr. Yeomans's plot was before the city was fortified and furnished: and the Governor in his (*i*) defence says, that when the place was taken by Prince Rupert, "he had *well nigh* brought a line or rampire of earth round about the town:" and the place, where the royalists entered is particularly mentioned, as being not yet finished. Lord Clarendon indeed says that the line was *finished;* but adds, "yet in some places the graff was wider and deeper than in others." It is mentioned also, that governor Fiennes built several forts and sconces beyond the limits of the city; so that it appears probable, that almost the whole work was done during his governorship, and in one part of his defence he takes the whole to himself. However the fort on St' Michael's hill, or Brandon-hill, or both were finished, and cannon discharged (*j*) from thence at the time of Mr. Yeomans's plot. The material of which this line was composed was, as I suppose, generally of earth, as it appears at present; that which was thrown out of the ditch being formed into a breastwork on the inside, the breastwork near the breach being particularly mentioned. It is said that (*k*) when the royalists "entered the line, they dug down the rampiert of earth all flat for their horse and foot to enter." Lord Clarendon (*l*)

(*i*) Prynne, p' 20.
(*j*) Major Langrish's letter. See Catal' G.
(*k*) Prynne, p' 24.
(*l*) Clarendon, b' VII, p' 294, 8vo. edit.

indeed says, that at the breach *the wall* was low and weak; but still he may mean an earthen wall; for had it been entirely of stone, through the whole circuit, so great a work would have been expressly recorded: the forts and sconces built on the line were of stone, as it may be seen at this present time.

§ 50. Now for the purpose of defending these fortifications, the militia of the city were called out, and (*m*) exercised by Denzil Hollis, the well-known leader of the Parliamentarian party, who had been appointed lieutenant of the city. "He (*n*) was nominated as fit to command the militia at Bristol, having subscribed £1000 against the King." A tolerable idea of the military situation of Bristol at this time may be formed from the following (*o*) extract. "In this rich and populous city we are here in no danger, nor feare of any, keeping loyal hearts and valiant hands for the service of the King and Parliament: [It must be recollected, that this was the accustomed form of expression, when they meant *for* the Parliament *against* the King.] our own forces in this city being sufficient to defend ourselves against any enemie whatsoever, wee having fortified our towne with outworkes, as hornworks, and a sconce to Sommersetshire ward, whence if wee have any, we expect our enemies *the Malignants*. We are in this towne eight thousand of sufficient, able, armed men, whom we every day practice in rudiments of war: good store of excellent ordnance, brasse most of them, at least thirty pieces of demy canon, culvering and halfe culvering, mounted upon our workes; powder, shot and match with other ammunition: sufficient victuals wee need not feare the want of, having the sea and Seavern to friend, to bring us in victuals." Such were the fortifications and the military preparations, on which this city depended for it's security. Nevertheless it can hardly be credited, that this city containing probably not more than 40,000 inhabitants could raise 8000 men bearing arms and actually in training, as mentioned above. It was asserted also at Col' Fiennes's trial, that he might, if he had wanted men, have raised six or eight thousand in the city able to defend it. These statements are probably exaggerated.

(*m*) Barrett, p' 690. (*n*) Clarendon 6 init'. (*o*) See the Pamphlet marked A in the preceding Cat.'

§ 51. A short account of the situation of the neighbouring towns at the commencement of the war, will make the state of Bristol more clearly understood.—Shrewsbury had been occupied by the King before the battle of Edge-hill, and was still kept for him by a garrison.—At Worcester Prince Rupert was defeated Sept' 3, 1642, and on the 23*d* the Parliamentary troops took possession of that loyal city. It was afterward retaken by the royalists, and was unsuccessfully attacked by Sir Will' Waller in Apr' 1643.—Glocester was secured for the Parliament by detachments from Lord Essex's army, when he entered Worcester in Sept' 1642, and the royalists were never able to retake it.—Cirencester was fortified by the Parliament's troops at the same time; but on 2*d* Feb' 1642-3 it was taken by Prince Rupert.—Hereford was secured by Lord Essex's army, as Glocester was. It was afterward recovered by the royalists; but again taken by Waller in April 1643, and the garrison was sent to Bristol.—Marlborough was taken by Wilmot and Lord Digby *5th* Dec' 1642, and 1000 of the parliamentarians were killed or taken.—Taunton, a town notoriously disloyal, was early in the war garrisoned by the Parliament. But the Marquis of Hertford and Prince Maurice with the Cornish army took it in June 1643; and at the same time Bridgewater and Dunster Castle. But Bristol was itself now of more importance to both parties, than any of the places abovementioned, not merely as a military station defended by an armed population of it's own, but also as the principal sea-port in the West of England, and second to none but London. This latter consideration, at all times important, was now particularly so, on account of the Popish rebellion which raged in Ireland; for it was from hence chiefly that arms and other necessaries were sent to the Protestants in the south of Ireland; which circumstance, that war being managed chiefly by the Parliament, must have had considerable effect in promoting it's interests in Bristol. The following extract is the remainder of the paper, of which the former part was given above, § 50. "There was a ship brought in hither the other day loaden with ammunition and some spare ordnance: they reported they were bonnd from *Nants* in *Brittaine* for the *Low Countries*. But certain they were either intended for the asistance of the rebels in *Ireland*, or for *Milford Haven* in *Wales*, to the *Marquis Hartford*; there"

"being letters found about one of the mariners, were directed from one Master *Walter Monto* to the Lord *Marquis*. Howsoever wee made [prize] of the ship and ammunition, and have it in safe custody, till the Parliament please to give order for it's disposal."—The following paper is also to the same effect, copied from a pamphlet.(*p*) "*Bristow, Oct'* 10, 1642. There was likewise information that the shipping at *Bristow* were ready rigged and finished ; and the masters thereof humbly desireth this honourable House that speedy course may be taken for the transportation of such mony and cloathes, which are appointed by the Parliament to be sent towards the release of the distressed Protestants in Ireland ; and that the masters of the said ships further desired they might have a convoy with them for the security of the said carriage ; which was granted ; as likewise instructions for their speedy departure ; which was likewise consented unto."—These papers shew the importance of Bristol as a sea-port during that war ; they prove that the authority of Parliament was recognized here, before it's troops were admitted, and the advantage which that party derived from the occupation of the city and it's port.

§ 52. Such being the state of Bristol and the neighbouring country, and while the preparations abovementioned were making, the Marquis of Hertford came into Somersetshire, sent by the King out of Yorkshire, with a commission of array for the purpose of securing the former county. He arrived at Wells about the latter end of July 1642, and being joined by Lord Paulet and many other loyal men of the county, they began to raise soldiers and (*q*) sent Sir Ferdinando Gorges of Wraxall with Mr. *Tho' Smyth* of *Ashton* "to get leave to bring in certain troops of horse into Bristol. But the Mayor refused, having received orders from the King, delivered by Sir Baynham Throckmorton, Feb' 1641-2, (*r*) to receive no forces on his side or the Parliament's, but to keep and defend the city for his Majesty's use." Mr. Barrett in this passage names *Richard Aldworth* as Mayor ; but since this transaction happened in July 1642, and Mr. Aldworth did not enter on his office till Sept' 1642, the Mayor, who refused admittance to his Majesty's forces, must have been Mr. John Lock. Lord Paulet being denied

(*p*) See Catal' B. (*q*) Barrett, 225, apparently from a MS Calendar. (*r*) Mercurius rusticus.

entrance into Bristol rejoined the Marquis of Hertford at Wells, whose proceedings in Somerset may be found in a pamphlet Catal' D. From Wells however these two royalist Lords were driven away on Aug' 6 by a superior number of men brought together at Chewton Mendip, by the Committee of Parliament and some disaffected gentlemen of that county, such as Alexander Popham, Edward Hungerford, John Horner and others. The Marquis retired to Sherborne, where he worsted some forces of the Parliament under the earl of Bedford; but Lord Paulet quitted him at Somerton, attended probably by Mr. Smyth and his father-in-law, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and was going homeward; but finding themselves incapable of resisting the power of the enemy in Somersetshire, they retreated through the county, "embarked (*s*) at Minehead and arrived at Cardiff, where Thomas Smyth, Esq' of Ashton died, and his corpse was brought over to be buried, where he was born." In a pamphlet, Catal' C', Sir Ferdinando Gorges is called father-in-law to Master Thomas Smyth: Mr. Barrett (*t*) however says, that Mr. Thomas Smyth was son-in-law to Lord Paulet. For the part, which these gentlemen took in the transactions last mentioned, it was resolved in Parl' "Die Veneris 5 Aug' 1642, that Sir Ralph Hopton, Mr. Tho' Smith, and Captaine John Digby, shall be disabled to sit as Members of the House of Commons during this Parliament:"—"that Captaine John Digby be forthwith sent for as delinquent;"—"that Sir Ralph Hopton, Mr. Thomas Smith, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and Sir Francis Dodington be forthwith sent for as delinquents."

§ 53. Bristol however was of too much consequence to be overlooked by either party; and as the Cavaliers had been refused, the Parliamentarians next attempted to gain admission. "Sir (*u*) Alexander Popham sent 500 horse to Bedminster, intending to lodge them in Bristol, to make up 1000 on the Parliament's behalf: but the Comm'-council then refused him, and set the train bands to watch and ward as well without the gates as within, to keep out all strange forces by night and by day, 100 at least armed with pikes, and musquets and ball." But the faction were now become too powerful in the West to be so disappointed;

(*s*) Barrett, p' 226. (*t*) Ibid, 225. (*u*) Ibid, p' 225.

and therefore Colonel Thomas Essex, (*v*) who had been sent by the Parliament about a month before this time with two regiments of infantry to take possession of Glocester, being invited by some of the citizens of Bristol to secure this place also for the Parliament, marched with his two regiments and (*w*) arrived here Dec' 2, 1642. Some shew of resistance was made, "and for two (*x*) days the gates were double warded, and the magistrates beside their old store of munition, of which they were well provided, procured 300 new musquets, made to furnish the trained bands and others that wanted them. The citizens, (*y*) those of them at least who were well affected to the Royal cause, prepared for defence, and planted two guns at the High-cross, and two at Frome-gate. At this latter gate, Col' Essex attempted to enter; but the loyal citizens who guarded it, stood to their arms, and there was a fray. Meanwhile the (*z*) Mayor and Council being assembled at the Tolzey, made an appearance of maintaining the city for the King:" it is evident however that this was mere pretence, and that a surrender had been previously determined by the ruling party of the Common-council: for when a number of women, at the head of whom was the wife of the Mayor himself, together with Lady Rogers, Mrs. Holworth [or Holsworth], and Mrs. Vickaris, who by their names appear to be the wives of the Common-council-men, with other women of the same faction to the number of 100, came to the Tolzey in a tumultuous manner, and presented petitions, praying that the Parliament troops might be admitted, the magistrates gave orders, that the gates should be opened. Frome-gate was kept by the royalists, and no entrance could be made that way; 'but (*a*) during the fray there above mentioned, Newgate was opened by the contrivance of a woman (as was said) and Colonel Essex with his two regiments of foot were admitted;' the smallness of their number proving that they depended more on the favour of some within, than on themselves. This happened on Dec' 2, 1642, or within few days after, and immediately Col' Essex took on himself the governorship of the city.

(*v*) Corbet's Hist' Relation concerning Glocester.
(*w*) MS' Calendars. Barrett says that notice of his approach arrived on *5th* Dec'.
(*x*) Barrett, p' 226, apparently from a Calendar. (*y*) MS' Calendar.
(*z*) Barrett, p' 226. (*a*) A MS' Calendar.

although without any written commission, being (*b*) appointed thereto by the earl of Essex, and approved by the Parliament.

§ 54. The parties which existed in that age having laid the foundation of those which have subsisted ever since to the present time, or rather being with some modifications the same, it becomes interesting to enquire what was the state of parties in this city at the commencement of the civil war. It is too evident that the majority of the Common-council took part against their Sovereign. I pass over their refusal to admit Lord Paulet, because it appears from what was said above, § 52, that the King in Feb' 1642 had consented, that no strange troops of either side should be admitted; but when the Mayor and Sheriff at that same time, Feb' 1642, sent four cannon to Marlborough to asist in fortifying that place against the King, which they did notwithstanding the opposition of many loyal citizens, and the remonstrances of Sir B' Throckmorton, who bore the King's message above-mentioned, their conduct can only be attributed to a traitorous inclination. Nor can any apology be made for the admission of Col' Essex's troops; it was manifestly a breach of neutrality, which could not have been effected without the order of the Mayor; and it is not to be believed, that he would have ventured on such a measure, had he not been supported by a majority of the Common-council: and since Mr. Yeomans, who was himself a member of the Common-council, told one of his associates, that there was then some difference of opinion in that body concerning the admission of troops, that difference could have been composed or over-ruled only by a vote of the house, when Essex was admitted. It is moreover evident from one at least, if not both, of the two papers copied above, § 50, that the magistrates executed the orders of the Parliament in Oct' and Nov' 1642: and of what principles the Mayor Aldworth and Sheriffs Browne and Jackson were, is manifest not only from the character given of them in Mercurius rusticus, but also by their own subsequent conduct; for they sat in Fiennes's Committee, levying taxes for the Parliament, as will be related further on. Moreover a letter of Mr. Aldworth was published by his *friends*, (*c*) in which he gives an account of the battle of Lansdown.

(*b*) Prynne. (*c*) See Catal' E.

The style of this letter and of another printed below, giving an account of Mr. Yeomans's plot, proves his rebellious inclinations. "The *enemy* (he writes) is advanced from Marshfield, who rose thence yesterday at ten of the clocke; and before night Sir Wm' Waller was on his persuit after him: so that we trust one bout more with God's blessing will give them such a blow, that their entendement for Oxford may be overthrowne." It is therefore certain, that the majority of the Common-council at that time, or at least the stronger party in it, were of that faction, puritanic in religion and republican in politics, which prosecuted the King to death, and overthrew the Constitution of their country. That they had no such intention at first may be conceded; but being once entangled in the party, and having assisted in putting arms into the hands of unprincipled men, they were unable to stop the conflagration which their selves had contributed to kindle, or perhaps became indifferent to the event. Their successors have benefited, and it is to be hoped ever will benefit, by the example of *their* disloyalty.

§ 55. Now with regard to the Commonalty both parties speak confidently of possessing the favour of the multitude. Prynne says (p' 61) that when Governor Fiennes apprehended the conspirators in March 1643, he had the greater part of the city and country siding with him: that when he executed them, all the Malignants, i' e' the royalists, were disarmed, and the whole city and country generally incensed against them. But Mr. Prynne's testimony on this occasion must be received cautiously, on account of his situation as accuser: and although in this and other places he says that the *malignants* were disarmed, from whence we might suppose that they were the smaller party, yet in another place (p' 19) he says that the *town* was disarmed, admitting by this incautious expression, that the town in general was favourable to the royal cause. That the trained bands were so generally, is not to be doubted; for Prynne says, that they were disarmed, in order to arm his own [Fiennes's] soldiers, and best affected citizens: Prynne adds, that this was done "by the general consent of the Mayor, Sheriffs and most part of the citizens;" which is only his assertion, the fact of disarming is

certain: and as far as the trained bands may be taken as a specimen of the citizens in general, which is no unfair assumption, it proves that the royalists were the stronger party. Fiennes himself (if his testimony be admitted) frequently (*d*) affirmed, that the citizens were for the most part very malignant, and disaffected to the Parliament, and all the royalist papers confidently express the same. Among persons of honour, education and wealth in Bristol, as in other places, the loyalists were far more numerous than their adversaries, notwithstanding the majority in the Common-council; here as in other parts of the kingdom names and characters of men of both parties are preserved sufficient to prove this assertion: and that the principal citizens were royalist is asserted by Fiennes himself, when he says, that "the great ones of this towne have been well acquainted with monopolies and engrosments of trade, and are therefore Malignants." A writer on the Parliament's side gives the following account of the parties here. "Bristol was much distracted between the well-affected and malignant parties. So it was that the King's cause and party were favoured by two extremes in that city: the one the wealthy and powerful men; the other, of the basest and lowest sort; but disgusted by the middle rank, the true and best citizens. - - - - In that city many of the rich men were disaffected to reformed religion; and some more powerful were conscious of delinquency; others upbraided themselves with their own public disgrace, and therefore did much distaste the ways of the Parliament: and the needy multitude, beside their natural hatred of good order, were at the devotion of the rich men." This extract is from *an historical relation of the military government of Gloucester, by John Corbet, a preacher of God's word, published by authority*, 1645.(*e*) Although the preceding account of our parties, given by a republican and an enemy, cannot be depended on, yet it ought not to be neglected, since it shews the opinions and the language of men during this eventful period. Such was the state of the two parties in Bristol, when the war began.

§ 56. "On the (*f*) same day with Colonel Essex, Col' Popham came into Bristol with his regiment; and in Jan' following one of Colonel'

(*d*) Prynne, pp' 22, 65, 66. (*e*) See EE in the preceding Catalogue. (*f*) MS Cal'.

"Essex his regiments marched to Exeter under the earl of Stamford." "Dec' 30 (*f*) Sir Alexander Popham went to Exeter with 1000 men." But probably these two accounts relate to the same transaction.

§ 57. It was during Col' Essex's government, that the following petition for peace was presented to the King from this city. We are not positively informed, whether it proceeded from the Common-council as an act of the whole Corporation, or whether it was the private petition of individuals. The latter seems more probable; for although it is called in the address the petition of the *citie* of Bristol, yet in the body of it they only call themselves the *inhabitants*, which surely the Mayor, Aldermen and Common-council would not have done. The petitioners refer to similar proceedings in London: two petitions from that city were presented about this time, one from individuals, the King's friends, the other from the Corporation, which latter was presented Jan' 10, 1642-3. It is plain that the petitioners from Bristol, whoever they were, were not the King's friends: however incoherent be their style, yet they intimate plainly enough, that the blame of the war lay with the King, that the expressions of duty made by the Parliament were real, that his Majesty was governed by the counsels of notorious malignants; and that in the Church new Canons and unheard of doctrines had been forced on the people. The King's enemies must have been predominant here, when such a petition could have been publicly exhibited. "It was presented to the King's most excellent Majestie at the court at Oxford by foure of the Aldermen of the said citie on Saturday the seventh of Januarie."

"*The humble* (*g*) *petition of the citie of* Bristoll *to his Majesty for an accommodation of peace betweene himselfe and Parliament.*"

"*May it please your sacred Majesty:* The lingering calamities of this present cruell war having with it's hideous and tumultuous noyse awakened the sleeping tongues of your Majesty's loyal subjects, especially those of the greatest and wealthiest citie of your dominions, the honourable the city of *London*, to invoke your royal asistance and suffrage for the establishing an unanimous tranquillity throughout this realme, by which example excited (though we should have willingly been the"

(*f*) Barrett, p' 226. (g) See Catal' F.

"formost suitors for the effecting so holy and just a purpose) we the inhabitants of your Majesties city of *Bristoll*, uninferiour in loyalty to your sacred person to no city in this kingdome, and equal to any except *London* in this realme of *England*, for importance of trade and number of inhabitants, esteemed ourselves (in our duty to God and abounden allegeance to your Majesty) injoyned not to be the last who should present your Highnesse with the humble intimation of our grievances and zealous desires for the good of your Majestie and the peace of your dominions. May it therefore please your sacred clemency and goodnesse seriously to ponder with what superaboundant felicity and daily blessings of the Almighty all your Majesties good subjects and wee the inhabitants of this city have been filled full even with plenty during the peacefull raign of your royall father of blessed and famous memory, nay, during divers yeeres of your Majesties raigne, which God long continue over us: and then but with the eyes of your royall clemency and pity be pleased to take a strict survey of the face of things in this your kingdome of England at this instant; and surely your Majesty will finde it as full of horror and wrath as any object which can incounter humane eye-sight, appearing meerly the ghost of that England, which it was so lately. Instead of the continuall and gainfull trade and commerce, which all the maritime towns, in especiall this city of Bristoll, had into forraigne parts, our ships now lie rotting in the harbor without any mariners or fraught or trade into forraigne parts by reason of our home-bred distractions, being growne so contemptible and despised there, that our credits are of no value, wee being, through the misfortune of our nation, reputed abroad as men meerly undone at home: and what detriment this discontinuance of traffique with forraigne nations may beget and bring forth both to your Majesties particular revenue by decay of the emolument of customs, and to the subject in generall by the want of exportment and importment of commodities, cannot to your sacred wisdome be unknowne. But this, at the least of all the ills which your Majesty may behold incumbring and oppressing us and all your subjects: no man injoyes his life, his wife, children, family or estate in safety this day, producing effects of ruine in those places and on those persons, who in the foregoing night were rich and happy; so that unspeakeable is our misery, unutterable"

"our grievances, fathers being ingaged enemies against sons, and sons against fathers; every good towne and city, as this your city of Bristol, being inforced to their great and infinite expence to maintain garrisons and courts of guards for their security, which takes away all sense of our former happinesse, our sleeps being disturbed by the surley noyse of drums, we overwhelmed with an increasing perpetuity of cares and troubles, such as no time nor history hath scarce mentioned in this kingdome, neither in the Barons nor any other civill warres; your Majesty being (as it were) divorced from those husbands of the common-wealth, the honourable the high court of Parliament, who have made so frequent and so reall expresses of their duty and zéale to the service and advancement of your Majesties affaires, onely desiring, that your gracious Majesty would please to desert and give off the councells of such notorious *malignants*, as for their owne sinister and unworthy ends aime at the ruine of the commonwealth and destruction of the essences of Parliament, to which are conterminated and confined the liberty and right of the *English* subject. Furthermore, may it please to take into consideration of your sacred Majesty, what strange and uncouth distractions that have lately broken forth into the church of *England*, sometimes the glory of all the Reformed churches, the too much power of the Prelacie in forcing new canons and unheard of doctrines upon us, such as have corrosives to the hearts and goads in the sides of most of the religious and well-affected persons to church and commonwealth in these your Majesties dominions, which have been the immediate and efficient causes of the many dissensions and troubles now raigning in this realme; no oppression being so forcible or oppressive to men's consciences, as that which is intruded on them concerning their belief, and the worship of God. In consideration of all which troubles and unhappy dissentions, wee your Majesties most faithfull and humble subjects, the inhabitants of your good and loyall city of *Bristoll*, in all duty to your sacred crowne and dignity, implore and beseech, that taking these grievances aforesaid into your royall thoughts, you would vouchsafe us the speediest means that may conclude the differences both in church and commonwealth, to devise some speedy way for a reconciliation and perfect accommodation of peace betweene your gracious selfe and your high court of Parliament,"

" which hath always been the happiest councell of your famous ancestors, and still prompt in all obedience to serve the intentions and purposes of your Majesty, and so to rectifie all abuses in the church, and finish all the bleeding dissensions of the kingdome, that peace and happinesse may flourish in the rest of your Majesties raigne, and the blessings of peace fall upon us your people ; and we your humble petitioners and obedient subjects shall, as wee are ingaged in all duty, ever pray for your gracious Majesties increase of temporall felicity in this life, and eternall happinesse in the world to come."

" *His Majesties gracious answer to the petition of the citie of Bristoll, delivered to them by my Lord Faulkland, Principall Secretary of State.*"

" His Majesty hath received your petition, and is verie well pleased with this early demonstration of your dutie, and accepts in verie good part your heartie advices to him ; which his Majestie (as far forth as for the present can be correspondent to his occasions) is resolved to hearken unto and put in practice. The many distractions that are now immergent in these his Majesty's dominions, he commanded me to let you know, that he hath as tender a sense and compassion of the afflictions of his good subjects, as they possibly can have themselves ; that he hath neither sought the continuation of these dissentions, nor will ever cherish them ; but use and employ his best possibilitie and endevors for the establishing and reconfirming peace and quietnesse among all his Majesties subjects, that everie man may follow his vocation to his best profit, that traffique and commerce with forraine nations may be continued and promoted, and all the fruits of peace may bee multiplyed amongst you. For the abuses and innovations that have lately happened in the church of *England* to the grievance of many men's consciences, his Majestie declares that as he is ignorant of the said innovations, so hee will be always ready to expurge and take away all such innovations ; being resolute, as he is *Defender of the faith*, to propugne and maintaine no other religion, but the orthodox established doctrine of the church of *England*, which hath so flourished under the reignes of his glorious predecessors. That for the insolence and pride of the Prelacie, his royall Majestie never intended to patronize or protect the vices of the men ; but what their deserts are or have been, according to the nature of their"

"crimes, they shall suffer the justice of the law; of which himselfe being the fountaine and protectour, will never be either the diminisher or infringer. For his difference between himselfe and his High Court of Parliament, his Majesty protests with all integritie, that there is nothing in the world more coveted by him, than a speedy and fair attonement with that honourable assembly; nor any thing that has or does more afflict or disturb his royal temper, than that he hath been enforced to absent himselfe so long from their association and councells, to which hee alwayes hath given much honour, and esteemed them as the principall and securest advice both for his owne good and the benefit of his people. And therefore as a finall resolution and determinate answer, his Majestie by me declares to you, that he will ever make it his uttermost endevour to preserve the liberties and fortunes of all his good subjects, and that he will bestow as provident and pious an eye upon your citie of *Bristoll*, as upon any citie or town in this kingdome. And for a reconciliation with his high court of Parliament, his Majestie gives you his royall thanks for that loyall and faithfull advice, which his Highnesse resolves to put in practice with all the celeritie his occasions will permit; not doubting, but ere many days passe, to reduce his affaires to that conformable condition, as to finish all jars and contentions between himselfe and Parliament by an happie union: [*he alludes to the negociation for peace then beginning at Oxford*] that you and all his good subjects may have their desires by the establishment of a constant peace in these his dominions." *Finis.*

§ 58. Col' Essex began to be suspected by his own party, as a person not thoroughly attached to their cause. He was accused of spending his time in feasting and visiting with gentlemen and ladies, which offended the puritanic spirit of his associates; of neglecting to go on with the fortifications of the city; of keeping company with persons of known royalist principles, such as Mr. Yeomans, and of discouraging the friends of the Parliament, such as Capt' Birch; nay, it appears probable, that he was in actual correspondence with Prince Rupert: with several other matters of accusation which will be seen below: his regiments also, or at least a considerable part of them, were inclined to the royal cause. He seems also to have been a person of most violent

temper, and so far improper for command, particularly in a war the success of which depended on it's popularity; for on (*h*) "Jan' 23, 1643 (i' e' 1642-3) he killed one of his own troopers with a pistol, for asking his pay." The circumstances of which action are here copied verbatim from a cotemporary (*i*) pamphlet. "To the honourable Col' Nathaniel Fiennes, Governour of the army of the city of Bristoll. The certain information of Rich' Kent, John Vernon, and John Smith, late troopers to Col' Thomas Essex, touching the death of Will' Kendall one of their fellow-troopers: viz, That whereas the said Will' Kendall did on the 25*th* of Jan' last at night come unto several men of the said troope, desiring them to goe with him the next morning to their captaine, and with him to go to their colonell, to lay open their grievances as to a father (having no intent to demand their pay,) but to acquaint him that they were forced for want of ready money to pay 6*d* for that, which other men having ready money paid but 4*d* for; and they being quartered in such houses, where was none but very bad hay and provender for their horses, they having no money could not in conscience remove their horses to better, untill they had discharged the house where they were, and they having not money were constrained to buy their oates at the innes, which cost them more by sixpence a bushell, then they could have bought better for in the market, there being due unto each of them at that time £4. 15*s*: and they having a very considerable preecedent therefore; (viz) that formerly at *Worcester* about 10 or 12 of the same troop then under the command of Colonel *Sands*, having lost their horses in that fight (whereof the said *Will' Kendall* was one) their Colonell giving order they should have but half their pay, they then (as now) in all humility repaired to the Lord General the earle of Essex, and having admittance to his chamber doore sent in their grievances, and presently received a gracious answer, having their wronges speedily redressed. And upon the 24*th* of January last in the morning, the said *Will' Kendall* and about 20 or more of the said troopers, thinking that by the expressions of grief of so many, it would have caused the more pitie and speedie redresse from their captain and colonell, presently went to their captaine, and meeting with him just at the door of his lodging, thinking to have opened"

(*h*) MS Cal'. (*i*) See Catal' G.

"their griefe unto him, as formerly they had done, he prevented them by telling of them he had not then received any money for them, but was going to the governours to see for some, bidding them presently to follow him and make their case known unto the governour: whereupon they followed him in an orderly manner, as souldiers, with their swords only by their sides; and comming to the governour's they went into the house after their captain, where some stayed in a little parlour and some in the entry, quietly waiting till the governour was stirring; and having waited there about a quarter of an hour, the governour came down unto them without his doublet on, having a firelock pistoll in his hand with the cock down; and as it afterwards appeared, it was charged with a bullet ready spaned and primed; and comming to one of the troopers he spake to him after this manner (viz) *Sirra, is your horse ready?* whereunto he replyed, *yes and please your honour.* Then said the governour, *sirra, goe and fetch him*, taking the trooper by the arme, and thrusting of him out of the parlour door: speaking the like words and doing the like action to two or three more of them, they making the like answer as before. And the said then governour *Thom: Essex* spake in like manner to the said *Will: Kendall* deceased; and after some short pause (not one word more passing between them) he shot the said *William Kendall* into his head with his said pistoll: whereupon he immediately fell down dead in the place, as *Samuel Carter*, *Thomas Coset*, *William Sedwell*, *William Smith*, the said *Richard Kent*, *John Colstacke*, *James Polle* and *Benjamin Parnell*, who were eye witnesses thereunto, canne and will testifie. All which they knowing to be true have thought fit to certifie under their hands this fourth day of March 1642." "And they doe further certifie, that the said *Will: Kendall*, after the said Colonel Essex had bid him make ready his horse, desired *his Honour to hear him speake two or three words unto him:* for which cause onely and for no other the said Colonel Essex immediately shot him with his pistoll as before; which the eye witnesses before named can testifie at large. *Richard Kent*, *John Cowlstock*, *William Siddell*, *Benjamin Parnell*, *Thomas Coset*, *James Poole*."

§ 59. It is probable that these causes persuaded his Excellency (as they called him) the earl of Essex, that Bristol was not safe in such hands: and he therefore gave orders to Col' Nathaniel Fiennes, who commanded a detachment in Wiltshire, to march to Bristol and there act as circumstances might require, who accordingly entered the city with five troops of horse and five companies of foot on (*j*) Feb' 18, 1642-3 [*al'* Feb' 16]. He was second son of the Lord Say, a leading member of the House of Peers; and the Colonel was himself a member of the House of Commons; and he was specially commissioned to remove Col' Essex from his office, if he should find sufficient reason, and to send him to the General in chief at Windsor. Fiennes was not long in *finding sufficient reason* for removing Col' Essex; and for this purpose he brought into Bristol a considerable body of troops between Feb' 16 or 18 and Feb' 27, under the command of Col' Popham and Sir Edward Hungerford. On the day last mentioned, Col' Essex went to an entertainment at Capt' Hill's, who lived about a mile out of town on or near Durdham Down; at which entertainment Col' Essex having only three or four servants about him, the place being surrounded by Fiennes's troops, was seized as a prisoner and carried away. This transaction and the causes of it will be best explained by copying part of a letter written by Major Hercules Langrish, an officer under Fiennes.(*k*) The writer having related Col' Fiennes's marches till he came to Malmesbury, thus proceeds: "Wee marched therehence towards *the Bathe*, where we arrived that night, and found 200 commanded men of Col' *Essex* his regiment, who suffered us to enter the city and to quarter there without any opposition: yet did the chiefe commander of them testifie next day by some insolent words and carriage, that our forces were not welcome thither. But we that were bent to doe our best service to the state and city of *Bristoll* marched thitherwards, where we were welcomed by Col' *Essex*, Col' *Popham*, and divers other gentlemen and citizens. But being settled there we soone perceived, that the then governour Col' *Essex* was much distrusted by the best affected of the city; and that those who were then suspected to be malignants (and now approved conspirators) were his most intimate friends and continuall or frequent"

(*j*) MS Cal'. (*k*) See Catal' G.

"associates: the which incited all well wishers to *Sion* and their countrey to beleeve what had been said of him by those that perswaded us thither, and our now governour Col' *Fiennes* to labour to prevent his evill designs. And that he might the better do it, he perswaded Col' *Essex* and the Committee that was here, to call in all the citizens arms; whereunto he yeelded: as also that no man should take them backe againe, but such as would take a protestation to this effect: that *they should to the uttermost of their power with their lives and fortunes defend this city against all forces, that should come against it raysed without consent of Parliament; and that they should discover all plots that should bee laid to ensnare and entrap the forces sent hither for the defence of it by the Parliament.* I know you have had a copy of it, and therefore I will not stay upon it. But when these armes were brought into *Guildhall* by the captains of Colonel *Popham's* regiment and Col' *Hungerford's*, and that they were there placed, whereas the Major [Mayor] had alwayes kept the key thereof before, Col' Essex now would keep it himself, and as is now apparent to no other end, but that good men should not have their armes back again; and that none should be armed but such as he should approve of: and what were they (as he declared unto me himself) but Clubbers and now convicted Conspirators, the which he then termed honest men: but as for *Bridgemen* (aliàs *Roundheads*, as infamous creatures tearme them) he protested they should have no armes back." [Note. The *Bridgemen* were the inhabitants of the Bridge, who were generally and notoriously disaffected to the King's cause.] "As for Capt' *Birch*, captain of the voluntiers, he said he was a coward and should have no command; and to shew that he was an enemy to him, committed him upon so slight an occasion, that he was easily persuaded by our Colonel to release him the next morning. So that by these means the bad grewe to be most insolent, and our good and honest men much dejected; so that they thought of nothing more, than of leaving the city and carrying away their goods, supposing it to be betrayed by the said Col' *Essex*. These were the sad complaints and more than murmurings of the good citizens and gentlemen of these parts, so that it was now time to think of some courses to prevent these"

" inconveniences; and so did Col' Fiennes, who communicated unto me an order that he had received from his Excellencie, whereby he was enjoyned to send Col' *Essex* to *Windsor* or the Parliament, in case he saw cause for it: and having given me reasons to see and know that there was cause so to do, he asked me whether I would assist him in the execution thereof, or no; the which seeing cause for, I promised to doe, and promised likewise that all under my command should serve him in it to the uttermost of their powers: so that then we consulted of the place and time for it, and after deliberation intended to have seized his person on Saturday the *25th* of Feb', on which he was to have a coursing day; but the day proving very wette he went not: but on Munday the *27th* he was invited to a feast by one Captain *Hill*, whither he went, his house being a mile from this city, whither the Colonell and I went with a party of horse; and then and there as he was feasting and revelling with divers gentlemen and ladies after his accustomed manner, we acquainted him with his Excellencies order, whereunto he promised to obey and to depart therehence forthwith with a partie that wee left there to convoye him to *Berkeley Castle*: but the governour Col' *Fiennes* returning to settle all in good order at *Bristoll*, commanded me to stay with him till his departure: but he being gone he began to stand on tearmes and to say that he would go to his Excellence the straightest way for *Windsor*, and intreated me to move the Colonel that he might do so; whereupon I returned hither and acquainted Colonel *Fiennes* with it; who told me that Prince *Rupert* was about *Basingstoke* or *Hertley-bridge*, so that the surest and safest way would be to go by Glocester. I acquainted Col' *Essex* with so much that night, and intimated unto him and to the captain's lieutenant that convoyed him to *Windsor*, that their safest course would be to march that night to *Berkly-castle:* yet would he not march, although he was much urged thereunto by the said captain, but went to bed and would not march the next day till ten of the clocke, that I appeared with a strong party of horse near to Capt' Hill's house, wherewithall I convoyed him half the way to *Berkly-castle*. But it happened out well that Col' *Fiennes* returned the night before to *Bristoll*, as he did; otherwise all might have been in combustion by the insolence of an ensign in Col' *Essex* his regiment,"

"who hurt a horse of Capt' Lung's troop [*sic*] to enter into the castle, and there offered a great affront to Lievtenant Colonel *White*, whose company was then upon the relieving of that whereof he was ensign, both by striking the said Lievtenant Colonel, as also by commanding his men to give fire on the other company: but Col' *Fiennes* hearing of it hasted thither with a party of horse, and so the tumult was appeased, and the insolent ensign imprisoned. But these proceedings infinitely enraged our malignant souldiers and citizens, so that they forthwith sent to call Prince *Rupert* to their assistance, the which incited our now governour to look about him and to proclaim that those, who would take the aforesaid protestation, should have their arms back again, and those that would not should see theirs disposed of to those that would, and that for the defence of the city: so that we suddenly armed of well-affected men some five hundred of the citizens, the which were put into five companies: and the works of the town had more done unto them in four days, then they had done unto them in six weeks before."

§ 60. Colonel Fiennes however found that his conduct was not generally approved: the late governour loudly insisted that the only reason for his removal was, that his successor might come into his place: and the public said the same. Col' Fiennes therefore thought fit to vindicate himself, which he did by writing the following letter, which is here copied from the pamphlet last mentioned. (*l*) It was written after the discovery of Mr. Yeomans's plot, and is probably addressed to his father, Lord Say. "My Lord, if your lordship had been an eye witness (as some have been) how little time I have had to eat or drink or sleep, or to write, speak or think of any thing but what was necessary for our present preservation, your lordship would not have thought that I had been altogether so much to blame in being so short in the sending of particulars concerning Col' *Essex* and the late plot: and yet I am sure (if it miscarried not) I sent a letter long enough and full enough of particulars concerning Col' *Essex* and which I think were sufficient to satisfy any man that it was necessary he should be removed from hence before the town could be put in any possibility of security, although he had not been touched in the point of his fidelity: such was his excessive"

(*l*) See Catal' G.

"prodigality and profuseness in feasting, gaming and drinking, whilst his soldiers were fasting and perishing for hunger; and such was his carelessness of the safety of the town, that he never went about to strengthen the town by any works without, till two or three days before I came, nor to confirm it within by disarming and suppressing the malignants, but rather on the other side being himself familiar and intimate with the chief malignants, and siding with them against the good partie, and that in so high a degree, that even after I came to the town he imprisoned Capt' *Birche*, who is and always was the most active man in the town for the Parliament, and swore that neither he nor any of his men, nor any of the *Bridge-men*, (who are known to be the honestest men in the town and who only appeared in their arms for us, when Prince *Rupert* came before the town) should have any arms or any command in the city; and this I can testifie myself, for he swore it deeply in my presence: and and after he swore he would commit Lievtenant Colonel *White;* and so by degrees began to make approaches upon me, swearing that I should have nothing to do there: whereby I perceived I washed a Blackmore white, if I went about to do any thing for the reclaiming of him or the putting of the city in a posture of safety, while he was there; and I saw evidently that either I must send him away or all the good people in the town would leave it and desert both it and me. He had a little before framed a protestation which should be a test of malignants and ill-affected persons; which was such as many of the best-affected would not take, lest they should be thereby obliged to keep out any other Parliament forces that might come in, and to thrust out those that were already in it; and on the other side was taken by known malignants, (and as I think by some of the chief conspirators in this late plot) and they did after make that use of it, that they were thereby tied to suffer no forces in the town, but such as were by the consent of the King and Parliament, because they had protested to oppose all forces, that should make any attempt upon the town without the consent of the King and Parliament, as they concluded all the Parliament forces did without the King's consent. These and many other particulars, which are notorious to all the world, I wrote at large. His being here I found inconsistent with the good and safety of this city, and though there were no apparent"

" proof of his falshood, which I never affirmed, yet there were shrewd grounds of jealousy, as may appear by the depositions; whereof I have sent your lordship a copy, together with this letter: and for that barbarous and bloody act of killing an honest man in his troop, there is no honest man in this town, but abhorreth the memory of it; and I have sent up the evidence against him under the hand of six or seven of those that were eye and ear witnesses of what was done and said: which was only this; that being five or six months behind of their pay, or a very long time, they comming with their captain, some twenty of them, to desire him to take some course for it, when this man had said only these words, *Noble governour, give me leave to speak a word or two to you*, he immediately shot him through the head: and both the Sheriffs and the Coroner having been hitherto hindered to make any inquiry concerning it, since Colonel *Essex* his removal desired me that they might examine witnesses concerning it and have a verdict about it, alledging that they were likely to be deeply fined for not doing it: that [*sic*] I told them I must acquaint my Lord Generall first with it, because it may somewhat intrench upon his power by martial law; and besides if it should be done immediately upon Col' *Essex* his removal, it might appear to have something of spleen in it, and that I did not carry matters so fairly in his absence: for my part so my Lord Generall and the world be satisfied, that I had good reason to send him away from hence according to his direction, I would not have things prosecuted too hard against him; although I am very much deceived if many a governour of a town hath not been called to an account in point of his fidelitie, that in so long time that he hath been here, when he knew that the towne without any workes and with so slender a company as he had in it (being so malignant as for a great part of it it was) could not be kept, if any considerable force should come against it, made no provision at all to have the towne better fortified without and better furnished with a garrison within, but spent his time in drinking and feasting: and so hee would have done till the enemie had come to the gates: and whether then hee would have let them in upon this ground that it was not probable that such a towne should be kept with such a force I have cause to fear, by what I have"

" heard from the Fountaine [probably the *Fountain* Tavern], in case he had stayed here till the enemy came before the towne; and that it was the expectation of the enemy and the resolution of Col' *Essex*, although he reserved himself from declaring his mind till the enemy had been at the gates: for as to that which Col' *Essex* spake off as the only course he intended to take, which was to goe out and meet the enemie out of the town, it was agreed by all his own officers, when the enemie was approaching, that could not be done; for unless he would have left the town wholly unguarded, and unto itself, which (in the condition it then was and still is in great part) was to leave it to the enemy, we could not draw out 200 men to meet them: and what then would Col' *Essex* have drawn out to meet them, before I brought in six companies of Sir *Edward Hungerford's* regiment into the towne.

" First I had it from divers good hands, and amongst the rest from a knight of good qualitie, that he had heard his son-in-law, who is on the other side, say that he saw a letter of Col' Essex which was sent to the Malignants in *Somersetshire*, and particularly from Mr. *Coventrie* to his wife, to assure them of Col' *Essex*; and that in that letter was a clause to this purport; *let men dispute of me what they will, by God I am for the King*.

" Secondly, he was familiar and intimate with some of the chief conspirators in this late plot, as *Rob' Yeomans, Duk' Weekes;* who presently upon Col' *Essex* his removal rode to *Neford* [perhaps *Oxford*] to bring Prince *Rupert's* forces against this town, and was heard to say, as he went through *Cirencester*, to the governor of that place, that this city was worth the taking.

" Thirdly, his captain-lieutenant of his own company was a chief man in this plot; and Prince Rupert in his addresses to him and some of Bristol, makes that as one of the grounds of his coming hither, to revenge the affront done to Col' *Essex;* and his ensign hath also been suspected to encline that way by his discourse and by his kindred and friends: and one of his servants, that very night that his Colonell was removed from hence, dranke a health to Prince *Rupert* on his knees, and forced others to do so likewise."

§ 61. To this letter are subjoined three depositions and a letter, which prove (if they may be credited) that there was a good understanding at least, perhaps a correspondence, between *Tom Essex* and Prince *Rupert;* that he was endeavouring to bring over his soldiers to the King's cause, and had promised the Prince, that when he came before Bristol, he would give him every opportunity in his power. Col' Essex being however removed, Col' Fiennes took upon himself the government of the town; not from any wish or inclination for the employment, "for (if we may believe his own words) I never did affect it, but allwayes declined it, and that not in a way of complement, but really, as my private letters - - - - may witnesse:" an assertion not very compatible with his conduct in removing his predecessor; but if it be true, we can only suppose that his scruples were overcome either by a prospect of his own emolument, or by a pure patriotic hostility to his sovereign. Thus (*m*) having 'taken upon himself the governorship, he made his abode somewhere in Broad-street, and appointed his younger brother, Col' John Fiennes, commander in chief of the garrison, and placed him in the castle; but he was himself still subject to the superior authority of Sir Wm' Waller. His commission as Governor of Bristol was not dated until May 1; and afterwards he procured another, authorizing him to act independently of Sir Wm' Waller, who commanded at Bath and in the West.'

§ 62. The authority of the Parliament being now established here, and the city being become their principal garrison in the West, the new governor began to secure his charge. "I bethought myself, *he says*, how I might put the place into a posture of defence; and though it be one of the hardest towns in England to be fortified, yet by God's assistance I drew fortifications round about it, and had almost brought them to perfection," when the siege began. His principal difficulty was the raising of money. 'A (*n*) Committee had been appointed here, as in other places which had submitted to the Parliament, for the purpose of levying the usual assessments which the Houses had imposed. Of this committee his own officers, *Popham*, *Walker*, *&c* were of course the principal members;

(*m*) Prynne. (*n*) Barrett, 227.

but there were associated with them *Richard Aldworth*, the Mayor, *Joseph Jackson* and *Hugh Brown*, the Sheriffs, *Richard Holworthy*, Alderman, with *Luke Hodges* and *Henry Gibbs* sometime Sheriffs; who assessed and 'levied a tax (*o*) of 55 *l*, 15 *s* a week on every man's lands, goods, money at interest, and stock in trade; to last for three months, or until the King's forces should be disbanded; the first payment to be made on March 1 next following (1642-3), which was confirmed by authority of Parliament.' But perceiving very soon, that it was not practicable to provide for the pay of the garrison and expences of the fortifications by help of the city alone, "what conceits soever some had of the wealth of that city," he drew up 'a plan with the consent and assistance of *Alexander Popham*, *C' Walker*, *Joh' Seymoure*, *Edward Stephens* and *Joh' Codrington*, whereby certain portions of *Somersetshire*, *Glocestershire* and *Wiltshire* were to be joined with *Bristol* into one district, the weekly assessments of which district, levied according to several ordinances of Parliament, together with the twentieth part, and the sequestrations of delinquents' estates, were to be applied wholly to the maintenance of the garrison of *Bristol* and it's dependencies, *Bath*, *Berkeley &c*, and to making and finishing the fortifications in and about the city. And they proposed, that *Bristol* instead of 55 £ per week heretofore assessed should thereafter pay 400 £ per week, beginning July 1 next following, and that these following persons, *Nath' Fiennes*, Col' *Popham*, *Richard Aldworth*, Mayor, Sergeant-major *John Clifton*, Capt' *Thomas Hippesley*, Mr. *Luke Hodges*, Mr. *Henry Gibbs* and Mr. *James Howell* should be the committee for apportioning the said tax on the inhabitants. The garrison was to consist of three regular regiments of foot, consisting of 1200, 1000 and 800 men, with two troops of horse, and one of dragoons. And likewise three regiments of trained bands or volunteers were to be raised, which were to be drawn together only when need might require.' This is an outline of the plan proposed and earnestly pressed by Col' Fiennes: but although it was approved of by their General-in-chief, the Earl of *Essex*, and recommended to the Houses by Lord *Say*, yet for some reasons not mentioned, it never passed: and consequently *Fiennes* during the whole time of his government was,

(*o*) See Rushworth, Vol' 5, p' 124, for the assessments in Somersetshire.

or pretended to be, in great want of men and money. With regard to men, he says 'that when he came to *Bristol* he found there only Colonel *Essex's* and Col' *Popham's* regiments; and that Sir *Will' Waller* was continually drawing away parts of the garrison in order to strengthen his own army in the field, so that he never could keep up a sufficient force for the defence of the city; and when *Waller* was defeated at *Devizes* and his army dispersed, *Fiennes* (if his own account may be believed) "had but 700 men left in the town, and not a penny of money left to pay them." Of the want of money he makes frequent and lamentable complaints. He writes May 12, that 'he had laid out near 9000 £ since he came to *Bristol*, and had received only 4000 £ from Parliament;' whereas Prynne says, that 'he received near 9000 £ from the house of Commons.' "I am in that extremity, *(he writes)*, for want of money, that I know not what to do, and all the springs which formerly afforded me supply are dryed up: for Sir *Wm' Waller* expecteth all out of the counties; and the city will not continue their weekly contribution any longer." Again he writes June 9; "The Lord deliver me from the condition wherein I am, that I should have the charge of a town of such importance as this is, upon me, and neither have men halfe enough to maintain it, nor money to maintain those men I have, nor means afforded me to raise any money." June 17 he writes on the same subject, complaining "of the great charge I am constantly at, being to pay 1500 foot, a regiment of horse, and a company of dragoones and 100 gunners, besides workmen upon the fortifications; so that I have beene sometimes at 1300 £, sometimes at 1200 £, seldom under 1000 £ a week." Thus was he every week writing to Parl' for more money and more authority to raise it: and Prynne himself tells us, that most of the Parliamentary governors did the same.

§ 63. Whether Fiennes's want of money was real or pretended, is not very certain; for it seems sufficiently proved on his trial, that he was a man very greedy of gain. It may therefore easily be supposed, that such a Governor supported by such a Committee was not always very scrupulous in raising his assessments; one example of which is related

in (*p*) *Mercurius rusticus*, No. 15, how he extorted £200 from Mr. John Gunning, jun', a member of the Common-council of Bristol. The letter which conveyed the demand is as follows.

"*To Master Gunning the younger.*

"BRISTOLL. Whereas the city is at this time invironed and in great imminent danger to be swallowed up by many cruell and barbarous enemies of Papists, Irish Rebells and others: and most of the inhabitants of this citie have, and all ought to take an oath and protestation for defence thereof with their lives and fortunes: these are to require you forthwith to pay to my servant *Ralph Hooker* to be employed for the defence of the citie, the summe of two hundred pounds; which summe in respect of your estate is below the proportion required of other persons of your qualitie by ordinance of Parliament. And if you shall refuse in this time of so great necessitie, you may expect whatsoever the desperate resolution of soldiers reduced unto extreame necessitie may put them to act against your persons and estates, unlesse by a speedy contribution towards their supply you shall prevent the same."

"Given under my hand July 25, 1643." NATH' FIENNES."

In this manner he levied plunders and contributions from the city and neighbourhood, particularly from the unfortunate royalists; of some of whom the estates were sequestered, and others were forced to pay the twentieth or other part of their substance, as a composition to save the remainder. When Mr. *Yeomans's* plot was discovered, the property of those royalists, who were engaged in it, was seized as prey, and no doubt proved ample. *Fiennes* indeed denied that "the estates of the conspi-spirators were any thing considerable: I shall never make 300 £, *he writes*, from the beginning to the end out of the conspirators' estates, there being never a rich man amongst them; and their creditors claiming and carrying away the greatest part of what is not abroad conveyed away or so concealed, that I cannot find it out; and I can assure your Lordship I have already received and spent the most of what I have to expect that way; otherwise I had not been able to have subsisted halfe this time." It cannot be believed, that the property of at least 100 persons, many of them principal citizens, whom Fiennes imprisoned in the castle on

(*p*) See the preceding Cat' 42, M.

account of this plot, amounted to only £30. for each man. Be that however as it may, the royalists were plundered, and the money passed through the governor's hands.

§ 64. If the late governor, Colonel Essex, were suspected by his party, because he was not sufficiently decisive in the cause, his successor resolved, that the same complaint should not be made of his conduct. Within few days after he had seized the governorship, the King having sent a Proclamation to Bristol concerning the royal navy, which had been redd at the High-cross in the middle of the four streets, governor Fiennes on the next day being Saturday at the time of full market, which was then holden in the middle of those four streets, caused the Proclamation to be burned by the hands of the same person, who had redd it the day before; himselfe attending in his coach to see it executed. (*q*)

§ 65. These oppressions naturally reduced the wealth and prosperity of the city to a very low state: *Fiennes* himself complains that a false conceit was entertained "of the riches of *Bristol;* which since the stop of trade, and many Malignants withdrawing their estates, is much otherwise than is conceived by some." And beside these pecuniary injuries to which the royalists were particularly liable, much personal oppression and insult was also practised toward those citizens who were known to be decidedly of the King's party; insomuch that it became dangerous (*r*) for them to walk the streets, being reproached with the names of *Malignants* and *Papists*, spit on and threatened, and if found beyond the city bounds, liable to be imprisoned.

§ 66. While governor *Fiennes* was engaged in these dishonourable and disloyal practices, a considerable sum of money and other property was contributed in *Bristol* for the relief of the Protestants in Ireland, who were miserably oppressed by the Papists. It appears to have been a contribution collected from individuals of the city, some of it was no doubt the money of the Corporation granted by the Common-council. The account is contained in one of those small pamphlets above mentioned (*s*) and is as follows:—

(*q*) See Catal' 42 M. (*r*) Mercurius Rusticus. (*s*) See Catalogue Q.

" Sir, The provisions which by a free benevolence hath been gathered in this city and brought in from part of *Gloucestershire* and *Somersetshire*, is embarked upon two vessels; the one is the *Mermaid* of *Bristol*, and the other is the *Sampson*, of this place also; the latter whereof is a ship of good defence, and goeth a convoy unto what we send and that from *Mynhead*; they will be ready to set sail on Monday next: we thought good to render the Parliament an account of the quantity and several sorts, of which we have inclosed and sent an invoice. We hope it will come timely for their relief; it is consigned to my Lord *Enshaqueen*, the Earl of *Cork*, and to Mr. Richard Ward, Commissary, and have left it to their wisdoms to proportion to each place what is fitting."

" Sir, Having this opportunity, we heartily desire you to present to the H' of Commons our thankfull acknowledgment of their care of this city, in sending Colonell *Fines* to command the forces here. He is a gentleman of unwearied pains and watchfulnesse, not omitting any thing which may conduce to our safety. Our fortifications are in a good forwardnesse and hath cost us very much moneys; Mr. *Fines* is the sole directer thereof, who in person followeth it daily: which being perfected, we hope unto God may be the preservation of us and our neighbour counties, whose assistance in this extraordinary charge by the favour of the honourable Houses of Parliament we hope to obtain, craving your furtherance and helpe when the House shall be moved thereunto." [They allude to the scheme then in agitation, (*s*) of uniting parts of *Gloucestershire*, *Somersetshire* and *Wiltshire* into the same assessments with *Bristol*.] " For present we conclude with tender of our humble service, and rest your assured friends and servants, *Richard Aldwort*, Major, *John Coming*, *Humphrey Hooke*, *John Tomlinson*, *Joseph Jackson*, *Andrew Charlton*, *Richard Long*, *William Jones*, *Hu' Browne*, *John Locke*.—Bristol, 29*th* of *April*, 1643."

" *Invoice of several sorts of provisions laden upon shipp* Mermaid, William Lambert, *Master*, *for the relief of the Protestants in* Ireland, *from the city of* Bristol, 14 *April* 1643."

" Imprimis, 201 bushells of white peas.—Item, 205 bushels of gray-peas.—Item, 82 bushells of beanes.—Item, 3 hogsheads, 15 barrells, and 2 kinterkins of beefe.—Item, 2 hogsheads and one butt of dry fish.—"

(*s*) See above § 62.

" Item, 10 bundells of dry fish.—Item, one hogshead, one barrell, and 2 kinterkins of corn-fish.—Item, 20 couple of bank fish.—Item, 1 hogshead and 2 barrells of herrings.—Item, 5 Tuns of cheese, being 1684 cheeses in bulk.—Item, 2 hogsheads of cheese.—Item, one hogshead of bacon. —Item, 34 flitches of bacon.—Item, 1 barrell of beefe and bacon.—Item, one kinterkin of porke.—Item, 7 kinterkins, 7 ferkins, and one halfe ferkin of butter.—Item, one puncheon of pruans.—Item, 3 tuns and 3 hogshead of beer.—Item, 47 hundred, one quartern, 19 pound weight of bread."

" *Invoice of severall sorts of provisions laden upon shipp* Sampson, Thomas Goodier, *master, for the relief of the Protestants in* Ireland, *from the city of* Bristoll, 27 *April* 1643."

" Imprimis, one barrell of beefe.—Item, one barrell of meal.—Item, one hogshead and 3 barrells of wet fish.—Item, one barrell of dry fish.— Item, 2 kinterkins of herrings.—Item, 3 barrells of bacon.—Item, 20 flitches of bacon.—Item, one butt of beefe and bacon.—Item, 23 kinterkins, 17 firkins, 1 tub, and 5 pots of butter.—Item, 80 bushells of white peas.—Item, 317 bushells of gray peas.—Item, 543 bushells of Mangcorn.—Item, 3 tuns, 15 hundred of cheese, being 1369 cheeses.— Item, one barrell of cheese.—Item, one bag of hops, 102, 1 quartern, and 2 pound weight.—Item, one barrell, and 11 kinterkins of oatmeal. —Item, one butt of malt.—Item, one puncheon of pruans.—Item, one dry fatt of shoes.—Item, 50 hundred weight of bread.—Item, 8 hundred of corn-fish.—Item, more in money 30 pounds, which will be laid out in provisions, and sent upon this shipp: and this day brought in about the country about five tuns of corn and other provisions.—*Finis.*"

§ 67. Another grievance to which the loyalists were subject was having illegal oaths and protestations tendered to them. Soon after the arrival of Col' Essex, the leaders of that faction framed a protestation that they would oppose the entrance of all troops into Bristol without the consent of *King and Parliament:* afterwards thinking the former not sufficiently explicit, they framed a second protestation, whereby they protested that they would with their lives and fortunes resist *Prince Rupert, the Earl of Forth, the Marquis of Hertford* &c &c: and if any

scrupled to take these oaths, they were disarmed and oftentimes imprisoned. Finally, they were exposed to perpetual insult and oppression on account of their religion. For notwithstanding what may be said by speculative men, yet the fact is, that of the King's friends, almost all, excepting the Roman-Catholics, were attached to the Church of England, and on the Parliament's side universally they hated and persecuted that Church, and all persons and things connected with it. That faction, which brought the King to the scaffold, was not only republican in politics, but was also puritanic in religion: and the Church of England was reviled and persecuted by it as much or even more than the King and his ministers. The mild and moderate Reform, which this nation had adopted, displeased these wild and enthusiastic spirits: they hated all forms and ceremonies, as remnants of Popery; and hence wherever the power of the Parliament prevailed, they fell furiously on the churches, and defiled them in the grossest manner; they tore the clerical habits, demolished the organs, broke the stained glass, overturned the altars, and defaced the monuments of the dead: in which sacrilegious work they were joyfully assisted by those who had no religion at all; too many of whom are to be found in every age, and great numbers of whom were in the armies of the Parliament. They disdained to be confined to any regular form of devotion; they therefore tore to pieces the books of Common Prayer, wherever they found them, and addressed the Almighty extempory in such rhapsodies of devotion, that men of sober sense, who now read the records of their expressions, can scarcely moderate their surprize. Many of the Clergy were infected with this madness; the learned and the rational, who were not so, those, who religiously adhered to the Service of the Church, were insulted with the grossest abuse: ***Priests of Baal*** was the common name by which they were designated: they were ejected from their houses and churches, plundered, imprisoned and otherwise ill-treated, and some of them killed; and their places were supplied with what they called *godly Ministers;* that is, men of calvinistic principles and practice; as for example, ***Fiennes*** put in (*t*) ***Mr. John Tombes*** of ***Leominster*** into the church of All-Saints, instead of ***Mr. Williamson***, whom he turned out; and other (*u*) frantic preachers they

(*t*) Nelson's Life of Bishop Bull, p' 250.

(*u*) Mercurius Rusticus.

brought into the city, viz *Craddock*, *Bacon*, *Walter*, and *Simonds*, instead of *Mr. Standfast*, *Mr. Towgood* and others: and lastly *Matthew Hassard*, whom they put into *St' Ewen's*; a principal incendiary in this rebellion, stirred up thereto by the violence of his wife *Dorothy Hassard*, perhaps the same who with her own hands helped to fortify Frome-gate against the King's army, and afterwards gave her testimony against Col' Fiennes, when he was brought to trial before his fellow-rebels, and condemned for cowardice in surrendering Bristol. The everlasting subject of the harangues of these intrusive lecturers was coarse and scurrilous invective against the King and his Ministers, and the Church and her Clergy: so that serious members of the Church could no longer partake of her offices. Against Bishops, Deans, Prebendaries and Cathedrals their rage was unbounded and clamorous. All, whether clergy or laity, who were attached to the church of England, were accused of being Papists, and by the mob, who were ill capable of discriminating, and by their leaders, who artfully fomented that delusion, they were vilified as such.

§ 68. The manners of the sect were stiff and precise, studiously disrespectful of certain customs, as being in their estimation superstitious practices, and abhorrent of innocent amusements: and their language not only on subjects of divinity, but in common life also, was filled with scriptural expressions, and of them the most metaphorical and allegoric which they could find, the furthest removed from the diction of European nations: and by their example this canting phraseology became at length the ordinary language of the two Houses of Parliament. This enthusiastic spirit of irrational religion, sincere in some, hypocritical in the many, spread like an inundation over the whole island; it was the excess and extravagance of reformation, and those who were infected with it supposed that they could not sufficiently reform themselves from the church of Rome, unless they denounced and abhorred every practice however decent which that church admitted: it was the ebullition of religious liberty, and they seemed to adopt absurdities, only for the purpose of asserting a right so to do: and whereas such extravagances are usually prevented and repressed by the advantages of good birth,

company and education, hence it was that this insanity was chiefly found in the inferior ranks of society, who yet by their numbers made amends for their want of respectability. Such was Puritanism; it began with the Reformation: the vigorous government of Elizabeth kept it within tolerable bounds; but during the weak administration of her successor, it acquired such strength, that the Church of England finally sunk under it's coarse attack.

§ 69. There was in Bristol at that time one *Mrs. Grace Cary*, whom I introduce as an example of that puritanic spirit, which then overspred the nation; whose visions, trances, revelations and other fanatic delusions must have made much talk here, and contributed toward keeping up the national delusion among her fellow-citizens. The woman herself was probably a harmless, crazy enthusiast, as the King evidently supposed her to be: but he who wrote the preamble and narrative seems thoroughly to have imbibed the principles of the sect; to have been a sturdy, solemn puritan. The account of her is contained in a small 4*to* MS of 14 pages, in the hands of Charles Jos' Harford, Esq': in copying which I have not thought it material to preserve the original orthography. "England's Forewarning; or A true Relation of strange and wonderful visions and prophetical revelations concerning these tragical, sinful times and dismal: shewed four or five years since to Mrs. Grace Cary of Bristol; who having while the designs of Canterbury and Strafford were plotting and hatching, humbly and zealously sollicited his Majesty with great travel and expence to give her audience, which could not be obtained, is now induced by divers persons of eminent quality and piety to relate and represent the truth herein to select, zealous, religious christians. Dated december 1644."

"Grace Cary, sometime wife to Mr. Walter Cary of Bristol, residing in her widowhood at Usk in Monmouthshire betook herself wholly to private prayer and constant reading of the Holy Scriptures, beside her public frequenting of God's house, about three years together: which task she imposed on herself the better to inform her judgement in the ways of God, there being so many byeways in the world of Popery and other erroneous sects, and herself having been strongly tempted to"

"popish superstitions: from which temptation it pleased God of his infinite goodness most miraculously to deliver her: for - - - - wrestling by prayers and tears to overcome that temptation, she had before day in a summer morning a most heavenly rapture or trance - - - - -. Being awake she felt in herself - - - - a thankful recognition of God's wonderful mercy to her poor deluded soul; she having formerly been seduced to invocate Saints and Angels and to say the *Ave Maria*, as Papists fondly use in their blind devotion. - - - - It pleased God a short time after, which was in the year of our Lord God 1639 to shew her a further favour; - - - for both in her private devotion and in the public ministration at church she was in an extraordinary way made sensible of those combustions and disasters, which were to befall, and now for some years past have befallen this sinful nation: - - - first she heard sensibly divers hideous shrieks and outcries as of people oppressed and captivated by enemies: - - - a voice also day and night cried and called to her, even to the interruption of her rest and sleep, saying *treason and death;* - - - - and to her hearing vollies of shot, as if many pistols and muskets had been at once discharged; - - - - a representation also as of a pen writing in a book appearing unto her; - - - - certain rays of glory descending from the heavens in the day-time seemed to irradiate her. - - - She was internally moved and directed to betake herself to fasting and prayer three weeks together, intimating to her that the terrors of the times then ensuing called for such duties: - - - to make her yet more sensible of the things prementioned, while she was at church at public prayer in sermon-time on the Lord's day there appeared plainly and evidently to her view the perfect shape (*r*) of a king's head and face without a body, which looked very pale and wan; which head had a crown, and the crown was all bloody in the circle round about. This bloody crowned head appeared to her once only as aforesaid, continuing in her sight about half an hour; during which apparition she sensibly heard loud and lamentable cries of God's people persecuted both beyond sea, and on this side: she heard"

(*r*) The MS is dated 1644, four years before the King's death, and has internal evidence of being written at that time; so that this circumstance is really extraordinary, unless the reader should suspect that the MS was fraudulently written after the King's death; which I do not suspect.

"also very sensibly, as it were whipping and lashing of them to drive them from the church and their holy profession, accompanied with strange language and foreign nations in a confused manner, as at the celebration of the idolatrous mass, to which a sacring bell seemed to call them; which confused clamour was such as the popish Capuchins made at their solemn superstitious service in Somerset-house, whither about 4 or 5 years since she purposely repaired for her better information in that point. - - - - She heard another time a noise as of much gold and treasure and of all sorts of jewels, with a voice whispering, as it were, and saying these words, *Earl, Bishop* and *cruel Queen;* at which time she called God to witness she knew not of any Earl or Bishop so obnoxious, as appeared afterwards. - - - - Soon after she was earnestly commanded by a celestial voice to notify all these things to the king's Majesty; but fearing to undertake - - - she made a sparing discovery of these things to certain godly Divines in Bristol and elsewhere, - - - At last being arrived at London, she was inwardly moved to address herself to the Court then at Whitehall. - - - - Notwithstanding she had a strong call both inwardly and outwardly to follow the King, whithersoever he went, saying to her *the King, the King, and kingdom is in danger of utter ruin and desolation.* Not long after by her importunity she was admitted at Richmond to his Majesty's royal presence, who graciously received and read her petition, the contents being, that he would be pleased to hear her at large; at which time the Lord Marquis Hambleton was nobly pleased to call her to him, and to bring her to the King; who taking her by the one hand and the Marquis by the other, the King asked her for her writing, - - - but his Majesty being then to take horse rendered her the said writing, saying that he thought she meant well and was a good woman. - - - - She was continually pressed by God's hand upon her to follow the King's Majesty from court to court to her great trouble and no small charge, hiring one to attend her, by water and land till his Majesty's arrival at York, the Scots having then taken Newcastle; - - - - at last by God's providence having found an opportunity, she fell on her knees before him in the"

"She was made sensible in an extraordinary way of treacheries intended against his Majesty's royal person and posterity by Papists and their adherents; unless his Majesty would have complied to their idolatry: and the chief actors against his Majesty were those that were near and close about his royal person, both at bed and board."

"presence-chamber, most humbly beseeching him to hear her relation, which he then utterly refused; it pleased God immediately to discharge her from all further attendance on his Majesty, which release she took as a great favor from God, and thereupon returned to London. - - - Lastly after her fixed residence in these parts and in this city, having found grace and favour with many noble, worthy, zealous Christians - - - - that all God's faithful ministers in suffering might have their freedom and liberty, that so the glorious gospel of Christ might flourish in the plenty and purity thereof - - - - that all good means might be endeavoured and used, that by God's blessing our Queen might be converted." By such a spirit as this, and such persons as are described above, the church of England was overthrown, the form of ecclesiastical affairs was changed, and the best of her Clergy expelled from their benefices.

"There appearing at the same time a dark and black appearance, as it were a cloud overshadowing the place where his Majesty stood."

§ 70. The oppressions exercised by these patrons of liberty against the King's friends, soon produced what might be expected, an attempt among the latter to relieve themselves from their oppressors; and they entered into a combination for that purpose. The two principal authors and conductors of this attempt were Mr. Robert Yeomans, merchant, who had served the office of sheriff in the preceding year 1641-2; and Mr. George Boucher, merchant; their associates amounted to 2000 persons according to their adversaries representation, given below. A short time before the arrival of Col' Essex, Mr. Yeomans had received a commission from the King at Oxford to raise a regiment for his service at Bristol, and he was himself persuaded, that if he had received it earlier, he could have prevented the rebel forces from entering the city at all. Nevertheless he was afterwards very active in fulfilling it; for he not only was the leader of the loyal party above mentioned among the citizens, but he brought over at least four of the officers of the garrison, who had served under Essex, and who were probably offended by his removal; viz Capt' Hilsdon, and Lieut's Marshall, Moore, and Cheyney, to assist him in his design; and his belief was that the greater part of Col' Essex's officers and soldiers were well affected to his majesty, and utterly disap-

proved of their present service: and one of our Calendars speaks of the affair as a plot of Essex's soldiers. To the four officers Mr. Yeomans lent £10 a piece, for without some such sums they said, that they could not bring over the soldiers to their purpose; and Mr. Geo' Boucher drew up an oath expressive of attachment to the King and his cause, which oath he administered to many. Some of the citizens were sent to Oxford several times, where they conferred with the King's friends and with Prince Rupert and with the King himself, who sent Dr. Marks from Oxford more than once, and one Capt' Cockram, who might inquire personally concerning the men and their designs. The King greatly approved of their purpose, and said (as was commonly reported at Oxford) that he would make Bristol a famous city when he got possession of it; and it was at last determined that Prince Rupert should draw his army toward Bristol, and on the night of Tuesday March *7th*, 1642-3, should send a sufficient force to Durdham Down, ready to enter the city, when the signal should be given. That same night the Royalists met at Mr. Robert Yeoman's house in Wine-street, which was on the north side of the street, nearly opposite to the guard-house, having a back door or side door in the lane, where they were to arm, fire-arms and ammunition, swords and clubs being in the house for that purpose. Another party likewise on the same night, to the number of about twenty, (*w*) met at Mr. Geo' Boucher's, who lived in Christmas-street, where arms and ammunition and iron instruments of all sorts were provided, and chains and locks to secure St. John's gate, lest any attack should be made on them by horse from behind: and Mr. Boucher had also forced open the door of St. John's croud, that it might serve as a prison (if necessary) during the assault. Another party met at Mr. Tho' Millard's or Milward's house, who appears to be a person of some authority in St. Michael's parish: and on the same night at the house of one Richard Lucket, apparently in St. Michaell's parish, there met Tho' Stephens and Matthew Stephens and John Pestor, and probably others. Their plan was this: Capt' Hilsdon and Lieut' Moore were that night of the main guard, which was kept at what they called the grand Court of guard, now called the *Guard-house*, in Wine-street; Hilsdon was to go

(*w*) The pamphlet reprinted below, says that there were 160 men collected in Mr. Boucher's house.

the second round about midnight, himself on horseback, wearing a scarlet gippo or coat; and when he and his party, whom he had gained over to his purpose, should come to Froom-gate, they were to seize the guard there, which they would easily do as being unsuspected; beside which Mr. Boucher and his party, coming forth from his house at the same time and following them close, would be ready to give them any assistance which they might want; and Thomas Milward's party at the same time was to come down the hill to the outside of Froom-gate, for the same purpose, and Mercurius Rusticus says that Newgate also was to be seized at the same time. Meanwhile Mr. Yeomans and his company were to go to the guard-house and secure the guard there, which they expected to do peaceably and without bloodshed, expecting no resistance, being so assured by Hilsdon and Moore, which latter would be on the guard at that time: and they were to seize the ordnance there, and scour the streets with them; that is, as I suppose, if Fiennes's troops should assault them. No violence was to be used towards any man, of which the King had given them his word, and had given the same in charge to Prince Rupert; and he had issued a Proclamation to that effect, and promising pardon to all in Bristol, except to Colonel Fiennes, which proclamation was printed at Oxford, and was to have been issued as soon as the king's forces should enter the city, and Mr. Yeomans had an intention to issue the following proclamation; or at least the rebels asserted, that it was found in writing in his house. "All inhabitants of the bridge, high-street and corne-street, keepe within your dores upon paines of your lives. All other inhabitants of this city, that stand for the King, the Protestant Religion, and the liberty of the city, let them forthwith appeare at the high-crosse with such armour as they have for the defence of their wives and children, and follow their leaders for the same defence." As soon as Frome-gate should be in possession of this loyal party, they had agreed to give Prince Rupert notice of their success by ringing out St. Michael's and St. John's bells, which was entrusted to the care of Tho' Milward, and the cavalier troops were then immediately to march up to Frome-gate. The Prince had directed that each man who was their friend should wear a piece of white tape on this occasion, and the word was given by Mr. Yeomans, *Charles*. It was now

ten o'clock at night, and all were anxiously waiting for the appointed time, when Hilsdon and Moore sent word to Mr. Yeomans that their plan was discovered, and directed him instantly to dismiss the men that were in his house. But before this could be accomplished, Capt' Jeremy Buck, being sent on this service by the governor and council of war, with a party of 20 musketeers taken from the guard at the bridge surrounded the house and demanded admittance. The brutal character of this man was manifested by his cruel usage of Mr. Fowler, parson of Minchin-Hampton and his family, in Jan' and July 1643, when he plundered his house, as related in *Mercurius Rusticus*, No. 17. He was therefore a proper person for such an office. Mr. Yeomans after some delay opened the door, and was made prisoner, together with his brother and Mr. Arundel: a scuffle ensued between the soldiers and some masters of ships and sailors who were there; but in fine Capt' Buck having sent for 20 more musqueteers from the guard house, secured 23 persons, many others having escaped out of the top of the house: he took also their arms and a small barrell of gunpowder.

§ 71. In the pamphlet above mentioned (viz. *a full declaration of all particulars, &c.*) (*x*) is the following *short relation of the late bloudy, abominable conspiracy against this city of Bristoll.* "A malignant and traiterous party within this city having long endeavoured to bring in the forces of the enemy into this town, they hoped they had gotten an opportunity to effect their designs on Tuesday last at night, being the *7th* of March; when by their invitation Prince *Rupert* having drawn a great party of horse and dragooners with some foot to *Durdham down*, within one mile of the citie; the enemy before that night; [*sic*] these treacherous and bloody persons within that town had framed a party to fall upon the backs of their guards and to surprize them and cut them, and to let in the enemy; who upon the ringing of two bells viz. *S' Johns* and *S' Nicholas*, were to set upon the town without, as the conspirators were to fall upon the guards within, the ringing of these two bells being a common sign both to them without and within the town for the better effecting of this treacherous and wicked conspiracy. The chief heads thereof"

(*x*) See Catal' G.

"had that night assembled together in their houses those of their confederacy with divers sailers and halliers, with all sorts of arms, musquets, pistolls, swords, clubs, and barrells of old nails to charge the ordinance withal, after they had surprized them: and these several companies under their several leaders were to have fallen upon the several courts of guard. *Mr. Robert Yeomons* who is the head of the conspiracy, and pretends that he had a commission from his Majesty for what he hath done, being to fall upon the main guard; and *Mr. George Butcher*, with his company, was to have fallen upon the guard at *Froom gate*, and to have opened it to have had the enemy to enter by. Others no doubt have had their parts to play; and the better to distinguish themselves from those that were destined to destruction, those of their party had a word, which was CHARLES, and certain marks of *white tape* tied upon their breasts before, and upon their hats behind; and such as were to be spared within doors, had certain marks set upon the inside of their doors. For the rest, if we may believe the speeches of an officer among the enemy's forces, one of them was heard to say, that prince *Rupert* had commanded to give no quarter to man, woman nor child, that had not their marks upon their persons or houses; and that at the same time that they were to fall into the town, the sailers were to set the town on fire in divers places, which (as is conceived) was captain *Boone's* work. But God of his mercy delivered us from this dangerous and develish conspiracy by some notice that we had given us of their meeting at *Yeoman's* house, about an hour or two before the plot should have been put in execution; which was to have been upon the ringing of the bells about one or two of the clock in the morning. Having secured Mr. *Robert Yeomons* and his company, and after Mr. *Boutcher* and his company, the neck of the plot being broken within the town, the enemy without (whose designs, as it should seem, depended much upon it) having shewn themselves before the town, departed the next morning; and so God put a hook in their nostrils and commanded them back again; for which great mercy for delivering us from a dangerous invasion from the enemy from without, and a damnable plot and conspiracy of some traiterous inhabitants within the city, both this town and the whole kingdom, so"

"far as it is concerned in the preservation of this city, have great cause to give thanks to Almighty *God*, unto whom alone the praise is due."

§ 72. Major Langrish in his letter quoted above gives the following account of this transaction. "At ten at night we had intelligence, that the malignants of the city had meetings in several houses thereof, namely, at one *Yeoman's* house: whereupon our Capt' *Buck* with some foot, and I with a party of horse were sent thither; where we found 24 persons that stood upon their guards at the said Captain's entrance thereunto; but when they saw my party and said that I had sent for a canon to batter the house, they yielded; and laying down their arms I conveyed them all to the Castle. But as I went thither with them, one of them told me, that if I would have compassion on him, he would impart to me some things of importance: whereupon I told him I would, and bid him relate what he had to say, and if it were of consequence he should find favour. And hereupon he told me, that divers of their party were assembled at one *Butcher's*, near Froome-gate, that night, and would do mischief, if they were not prevented; so that I went thither in all haste, having delivered up my first prisoners. But as I approached near to the said house, I saw some of Capt' *Goodier's* soldiers breaking open the door, and why? because they of the house would hang out no lights upon this alarm. Who entering thereinto, we found at least 60 men well armed, whereof we could take that night but six, by means of a back door, through the which, as also through a river, they escaped: but I have taken many of them since; and what these men should have done, you may see by the narrative that I herewithal send unto you; and who are the principal conspirators, you shall likewise know by the list that you shall likewise receive therewithall. But we have discovered, that there were at least 2000 confederates thereunto; and you shall know more of their names very suddenly, but many of them are of the parishes near adjacent to this city."

§ 73. Prince Rupert had brought an army on Monday from Basingstoke, or thereabout, as far as Sodbury; on Tuesday he advanced as far as Westbury, Horfield, and Durdham Down; and that night he

had a party ready at the gallows on St' Michael's hill; but hearing of the ill success of his friends within, he thought it expedient to withdraw his forces. Instead of this, had he instantly made a brisk assault, it would probably have been successful; for the garrison must have been in extreme alarm, and their number was not sufficient for resistance. They had "at that time (*y*) two regiments of foot, Col' Essex's and Col' Popham's, and almost a whole regiment of horse: yet the extent of this scattering city, commanded by many hills, and the conspiring multitude within it, enforced all our men at once to do duty; so that we had been undone by watching over our safety, if the enemy had bin able to persist." Fiennes in his (*z*) letter to his father says, Col' Essex's regiment was something distempered by their Colonell's removall, especially the officers, - - - - and the other regiments being raw souldiers, and hardly having one old souldier among them all. Even had the Prince failed in his assault, the garrison were in no condition to pursue him; his troops might still have retired without risque, as they actually did. As they marched away, some shot were fired at them from the Fort on St. Michael's-hill, by which a horse and two men were killed on Durdham Down. This march and retreat of Prince Rupert is related in the latter part of Serjeant-Major Langrish's letter (*a*) mentioned above, as follows. "Whilst these our forces were absent, we [heard] on Sunday the fifth of this said March, that Prince Robert [Rupert] was at Salisbury, with an army of 5000 men, marching this way. Some said more; but for certain there came and presented themselves before this city on Wednesday the *8th* of this moneth at least 4000 horse and foote, but with very few carriages: some of his forces appeared the evening before on *Durdham Downe*, so that all stood upon our guards." [Then follows his account of the discovery of Mr. Yeomans's plot, copied above.] "When I had convoyed those that were in *Butcher's* house likewise to the prison, I was commanded by my Colonell to send a party of horse and dragooners to give an alarm to some of the prince's forces, that were quartered neare unto Capt' *Hill's* house; the which I did about 4 of the clock in the morning, the partie consisting of twentie horse and"

(*y*) Fiennes's Relation. See Catalogue G. (*z*) In Black Letter, 1642. (*a*) See Catal' G.

" the like number of dragooners, who went neere to the said house, and seeing a fire neere thereunto, the commander thereof sent some six of them, who went neere unto the said fire, and gave fire upon them that were about it; who defended not themselves but run away to their rendezvouze at *Dordon downe*, where their body of horse appeared then [on] Wednesday morning by seven of the clock, in sight of our fort made on *Brandon-hill*, where our governor then was, and caused three shot to be made at them, whereby (as is reported) some eminent men were slain: but sure we are that one white horse was there killed: and thereupon the whole body wheeled about, and marched away: whereof I being advertised with the colonell's consent sent some small parties after them; whereof one being but of four troopers, encountered with seven of the enemies, and those men of qualitie: but they fled after the first pistoll discharged by our men; but yet not so fast, but that two of them were constrained to swimme to save their lives, and to leave their horses, pistols, and rich coates behind, with the horses coates and pistols of two others that saved themselves in woods, so that of seven but three went off. But if we may give credit to the trumpeter that came hither the Thursday following, to demand two dead bodies, we must say that two of them were killed; one of them a *Weston*, and another, whose name it is thought he had order to conceale. But whilst we were thus in some danger and distress, we implored often the assistance of *Sir Will' Waller;* but his engagements were such, that he came not hither till Monday night the 13*th* of this month, and stayed here till Sunday the 19*th*." - - - - [The remainder relates only to the concerns of his own troop.] " More I have not to say at present; but that our governour continues to fortify this place, and to secure the countries adjacent with as much care and industry, as can be required; and that I shall manifest myself to be a faithfull souldier, and your Honour's most obedient and humble Servant, *Hercules Langrish*."

" From Bristol, the last of March 1643."

§ 74. How this loyal intention came to be discovered, is not precisely related. Prynne says, that it was discovered by one Dobbins to Clement Walker. Mr. Barrett writes (p' 227) that "it was discovered"

"by some tattling females, who were active on the Parliament's side, the night before;" which he had probably received from tradition. The principals appear to have been very incautious in the conduct of their enterprize: they entrusted the time and other particulars of it's execution to a number of persons, some of them apparently very improper for such confidence; they held frequent meetings at the Rose Tavern, which could not fail of exciting suspicions; and Mr. Yeomans's house, being very near to the guard-house, was unfit for a place of rendezvous. They seem to have been too confident of success, and trusted too much to the disaffection of Col' Essex's companies, and to what they believed to be the general sentiment of the citizens in favour of the King; and were not sufficiently aware of the personal danger which they incurred, because hitherto no example had occurred, wherein either party had put their adversaries to death by form of trial. The prisoners were carried to the Castle, and kept in close and rigorous confinement, even chained by their necks and feet in a dungeon without fire or light, and debarred from any communication with their friends and families. Fiennes received public thanks by a letter from both Houses; and afterward having received a commission from the Earl of Essex by order of Parliament, he called a council of war, of which he himself was by that commission appointed president: and a special direction and order was sent to him, that he (*b*) should with all severity and expedition proceed against the conspirators. After having undergone frequent examinations, they were brought to trial before Fiennes and his council of war at the house (*c*) of Lady Rogers [at the house of Mr. Rob' Rogers, *Barr'*] at the Bridge-end, which was probably at that time a tavern, as it certainly was soon after. On May 8*th* Mr. Yeomans was there tried upon articles exhibited against him by Prynne's associate, Clement Walker. This man (*d*) was born at Cliffe in Dorsetshire, and died A' D' 1651. He was the author of many books, chiefly political, written against all parties, each in turn. His chief work is the *history of Independency*. He had been brought up a lawyer, and was a scholar, as I suppose, for one of his books is written in Latin. He had been Usher of the Exchequer, and now acted as Advocate to this vile court, and had beside a military command in

(*b*) Clarendon. (c) Rushworth. (*d*) See Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica.

the garrison. The court had no difficulty in finding him guilty, and condemned him to be hanged. In like manner Mr. Geo' Boucher was on May 22 brought before them, tried and condemned: and so were Mr. Will' Yeomans, and Mr. Edw' Dacres. The King was exceedingly distressed, when he heard that these loyal persons were condemned to die, and by his command the Earl of Forth, Lord Lieutenant of his forces, wrote a letter from Oxford to Col' Fiennes, in which he threatened to retaliate on those prisoners, who had been taken in arms against his Majesty. But Fiennes knew too well the advantage of his situation: he had in his own custody in the castle of Bristol at that time Sir Walter Pye, Sir Will' Crofts, Col' Connesby and many others of the King's friends; and in general the prisoners taken by the rebels were of the best blood in England, men of gentle and noble families; whereas those which the King held were for the most part persons of no account or degree. Confident in this advantage Fiennes retorted the threat; and the King after one more ineffectual attempt, whereby he endeavoured to make the Mayor and other magistrates raise the power and strength of the city for their rescue, was forced to submit: and lastly the Mayor and Aldermen also interceded for them, but in vain. From the day of their condemnation these unfortunate gentlemen were treated with encreased severity and indignity; they were confined in filthy dungeons, and denied the most common necessaries, even food; insomuch that Mr. Yeomans on the morning of his execution fainted in his prison and was supposed to be dying. Fiennes forbore to put the sentence in execution, till he had acquainted the two Houses and their General with it; and then by his command according to a vote of the House of Commons he proceeded.

§75. May 30, 1643, Mr. Robt' Yeomans and Mr. Geo' Boucher were brought out from the castle to undergo the punishment to which that infamous court had condemned them. Fiennes, whose subsequent conduct proved him a very coward, was not without apprehensions for the event; for the two prisoners were of the first repute and honour in the city, much and generally beloved; and the citizens were now highly irritated, that such men should be condemned, and their own lives subjected to the tyranny of a council of war, composed partly of some

of the meanest and basest men of their own town; he therefore ordered all the gates of the city to be shut, and filled the streets with his troops. The gallows was erected in Wine-street, not far from the main guard-house; the place may easily be ascertained by comparing several of the Calendars. The middle of the widest part of Wine-street was at that time occupied by a shed or pentice containing stalls and a corn-market; the exact spot was at the western end of this pentice, opposite to the Nag's Head Tavern, which is the fifth house from the corner house (including both houses) between Wine-street and High-street; and as if to sharpen their cruelty by the most unfeeling insult, nearly opposite to Mr. Yeomans's own house, which was on the northern side of the street. The manner of their execution, their piety and loyalty, and the inhumanity of their persecutors are so well and truly related in the cotemporary pamphlet (*e*) below § 83 that it would be hazardous to attempt any other description. Such was this execrable tragedy acted at Bristol on Tuesday May 30, 1643: Mr. Yeomans left eight small children, and his wife great with child: Mr. Boucher left a widow and seven children: the bodies of both were interred that same night, Mr. Yeomans at (*f*) Christ church, Mr. Bowcher at St' Werburgh's. Mr. Yeomans, in all the cotemporary writers is called a merchant, and the circumstance that masters of ships and sailors were found in his house on that unfor-

(*e*) Catalogue 42 K.

(*f*) In March 1814, when the workmen were opening the ground in St. Maryport church, under the monumental tablet of Mr. William Little, at about 15 feet below the surface they found a leaden coffin, which being opened was found to enclose the body of a man cloathed in his ordinary apparel, except coat and shoes, his linen was fine and his whole appearance that of a person of good condition. An indented mark there was on the back part of the neck, which gave some persons who saw him a suspicion that he died by strangulation. An idea was immediately taken up without any other foundation that this was the body of Mr. Yeomans, and the report rapidly spread through every part of the city: although the fact seems certain, that Mr. Y. was buried at Christ church. What is really extraordinary in this affair is this, that the body, to whomsoever it belonged, was certainly deposited there before the memory of man, and yet it was perfect and sound in most parts, both internal and external; and would have served the purpose of a Lecturer in Anatomy: the features were scarcely impaired, and the colour, on the back part of the body at least, little changed: the linen was not at all decayed, and the waistcoat pockets, which my informant searched bore his examination as any other would. I regret to say that the body was mutilated in a very dishonourable manner, as too frequently happens in such cases: surely it is not decent for the sake of such trifling information, as is contained in this note (and it is seldom that any thing of greater moment is discovered) to break up the abodes of the dead, and to violate one of the most useful and generous affections of humanity.

tunate night confirms that he was so. Yet whereas an apprentice of his is mentioned, a youth of 15 or 16 years old, it is probable that he was also a tradesman; especially since at that time there were few tradesmen in Bristol of respectability, who were not also engaged in commerce. He is described as a man of high and generous spirit, fit for great affairs, attached to church and king, as he proved to his cost, and as far as can be judged from his conduct at the close of his life, a man of piety. Mr. Boucher was certainly a religious man, for at the awful moment of his death, when Rosewell acknowledged *his strict conversation and his life spent in the profession of religion*, we may be sure that this acknowledgment was unwillingly extorted from that hard-hearted, canting hypocrite, by the notoriety of Mr. Boucher's character. Mr. Edward Dacres and Mr. William Yeomans were probably pardoned by Fiennes, as he gives reason to suppose in his answer to the Earl of Forth: probably he made them pay dearly for their lives; for Prynne in his letter to him charges him with hanging two citizens and ransoming others.

§ 76. One part of this atrocious transaction remains to be mentioned. To the governor and his associates no doubt the most agreeable part of the whole affair was to hunt out and seize the property of the conspirators. This we may be assured they did with their accustomed keenness; and when Fiennes mentions £3000. to be all that he could get from the estates of the whole party, as related above § 62, we cannot but suspect, that this was the sum which he chose to bring to the public account, and that a large surplus must have remained unaccounted for in his own hands. - - - - He published the following order. "It is this day ordered by a Councel of Warre (with direction to be published); That whosoever either in the city or country have or shall have in their hands any goods or estates belonging to the late bloody conspirators of *Bristoll*, whose names are hereunto annexed, who endeavoured to cut off the garrisod there, and let in Prince *Rupert's* plundering forces, or shall know where any of their goods are and conceale the same; or hath or shall helpe to carry any of them away; or whosoever hath or oweth any debts, rents, annuities or summes of money, to any of the said conspirators, and shall not in some convenient time after the publishing"

" hereof make known the same to the Governour of the city of *Bristoll*, shall undergo and suffer the same penalty and forfeiture in their own goods, estates and persons, as men adherent to them, which are or shall be inflicted upon the same conspirators. And whosoever, servant or other, that shall discover or make knowne to the said Governour any of the concealed goods, estates, rents, amunities or summes of money to or of the said conspirators belonging, whereby the said goods, debts or summes of money shall come unto our possession for the service of the King, Parliament and Kingdome, shall have a good reward." Then follows a list of the conspirators. - - - - The three following letters, relating many particulars not found elsewhere, are worth transcribing: they are to be found in one of the parliamentary publications abovementioned, which beside these three contains also a letter from Col' Fiennes to his father on the same subject, in Bl' Lett'. (*g*) " Sir, I cannot omit to give you a hint of our condition, and what hath passed among us this weeke. On Sunday night last we had an alarum. Prince *Rupert* with a force was come against the city with some two thousand horse, as is reported, accompanied with his brother Prince *Maurice*, and Lord *George Digby* and other Noblemen: they came with confidence of an easy entrance, and therefore brought no great guns; they expected supply from our Malignants, which it seems was promised. On Monday they faced our workes, where Colonel *Fines* sounded a trumpet, having with him only a troope of horse: at night they retreated, and next day being Tuesday, they appeared againe, waiting the issue of a treasonable plot, which some of our wretched citizens had assured to performe. This, and Sir *Wm' Waller's* not coming, together with the advantage of a good part of our forces gone to Sherborne, and our works not finished, of all which they had a dayly accompt) made them build upon an easy conquest. On Tuesday night, whilst the city was in a continued alarum, it pleased God so to blesse the painfull watchfull diligence of Colonel *Fines*, that the treason was discovered, and the chiefe actors taken with all their preparation; which is one *Robert Yeomons*, one of the Sheriffes the last yeere; and *George Butcher*, both merchants, who are now"

(*g*) See Catal' 42 L.

"imprisoned in the castle with many more: others are fled, and since seene in the King's army, and some are hid, and every day new ones discovered and secured. I cannot write you now at large, they being this day in examination; but in briefe it was thus: they had concealed many armed men in houses, and fitted them with all things necessary to the worke: there is found with one of them a copy of the actor's names, which was sent the army, and such others as must be protected; all others were to be left unto the spoile; the first two sorts were to have a white incle in their bosomes and upon their armes. The plot itselfe was to set upon the sentinells, and the court of guard at *Frome-gate* and the *Pitty-gate:* and to doe it quietly, they had the conveiance of the back side of the house to bring on their men, who must come together at the towling of a bell in three churches; St. *Nicholas'* bell for the butchers, St. *John's* bell for the sailors, and St. *Michael's* bell to bring down the cavaliers. My house must be the first to be forced for the keyes, which at that time I was without upon speciall occasion. Which when it came to the hearing of the King's army, they were not a little angry, and are now withdrawne; how farre, we yet know not, but the snare is broken and we are escaped, blessed be the Lord. This doth require a day set apart for thanksgiving, and we have now resolved upon it. I am sorry my son remains so weake, yet I hope wee shall enjoy him longer amongst us. I must conclude and take my leave, resting your's assured R' A'."

"Bristoll this of March 1642."

The preceding letter, from it's internal evidence, is unquestionably from the disloyal pen of *Richard Aldworth*, the Mayor.

§ 77. The next letter is *From the Fort at Brandon-hill, March* 11, 1642.—"Sir, yours by the post I have received with my bill of exchange, for which I give you many thanks for your paines therein. As for your businesse with the Alderman, I must intreat your patience till the next conveniance. It is so, that my captaine, myselfe and all our company have bin here to keepe this fort this three dayes and two nights without reliefe: it is somewhat hard duty for fresh-water souldiers, but wee are all willing to doe it, because the time doth necessarily require it. Upon Tuesday the seventh of this moneth Prince *Robert*, Prince *Maurice*, and"

"my Lord *George Digbie* with 4000 horse and 2000 foot came and presented themselves with their forces upon *Durdam Downe* within cannon shot of this fort. And now I shall give you a relation of a treason as horrible, as detestable, and setting aside but the greatnesse of persons, as bloody as the gunpowder treason, and ought especially by us of this place to be taken notice of, and yearely to be celebrated with praise and thanksgiving to the great Protector unto eternity. The plot was thus. Our grand malignants to God and their country had combined with the forces aforesaid to draw neere the city, and had promised them to asist them with 16 peeses of ordnance or more, as occasion should serve. These guns were to be brought unto them by 500 seamen from our Pill, where the ships ly, and these men were to joyne with them for our confusion. Now within the city Master *Robert Yeomans* that night had gotten into his house privately between 50 and 60 men, some merchants like himselfe, others seamen, and all rogues; their number I believe was to be greater; but God did discover the plot, ere it came to the height. These men in the night were upon the towle of a bell at St. *Nicholas* to come out of his house and joyne with a regiment of butchers and mecanicks, that would come up to the high-crosse; and they to kill the centinell, and goe possesse themselves of the main guard, and so to hinder all that side of the city over the bridge from comming to their succor. Then at *Froome-gate* Master *George Boucher* he had another crew of like vermine, that upon the towle of St. *John's* bell, which was to be at the same instant of time, they were to joyne with a company of seamen, and set upon the guard at *Froome-gate*, and all to be put to the sword that came within their reach. They having possession of these two guards, a bell was to towle at *Milehill*, to give notice that the cavaliers should draw down to *Froome-gate;* and ere they should come, some from the guard should goe and breake open the Maior's doore and kill him and his, take away the citie keyes, and let in these destroyers: so that now by this post you might have heard of the tragical end of all your acquaintance; for we found in some of the actors possession white inckle strings about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an ell long, and every one that was to live should wear one in his hat before and another in his bosome: those"

"that wanted it were to be massacred by pistols or swords without mercy. The discovery of this was miraculous. Some poor body or other came to our company which guarded the bridge that night, and acquainted us that they saw some men goe into Master *Yeomans'* house at ten or neere eleven a clock at night. Whereupon halfe our company with a troope of horse went to the house, and found the men, as I have formerly related, with many pistols and muskets ready charged. These men were presently sent away to the castle; and that night the company at Butcher's house were taken, which hindered the towling of our knell; and the next day we fell to work roundly, and have clapt up all the malignants we know.—On Wednesday the enemy had notice of the plot's discovery, which made them retreat, and as I am informed Prince *Robert* went away weeping. For certain he was so incensed against the parties that promised asistance and failed him, that he would speedily return with ordnance and be revenged on altogether. He is retreated towards *Cicester:* I pray God convert him, but not turne him.—Upon Thursday last in the afternoon, Prince *Robert's* trumpeter came to towne, and we all thought it was to summon the city, but proved otherwise. I was present with Col' *Fynes*, when he came in, and his message was from the Prince to the Colonell, to enquire after two gentlemen, which he said a partie of horsemen had set upon, and either taken or killed; the one's name was *Weston*, the other *Wheton*, both gentlemen of qualitie. The Colonell's answer was, he had no such prisoners of that name; but told him that on Tuesday night three of his troope set upon seven of their company, and tooke four of their horses, two cloakes, and some pistols, and that the men swimmed for their lives, no man ever seeing them after they entered the river; so that it's probable they are drowned. I have been tedious in this relation, and all because I would truly possess you with all the passages. And now what remaines, but to crave your thankfulnesse to the Almighty for this our great deliverance; and the Lord grant wee may never be unmindfull to render unto him praise and thankfulnesse for it. All your friends are in good health heere: your father I hear not of. So for the present I take leave, and rest

"Your assured loving friend E. H."

"Pray acquaint my brother with what I write you."

§ 78. The last in this pamphlet is "*A letter written by a Reverend Minister now residing in Bristoll to a friend of his in London.*"— "Loving friend, I could doe no lesse than impart to you the wonderfull and miraculous goodnesse of our gracious God in preserving this citie of *Bristol* from a most bloudy plot to be put in execution upon the souldiers and well-affected in the city, which was on this manner. Your brother, the Captaine, being appointed to watch with his whole band of souldiers at a gate in *Bristol* called *Froome-gate* on Munday, Tuesday and Wednesday nights and dayes, and being diligent to see all his men in readinesse, walks up and downe within his guard, as well to prevent the enemies without, approaching neerer and neerer the citie, even to a place called *Durdome Downe*, within two miles of the citie; as the malignants within the citie from effecting their plots; which we did alwayes feare, but now were persuaded were neerer to be put in execution by reason of the enemies so neere approach towards the walls of the citie and bending toward that very gate. It happened through the mightie providence of Almightie God, that when the Captaine commanded all the inhabitants of that street to hang out their lights by reason of the darknesse of the night, and his souldiers were beating at their doores to that purpose, that one *Bucher's* house, a merchant of great wealth was without light; at whose doore when they knocked, they would make no answer, as if there were no person at all in the house: upon which it pleased God to put it in the Captaine's minde, finding by inquirie that there had beene some that entered the day before, to suspect those persons that were in the house to be Malignants, because they would not hang out their lights. Whereupon the Captaine commanded his men to breake up their doores: and when hee and his men were entered into the house they found about threescore men readie with their armes; of whom they apprehended twentie three, and the rest ran out at a water-gate on the backside of the house, and went away through the water, it being low tyde, and made an escape." [From this description of the situation of Mr. *Boucher's* house, it seems to have been that which adjoins Froom-bridge aliàs Christmas-street-bridge, on the side nearest to St. John's church, the house is built with a court in the middle, having two or three large freestone pillars to support one side:

on the side opposite to the entrance is a large room looking into the river, lately used as a school room; the entrance of which is by a narrow passage out of the street.] "And searching afterwards they found great store of armes, muskets readie charged, with some seven and some ten bullets apeece; their pannes primed with brimstone and powder mingled together that they might not misse fire; their linkes readie by them, their powder papered out, and all things readie for the designe, which should have been put in execution within an hour after this time of their apprehension. And the method of their plot was this: they having many dayes before kept in pay great numbers of armed men in severall parts of the citie, which men consisted for the most part of saylers, butchers, halliers, and such like; that upon the touling of the bell of St. *John's* and other certain bells appointed by the conspirators, the Malignants of *Bristol* at a certaine houre appointed that very morning should issue forth at Froome-gate in speciall, and at divers other gates of the citie upon all the souldiers at their severall centuries, to murther them and then seize upon the ordnance, and make good *Froome-gate* for the entrance of the enemie into the citie at the ringing of a bell, who lay within a mile and an halfe of the citie, expecting every minute when they should have been let in; and as soone as they had entered the citie, they were to cut the throats of all persons in the citie, which had not the marke and word, secretly dispersed through the citie, to save some that the enemie favoured: the marke was a white ribond or white incle on their brest, and the word was *King Charles*. The Captaine the next morning tooke *Bucher* himselfe, and tooke *Herbert* a merchant, a Malignant, and divers other chiefe merchants of the citie. *Herbert's* boy and *Bucher's* maid, being taken at *Bucher's* house, have fully confessed the plot, and about an hundred of the complotters are taken and in close prison. Now when the enemie found that the plot was discovered and prevented, though they had drawne their forces so near the citie, immediately they withdrew and retyred toward *Ciceter;* and now we hope we shall settle the citie in a very safe way. Thus much I thought good to impart to you, that you may know the certaintie of the businesse; and thus in hast desiring your prayers, I remaine your loving friend."

§ 79. It would be inexcusable to dismiss this story of unsuccessful loyalty without recording the names (as far as they can be recovered) of those who stood up in this patriotic cause. Some of the present inhabitants of Bristol may perhaps find their ancestors in this honourable Catalogue; *si quid mea carmina possint, nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo.* There is a long list of their names in the pamphlet *(a full declaration of all particulars)*, to which I have made some additions marked * out of Fiennes's proclamation, and *Prynne* and others, and have arranged them all alphabetically.

James Abbotte.
Edmund Arundell, merchant.
*William Beane [perhaps William Deane.]
GEORGE BOUCHER, merchant; he lived in Christmas-street, near Froom-gate.
*John Boucher, merchant, son of Nathaniel Boucher.
*Young Mr. John Boucher, son of Geo' Boucher; apparently an Oxford scholar.
Rev. Mr. Brent.
Francis Belcher, soap-boiler.
Thomas Barret, cutler.
Philemon [al' Philip] Barrow.
*Captain Boone.
Edward Boone [perhaps the same as the next.]
Edward Bounde.
John Broadway [or Bradway], vintner.
Mr. Brooks, of St. Michael's.
Cornelius Broadway [or Bradway.]
Mr. Thomas Bursell [or Bursill.]
Robert Blackborrough, brewer.
Rob' Browne, of Clifton.
Laurence Browne.
Thomas Browne.
Joseph Browne.
Griffin Batten.
Nathaniel Blaunch.

*John Casly.
John Cosbie.
John Collins.
John Carey, cooper.
*Capt' T' Cole or Coale, of St. Augustin's, who offered to make a bridge of lighters across the quay, that the Prince's soldiers, horse and foot, might more easily come into the city. (*Mem.* Neither the Draw-bridge nor St. Giles's bridge was then built.)
*Mr. William Coleston [or Coulson] and his brother.
Mr. Edward Capell.
*Young Walter Cowley or Cowling, a practitioner in medicine under Mr. Bennett.
William Coxe, of Long-Ashton.
John Councell.
*N' Cule.
*William Dabber [from Fiennes' proclamation, where the names are very ill written or printed.]
William Deane.
*Edmund Dacres, or Daker, plumber.
*Mr. Edward Dacres, perhaps the same [probably brothers and partners, as plumbers.]
*John Dimmock, [or Dymmut] carpenter.
Capt' Doughtie.
Nathaniel Dowles.
Robert Doule [al' Robert Dowlesse.]
William Evans.
*Mr. Fitzherbert.
Toby Goodyar, [or Goodier.]
*Ephraim Goody or Goodyar, a goldsmith.
Richard Grigson.
John Goodman.
Mr. Green, lawyer, Steward of Bristol [perhaps Steward of the Sheriff's Court.]
The two Haynes's, William and John, halliars, in Halliar's lane, both sons to Widow Haynes.

Richard Howell.
Thomas Heyman, merchant, in St. Augustine's.
Thomas Hilman.
Edward Hungerford.
Edward Hunt.
*The two Herbert's.
Edward James, a rope maker.
William Joanes [or Jones.]
*Richard Lacket or Lucket, a cooke.
Edmund Lewes.
Mr. Thomas Milward or Millard, or Miller, of St. Michael's.
Dr. Markes.
Thomas Martin.
John Nickins, a trunk-maker.
William Oubler.
William Pope.
John Peverell, [al' John Potrell.]
Henry Priest.
*Mr. John Pestor, appointed by Mr. Yeomans to be one of his Captains.
Capt' Bounde Rich.
Henry Russell.
John Rowden.
Thomas Redding.
Rowland Searchfield, merchant.
John Swetman.
James Sterry, [perhaps Terrey.]
*Nathaniel Streete, a tyler.
Thomas Stephens.
Mathew Stephens.
Robert Taylor.
Edward Taylor.
The two Tristram's, brothers; John, a chaundler [or sopemaker] and William.

* Mr. George Teague or Teige.
John Taylor, merchant.
John Taylor, ropemaker.
* James Terrey.
* Mr. John Throupe, or Thruppe, Gent'.
John Tilly, mercer.
James Thomas.
* Young Mr. Towgood, an Oxford scholar, son of the Rev. Mr. Towgood, Vicar of St. Nicholas.—Mr. Towgood's house was searched, and it was said by the rebels that they found there papers, which discovered the whole plot, and arms, and between £3000. and £4000. in money.
John Waldon [al' Waldron,] hornmaker.
* Thomas Vaymond.
John Williams, hatter, in Broad-street.
* Mr. Weeks.—Duk' Weekes immediately after *Essex's* removal rode through Cirencester to Neford, to invite Prince Rupert to Bristol.
Samuel Warin [or Warne].
ROBERT YEOMANS, merchant, in Wine-street.
*William Yeomans, merchant, brother to Robert Yeomans.
* Richard Yeomans, grasiar.

All of whom (or at least the greater part) with others to the number of 100 in all, were apprehended and imprisoned in the castle March 7, or soon after. Fiennes in his letter to his father, dated March 11, says, "the prisoners in the castle are well neere 60." To the list contained in the pamphlet above is subjoined the following note. "Besides these mentioned of certaine knowledge, there are at least 2000 in the city, suburbs, and country adjacent, that were confederates in the forenamed conspiracy."

§ 80. Fiennes and his rebellious associates being secure from present danger, endeavoured to justify themselves before the world by publishing in pamphlets fabricated accounts of the late transaction, accusing Mr. Yeomans and his friends of having contrived a conspiracy

more barbarous than the far-famed gunpowder plot, and of having intended to overthrow the Protestant religion, and to murder all who would not join them: and to compleat their hypocrisy, they published an ordinance for a thanksgiving to God for the deliverance of the city. And he says in a letter to his father "the Major, Aldermen, and Councell of this city are very desirous to joyn with me in a day of publike thanksgiving in this city."

§ 81. Having given a general account of this cruel and unnecessary murder, my readers will not be displeased to see the original relations of it, as given by both parties. "The first is "*a brief* (*h*) *relation of a most hellish*" &c. It is one of the Parliamentary pamphlets mentioned above, (*i*) and abounds (as usual) with falsity and misrepresentation.— "Sir, I shall acquaint you of the happy discovery and prevention (by the wonderful mercy and goodness of God) of a most hellish, cruel and bloudy plot, very little before it should have been put in execution, hatched and contrived by and between the Malignants of this city, Prince *Rupert* and his brother *Maurice*, *George* Lord *Digby*, their fellow cavalliers, sonnes of *Belial* and others of that accursed crew, who with an army of ten thousand of horse and foot of their own forces and malignants, they rouled up in their march, advanced almost to the very walls of this city. Upon Monday the sixth of this instant *March* they came to *Chipping Sodbury*; from thence upon *Tuesday* the next day they marched to *Westbury*, *Horrill* and *Durdon-hill*, which is within a mile of this town: who could not be so ignorant as to promise to themselves any hopes of entrance by sudden assault but by surprisall and trechery, confidently presuming on the malignant party within, that first invited them hither: a design more damnable then the Powder treason, and more barbarous and cruell than the massacre of France, being destroyers of their own liberties, and supplanters and overthrowers of the same religion that they themselves pretend to professe. The agreement between the chavaliers and the malignants here in this city was, that about eleven of the clock on *Tuesday* night, a house near unto *Froome-*"

(*h*) See Catalogue 42, H. (*i*) See Catalogue A.

"*gate* was to be blowne up; which was to give warning to the chavaliers to make their onset, who against that hour were to draw down into the city; and Prince *Robert* with his army came so nigh as the gallows. A bell at *St. John's* church on a hill above the gates was to toule; another bell at *St. Michael's* church upon the hill above the Green was to ring, to give notice to the malignants of this town to rise in an instant. Sufficient parties were made to have forced all the courts of guards, thereby to have let the cavalliers in without opposition. For that purpose there were in readinesse in the house of Master *George Butcher* of *Christmasse-street*, a new made captaine for this design, about 160 armed men; and in the house of Master *Robert Yeomans*, who was one of the Sheriffs of this city the last year, four and twenty men ready to put themselves in arms which they had; the one to surprise the main guard, the other the guard at *Froome-gate*, and to let in those blood-sucking chavaliers: two other bells were to toule at the same time to give notice to the malignants to rise in all parts of the city. Both Monday and Tuesday white peeces of inkle were given to divers, and to the better sort of people ribbins, who did wear them in their bosoms and hats for distinction; and all that had not the word *Charles* or those marks were to be put to the sword, murthered and destroyed: besides, divers houses in many places of the city were marked with white chalk, who were designed to utter ruin and destruction. The business is not as yet fully examined; but this and much more is confessed by the principle and maine plotters of this wicked design. I want time to give you a perfect relation; you shall speedily have a fuller and better account, as soon as we have a little recovered ourselves out of these distractions: for the present here is enough to stir you up to joyne with us in the admiration of God's infinite goodness and mercy to us, and to give God his glory and prayse for this wounderfull and gracious deliverance, that hath preserved so many thousands of us that were innocent and sold and almost given up into the hands of these cruell and bloud-thirsty men."

"The chiefe actors of this mischievous design were the aforesaid *Robert Yeomans* and *George Butcher*, Mr. *John Taylor*, Mr. *Colestone* and his brother, Mr. *Fitzherbert*, two *Colsons*, the two *Herberts*, *N' Cule*, *E' Arundle*, Mr. *Caple*, and Capt' *Cole* of *St. Augustine's;* who with at"

"least one hundred more actors and accessories are already taken and imprisoned in the castle, and hourly more are discovered and secured: many of them upon examination have confessed the plot to be in manner as before is described; and that threescore families of men, women, and children were to be put to the sword without quarter, given in upon a note. *Twogood's* house was searched, and therein were found many papers that did discover the whole plot, and between three and four thousand pounds in money and plate, and twenty muskets charged with bullets, besides divers instruments to murther and destroy with cruelty, such as wee never saw before."

A Postscript. "Prince *Rupert* and his army marched away, as soon as their plot was discovered."

§ 82. *The copy of another letter written by a Captaine in the city of Bristoll to a friend in London.*—"Sir, I received yours dated the 7*th* present, &c. I shall now relate unto you the unspeakable mercy of the Lord to this city in preserving it this last week from the cavaliers without, but above all from a most damned conspiracy of malignants, who had designed us all to slaughter and massacre. On Sunday last hearing of the cavaliers marching from *Basingstoke* or thereabouts, and making their course towards us, Colonell *Fines*, our governour, whose diligence is indefatigible, and his successe prosperous, made all the preparations that could be to entertain them with powder and bullets, mounted ordnance good store, every where was needful, whereof two upon a new mount or fort made upon the hill about a mile from the heart of the city, and there hath kept a good strong court of guard. The same night the governour gave us a false alarm about one of the clock in the night, to try our readiness to be in arms; and in a short space our men were all at their colours, and remained there all Monday; at night all guards were doubled, and some trebled. On Tuesday we heard of the enemies approaching within five or six miles about us on *Glocestershire* side, but on *Somersetshire* none, by reason *Kensome* bridge was by order of a councell of war broken down. On Wednesday [Tuesday] toward the evening we did descry them from the castle to draw to *Durdum Down*, about half a mile from our new fort, and we had intelli-"

"gence of hey and provisions brought thither; and there they remained and made fires upon the Down till the morning, expecting the malignants in the town to play their exploit; and cut the throats of the main guard and the guard at *Frome-gate*, and there to let them in, who should have notice by the ringing of the bels of St. *John's* and St. *Michael's*. But see God's infinite mercy, how it was prevented but a little before the time of execution. We were many of us at a councel of war with the governour and about one of the clock one brought us intelligence, that there were many met together at Mr. *Robert Yeomans* house in consultation: and immediately was sent Captain *Buck* with forty musketiers to surprize them; who comming to the doore, *Yeomans* hearing of it came to him, and swore deeply there were none in the house, but his own family: but they pressing to search were encountered with men upon the stairs, that stood upon their guard, and threatened the death of any man that offered to come up: the other charged them to lay down their arms and submit, or they would give fire upon them; who seeing themselves overpowered immediately submitted, and there they apprehended twenty and four of them: more there were certainly, but they got away over the gutters of the house. These twenty four were prepared for slaughter of the main guard, and were provided with pistols and other weapons for present surprize; and immediately upon their taking they were sent by a strong guard to the castle, where they now are in irons, and 51 more of the great Malignants, many whereof are found to have a hand in this plot. One amongst the rest is one *Butcher*, who was designed for *Frome-gate*, neere to which his house is; but all the men that he had provided were not found, in regard that his house was not searched a good while after *Yeomans:* but yet they found there 60 men and muskets hidden, one whereof was charged with 12 peeces of iron, of about three quarters of an inch long. This *Boucher* hath since confessed much of the plot, viz, the ceasing upon the guards, and the ringing of the bels; others confesse the wearing of white tape; for they intended, when they came in, to massacre all the Roundheads here, and all that had not the word *Charles* and those white tapes tied on their brests and hats. This plot being spoiled and the gates kept close, that none could goe out to give Prince *Rupert* and his forces notice, made them expect till the morning, when"

"our gunner at the fort let fly at them and killed a horse, which was found dead there the next day by our scouts: immediately upon which they all marched away, and were heard to curse the seamen that had betrayed them. On Thursday Prince *Robert's* trumpeter came to towne, but as a spy; his errand was to demand two dead bodies that we killed upon the *Downe*, one whereof was one *Stroud*, as he said. The trumpeter enquired for mee, and said my Lord of *Cleveland* desired me to send him a pound of tobacco; but I being out of the way Colonell *Fines* sent him one pound and Colonell *Popham* another. We expected to heare of them again last night, but they came not; and since they are marched quite away towards Cirencister and Oxford. Thus the Lord hath wrought our salvation, for which let us abundantly blesse his holy name: declare this comfortable news to all our friends, that they may praise the Lord with us. Yours most affectionate J. H."

"*Bristoll* this 11*th* of March 1642."

"The country came in to us very strong, and we are very couragious, God be praised: and when that Sir *William Whaller* comes, we shall be so strong, as to drive them out of these parts. He is not above 12 or 14 miles from us, and we expect him on Munday at the farthest; but he doth much good service, as he comes along. *Finis.*"

§ 83. After having given admittance to these offensive misrepresentations, I turn with pleasure to a plain and well-composed narrative of the whole transaction, drawn up by one who was a friend to the constitution of his country in church and state. His name is not mentioned; but I conjecture that it was the Rev. Mr. Towgood of St. Nicholas. It is a pamphlet entituled "*The Two State Martyrs*, or the Murther of Master ROBERT YEOMANS and Master GEORGE BOWCHER, citizzens of Bristoll, committed on them by Nathaniel Fiennes, second son to the Lord Say, the pretended governor of that city, and the rest of his Conspiracie, whom some call a Councell of Warre. Psalm 94; 20, 21. "*Wilt thou have any thing, &c.*" Printed in the year M. DC. XLIII." 4*to*. 34 pages. (*k*) After some observations on the care which was taken by the Mosaic law to preserve the people

(*k*) See the Catalogue above 42, K.

free from the guilt of innocent blood, the author proceeds thus.--- "That we may free ourselves from the blood of all men by earnest prayer to God, not to lay innocent blood though shed by others to our charge, to inflame your devotion, I have, as it were, brought forth the bodies of these two State-Martyrs, Master Robert Yeomans, and Master George Bowcher, citizens of Bristol, and exposed them to the view of the world, that so shedding some tears over their graves, they may remain an everlasting monument of our innocency in the sight of God, of our just indignation against such cruelty in the sight of men, and a sweet ointment to imbalme these men to their funerals, that though with their Saviour (the ignominy of whose Crosse sanctifyed the death even of that accursed tree) in their death they were numbered amongst the transgressors, yet (loyaltie being their epitaph) they may make their graves amongst the honourable. But because to blind the eyes of the world not to see the cruell injustice practised on these worthy citizens, to amaze the minds of the people, and to take off from the odiousenesse of so foule a murther, they did not onely in their lying pamphlets proclame it unto the world, that Master Yeomans, Master Bowcher, and some other well affected members of that citie had contrived a horrid treason, that in the barbarousnesse of it did out-doe the Powder Treason, having conspired at once to ruin the Protestant religion, and to murther all those of that citie which did adhere to the Parliament, but also to mock God (to that height of impietie they were grown) solemn thanks were ordained to be given for deliverance from so dangerous a conspiracy: it will not be amisse to derive this tragedy by way of historicall narration from the first to the last scene: that so the abused world may see what arts are used on that side to possesse themselves of the good opinion of men, that in the mean time they may practise cruelties unheard of, untill the bloody Anabaptists sprung up the most pernicious, weeds that ever infested the Church of Christ."

§ 84. "When this Parliament first sate, these two gentlemen with the rest of the kingdom rejoiced to see that day, and stood at gaze as greedily as any, expecting what acts of bountie, what reliefe from grievances our gracious Soveraigne through their hands would convey unto"

"his subjects. While their endeavours were loyall, though roughly carryed, while bounded within the dutie of subjects, though only not exceeding it, they were as forward to applaud them as any: but after the publication of the remonstrance by the House of Commons (that appeale to the people, and indeed the ground-work of this present rebellion by slandering the King's government) they that went one mile with them would not be compelled to goe two, especially after the way appeared dangerous, and apparently leading to open rebellion: *Nullam esse Civitatem quæ non improbos cives aliquando, et imperitam multitudinem semper habeat:* was the saying of the Rhodii in the Roman Senate recorded by Livy, lib. 45, there is no citie but hath sometimes some ill-affected citizens, but always an ignorant multitude: perhaps this in part might be the temper of Bristol at this time; but the criticall time was now come, in which men must declare themselves either for the King or against him; and though many men in that citie then were deeply leavened with disloyal principles, yet the major part of the citie were the King's faithfull subjects, of this partie the most eminent men were, Master Robert Yeomans, Sheriffe of Bristol for the year 1642, Master George Bowcher, with divers others, men of good esteem, plentifull estates, known integritie, and true children of the Church of England. These men seeing the miserable condition of those places where the rebells bare sway, and beginning to be sensible of the same bondage under Col' Essex, enter into a consultation how to put the citie of Bristol into the King's possession and protection. To this purpose they dispatch an agent to the Court, to inform the King that he had many good subjects in Bristol, and withall to signifie their desire to deliver up his own citie to himselfe, if he would be pleased to send some of his forces thither to take it. The reasons which prevailed with them, to make this tender unto his Majestie, were many; we may reduce them to three heads.

"First, conscience to God, not to resist the King, knowing, that they that doe resist shall receive unto themselves damnation, and therefore resolved never to joyne themselves to the damnable sect of the Hothamites, those State-Heretickes, who accounted it their dutie to keep the King's townes for the King's use, by shutting the gates against the King's person."

"The second inducement was the frequent affronts given to his Majestie by the rebells, to the great regret of every good subject: and of these they give many instances. First, scandalous and disloyall speeches on all occasions belched out against his Majesties person, his protestations, declarations, proclamations, indeed all his actions. Secondly, contempt of his Majesties gracious offers, even to the very face of his messenger; for when in February 1642, the King sent his gracious letters to the citie of Bristol, requiring them not to give admittance to any of the Parliament forces, promising that hee himself would not impose any on them, but what they themselves should desire; together with the tender of many promises of his favour (given in charge to Sir Baynham Throkmorton, whom he had sent unto them for that purpose) yet notwithstanding at that very instant, in contempt (I say) of this great vouchsafement, the Major, Richard Aldworth, with Browne the Sherriffe, two boutefues in perverting that citie, with some other their associates, did send four peices of ordnance to Marlbrough, there to be imployed against the King. And though Sir Baynham, upon information given unto him, did expostulate the affront with the Major, and in the King's name commanded the stay of them; and though some of the well-affected citizens having notice of it, came and threw them off their carriages, because they knew that the intention was to imploy them against the King; yet over borne by a greater number, who produced the Major and Sherriffs warrant for their conveyance without let or interruption; they were inforced to give way, and thither they were sent."

"Thirdly, when in the beginning of March, 1642, amongst other proclamations sent to Bristol, one was concerning the King's Royal Navie, invaded and possessed by the Earle of Warwicke, and employed against his Majestie and his loyall subjects; the King by that proclamation forbidding all sea-men, and mariners, and all officers of his navie, to take employment under the Earle, or to obey his commands, though Colonel Fines, then Governour of Bristol, could have caused that proclamation to be suppressed and not published, yet as much as he could to dishonour the King in the eyes of his subjects, he permits it to be proclaimed, that thence he might take occasion to blaspheme his Sovereigne; for being proclaimed on Friday the third of March, the"

"next day (Saturday) being the chiefe market day, when the market was fullest, that the news might be carryed into all parts of the country, and every one learne from so desperate an example to contemne their Sovereigns commands: Fines comes in his coach to the High Crosse, attended by a troope of horse, and after a declaration read, that the proclamation published the day before was a scandallous and libellous paper, and such as deserved to be burnt by the hand of a publique hangman; he caused the serjeant that proclaimed it to burne it, holding pistolls to his breast, and threatening to shoot him if he did not hold them high enough, fearing it seems that so damnable, so unpardonable a treason should want witnesses."

"Lastly, as the direct end of their desire to deliver up the citie to the king's protection, was conscience of dutie to God and their Sovereign, so the reflected end was their own securitie, and quitting themselves of those oppressions and grievances under which they suffered; and these were many."

§ 85. "First, the often repeated taxations and loans of money unto the King and Parliament, as they were pleased to joyne them, upon the thred-bare securitie of the publique faith; and if any man refused to lend on that credit which they had bankrupted long before, he was threatened with imprisonment, plundering, or which was worse than both, sending up to the Parliament: and to these may be added the dayly drayning their purses by illegal exactions imployed for repairing the castle, building forts, and maintaining a garrison against the King."

"Secondly, by urging upon them new and treasonable votes and protestations: if not fully in words, yet in the use and interpretation of them directly opposite to the oath of allegiance, the oath of the citie taken by every citizen when he is elected into the place of a burgesse, in which they swear in the sixth article of that oath, not to enter into any bath or confederacy against the King, contrary to the lawes of the land: and likewise contrary to the protestation recommended from the Parliament to the subjects of this kingdome: the oath (for the tenor of words) was this following. *I A. B. do protest and vow, in the presence of*"

"*Almighty God, that I will to the utmost of my power, and to the hazard of my life and fortunes, oppose all such forces as shall attempt any thing against the citie of Bristol, without the consent of the King and Parliament so to do.* In which protestation, they took the name of the King in vaine, for when they say (King and Parliament) they meant the two houses without the King, for if actions bee the best interpreters of the agents words, it is more than manifest, that by the protestation they intended to ingage that citie in rebellion against the King, and that under the tye of religion. And for proofe, I offer first their seconding this protestation with another that spake more plainly, wherein they were to protest with their lives and fortunes to resist Prince Rupert, the Lord Generall the Earle of Forth, the Lord Marquesse Hertford; the Earle of Newcastle, Sir Ralph Hopton and their forces: and secondly, because as before the tendring of this protestation, they had received Colonel Essex to command there for the Parliament, upon the petition of Mistresse Majoresse Holsworth, Mistresse Vicaris, with other zealous sisters, to the number of a hundred; so within a few dayes after the first protestation was tendered, they admitted Col' Popham and Sir Edw' Hungerford, with their regiments, and afterward Colonel Fines without any opposition, that so now being backed with so strong a power, they might make the latter protestation the interpreter of the former. Thirdly, by disarming all such as were any wayes suspected to beare a good and loyall affection to his Majestie, unlesse they would take such protestations as should be tendered to them; and having taken away such armes as they found, (not satisfied with this) they urge on them another protestation, protesting in the sight of God, and calling him to witnesse, that they had no other armes concealed in their houses, either their owne or others: and if any man refused to take this protestation, he was instantly imprisoned as an enemy to the State, and a man not to be confided in. Fourthly, the perpetuall scorn and obloquy to which they were exposed, reproached every day as they passed the streets, with the names of Malignants and Papists; nay, as if they had beene worse than Jewes, they spit at them, and threaten to take a speedy course with them. Fifthly, the generall contempt and prophanation of God's holy worship and service, rending of surplices, tearing the book of common prayer, breaking down organs,"

"exterminating the whole Liturgy out of their congregations, and all these outrages, not only winked at, but countenanced and incouraged by Fines and his fellow rebells; and that they might have like people, like priest, they discountenance or drive away the Orthodox Ministers, and substitute in their places the most infamous notorious schismaticks that they can pick out of several counties, as Tombs of Lemster in All Saints, in Master Williamson's cure, an orthodox and godly man; Craddocke, Bacon, Walter, Simonds, and one Matthew Hazard, whom tho' I name last, yet deserves to have the preceedency of all the rest, as being a maine incendiary in this rebellion, violently egged on by his wife, whose disciple the silly man is: this gave occasion of scandall to all pious godly men, which honoured the Protestant religion as it is established, and made them even to abhorre the service of the Lord. Lastly, because upon the poynt they were confined to Bristol, not daring to goe out of the citie: for in all places, where the commands and ordinances of the two houses prevailed, they had given a list of the names of the Malignants that durst appear for the King, to the end, that if any of them came thither, they might be apprehended and sent prisoners to Taunton, Barkley Castle, or some other prisons, or as delinquents sent to the Parliament."

"It was no wonder, therefore, that a citie thus robbed of its wealth and libertie, groaning under an insupportable yoke of bondage and tyranny, should endeavour, by restoring the King to his rights, to restore themselves to their former freedome, which could not be done but by breaking these bonds, and casting these cords from them. On these weightie motives, therefore, they enter into a loyall confederacy to deliver up the citie from its captivity under the rebells into his Majesty's protection, and that without shedding of one drop of blood if it were possible, but most certaine without any resolution to massacre the citizens, as hath beene most falsely both preached and printed: for Master Yeomans and Bowcher, both on their examinations, and after their condemnation, both affirmed, that there was not any intention of bloodshed; and in the examinations of Master Yeomans and others, taken before the Councell of Warre at Bristol, sent up by Master Clement Walker, Usher of the Exchequer, but since advocate to that"

"congregation of murtherers that adjudged these innocents to death, and ordered by the House of Commons, Die Lunæ, 22 Maii, 1643, to be printed, we thus read, page 3. The King had also assured us, and given charge to Prince Rupert, that no violence should be used to any, which I doe believe was his full intent, the rather, for that I heare there came a proclamation to that effect: where 'tis observable, that Walker (a man that had his hands stained with his owne wive's blood before he dipped them so deepe in these martyr's) though in that contrived confession of Master Yeomans, he brings him in, professing his conviction in conscience of the justness of the Parliament's cause (when 'tis knowne, that if he would have recanted and contributed towards this unnatural warre, he and Master Bowcher, both might have saved their lives) yet he dars not so much as to murther his fame after his person, by charging upon him so bloody a crime, as an intention to massacre his fellow citizens."

"'Tis therefore confessed on all hands, that Master Yeomans, Master Bowcher, and others, had an intention to cast out the rebells, and to deliver Bristol into the King's possession, resolving to secure the persons of the Governour and some others of the chiefest rebels, but not to kill them: to this purpose, a commission is obtained and sent to Master Robert Yeomans, to rayse forces, and constitute commanders for the King's service. Master George Bowcher contrives a protestation to be taken by all that joined themselves to this association, fully expressing the latitude of their intentions in that undertaking: the protestation is extant in Master Bowcher's examination taken by Walker, on the 10 of March, 1642; and published in the booke before mentioned; and is attested under his owne hand, which I have seene, and was written not long before his death. The protestation was this:—I do voluntarily protest before Almighty God, upon the Faith of a Christian, that I will to the utmost of my power, and with the hazard of my life and fortunes, defend my dread Soveraigne Lord King Charles, his rights, crowne, and dignitie, against all force and forces which are or shall be raysed within his Majesties dominions without his royal assent, authoritie and command. Which was the summe of this pretended horrid treason."

§ 86. "After communication of counsells, and many messengers interchanged betweene Oxford and Bristol, drawing some of Colonel Essex his commanders into the combination, who loathed and condemned themselves in their owne employment, it was resolved, that upon Monday the seventh of March, 1642, Prince Rupert, with a party of the King's forces, should face the citie on Durdan Downe, distant not a full mile from the citie, and for the association in the citie, their task was to make good two ports, Froome-gate and New-gate: who having seized on the guards, were to open the gates, and to signifie the accomplishment of the designe, to the King's forces to make their approach by the ringing of Saint John's and Saint Michael's bells: Prince Rupert a vigilant and valiant Prince, comes that Monday night to the place appointed, expecting the next morning by five of the clocke the signall to be given, and the port opened unto him: but that night (whether by negligence amongst their owne, or vigilancy of the rebels is uncertaine) the combination was discovered, and Master Yeomans, Master Bowcher, and divers others, were that night apprehended in their houses, having some armed men with them, and were instantly committed to safe custody; which being signified to the Prince, he immediately withdrew his forces, and marched away. And now having them in their power, they clap irons on them, tye them head and feet together, commit them close prisoners, deprive them of all comfort to be administered by their wives or children, or friends, and used them with that barbarousnesse and inhumanitie as cannot be imagined, could be practised by one Christian upon another, and after seventie six dayes hard imprisonment, often examination, barbarous insulting over them, especially by Nathaniel Fines, they were brought to their tryall at a councell of war; where articles being exhibited against them by advocate Walker, they received sentence of death: what the articles exhibited against M' Yeomans were, may be collected out of the sentence itselfe, as we find it in page 4 of the before mentioned book of M' Yeomans his examinations, published by command of the House of Commons, which for satisfaction of such as shall cast a compassionate eye on this sad story we have here inserted."

"The judgment upon Robert Yeomans: Upon due consideration of the articles exhibited on May 8, by Clement Walker, Esquire, Advocate"

"to this Councell of Warre, against Robert Yeomans, and others the late conspirators in this citie, and upon due hearing of the answers, and defence of the said Robert to the several articles, and also upon examination and proofes before them taken upon oath; it is unanimously adjudged by this Court, that the said Robert Yeomans is guilty of trayterous intelligence, and correspondence with the enemy, and of a trayterous and wicked conspiracy to betray this towne into the hands of the enemy; and thereupon this Court doth adjudge and passe sentence of death upon him as a traitor and conspirator; and accordingly doth order that the said Robert Yeomans shall be returned to the place of his former imprisonment, and from thence be brought before the maine Court of Guard, there to be hanged by the neck till he dye: Nath' Fines, Richard Cole, Wal' White, James Ford, Joh' Clifton, Joh' Chamneys, Tho' Hippesley, Martin Husbands, Tho' Rawlins, Rich' Hippesley, Tho' Eyre, Tho' Goodere, James Hean, Tho' Wallis, Will' Bowel, Robert Baugh. To this bloody sentence I have added the names of that bloody conspiracy of murtherers that gave it, that their names and memory may stinke with posteritie, and be loathsome to all generations that shall hereafter read and bemone the condition of their predecessors, that groaned under the tyranny of a prevailing faction of Brownists and Anabaptists. Master Robert Yeomans being thus most unjustly condemned May 8, on the 22*d* of the same month, Master George Bowcher was called before Fines and the rest of that rebellious crew, which called themselves a Councell of Warre, and that you may ghesse at the whole by some: William Bowel was a pedant, and from whipping of boys was made an unrighteous Judge of men; James Heane, a drunken attorney; and Robert Baugh, a sheepe-skinne dresser, who in the times of peace durst not come neare Master Yeomans, but uncovered at a distance, as his duty was, now plucked off Master Yeomans his hat, commanding him to stand bare before him. The articles exhibited by Walker, their advocate, were seven, recorded under Master Bowcher's owne hand, whereof the main and first thing insisted on, was:"

"1. First, That he had framed a protestation to defend the King, his crowne and dignitie, against, &c. The protestation which you heard before."

"2. Secondly, That he had raysed men, and provided armes and ammunition of all sorts, crowes of iron, pickaxes, axes and iron wedges, with torches and linkes, to further the designe of suppressing the court of guard at Froome Gate."

"3. Thirdly, That he conspired with others to let in Prince Rupert, a forraigne Prince (as they stiled him) who being entered the citie, should put to death and plunder all the inhabitants of that city that came not out to assist and joyne with them."

"4. Fourthly, That he did undertake to give Prince Rupert a signall when he should make his approach to the citie, by ringing Saint John's and St. Michael's bells."

"5. Fifthly, That he certified Prince Rupert, that the designe of giving him entrance into the towne was discovered, and advised him to retreat."

"6. Sixthly, That he forced open the crowd doore (being a buriall place under the quire) under St. John Baptist church, with an intention to use it for a prison, to secure such as should make resistance, whether they were of the guard or others, while they were in pursuance of their designe."

"Lastly, That he had locks and other provisions to chaine up the passages at Saint John's Gate, in case any of the Parliament horse should rush in upon them while the worke was doing."

"These articles, though maliciously expressed and aggravated, yet for the matter of them, were drawne either from his own confessions, or depositions of others; and upon these, at the Lady Rogers her house, he received the like sentence of death, as Master Yeomans had done before."

§ 87. "When the report of so illegall proceedings arrived at court, though at first few men did thinke that their bold insolency would go on to put the sentence in execution: yet at last considering, that they were in the hands, not of honourable enemies, but of rebells; and of rebells that were sectaries, and which was more than both, rebellious sectaries at the devotion of Master Fines, who did commande"

"in chiefe, and had strong influence on the rest; the Earl of Forth, Lord Lieutenant of all his Majesty's forces, resolved to write unto Fines, and that by way of threat, *pari poenâ exacta, ut hostes a superbo et insolenti supplicio temperarent*, as Diodorus Siculus reports of Philometus in the like case; that by the menace of the like punishment on the prisoners here, he might stave them off from their intended crueltie on the King's good subjects there: for thus he writes:—"

"Patrick Earl of Forth, Lord Etterick, and Lord Lieutenant of all his Majesty's Forces.—I having beene informed, that lately at a Court of Warre, you have condemned to death Robert Yeomans, late Sheriffe of the citie of Bristol, who hath his Majesties Commission for raysing a regiment for his service, William Yeomans, his brother, George Bowcher and Edward Dacres, all for expressing their loyaltie to his Majestie, and endeavouring his service, according to their allegiance, and that you intend to proceed speedily against divers others in the like manner: doe therefore signifie unto you, that I intend speedily to put Master George, Master Stevens, Captaine Huntley, and others taken in rebellion against his Majestie at Cyrencester, into the same condition: Do further advertize you, that if you offer by that unjust judgment to execute any of them, you have so condemned, that those now in custody here, especially Master George, Master Stevens, and Captaine Huntly, must expect no favour or mercy.—Given under my hand at Oxford, this 16*th* of May 1643." "FORTH."

"To the Commander in Chief, and the Councell
of Warre in the citie of Bristol."

"Having received this letter by a Drum, and knowing the great advantage they had by the meanenesse and basenesse of the prisoners in the King's hands, put in the ballance with those of the King's in their hands, while earles, barons, and the flower of the nobilitie and gentry were exposed to blew aprons and broome-men; Fines knowing this advantage, returnes this insolent answer:—"

"Nathaniel Fiennes, Governour, and the Councell of Warre in the city of Bristol.—Having receeved a writing from your Lordship, wherein it is declared, that upon information of our late proceedings against Robert Yeomans, William Yeomans, and others, you intend speedily to"

"put Master George, Master Stevens, Captaine Huntley, and others, into the same condition: we are well assured that neither your Lordship nor any other mortall man can put them into the same condition; for whether they live or dye, they will always be accounted true and honest men, faithfull to their King and country, and such as in a faire and open way have always prosecuted that cause, which in their judgment, guided by the judgment of the Highest Court, they held the justest. Whereas, the conspirators of this citie must both in life and death carry perpetually with them the brand of treachery and conspiracy. And if Robert Yeomans had made use of his commission in an open way, he should be put into no worse condition than others in the like kind had beene: but the law of nature amongst all men, and the law of armes amongst all souldiers, maketh a difference between open enemies and secret spyes and conspirators: and if you shall not make the like distinction, we doe signifie unto you, that we shall not only proceed to the execution of the persons already condemned, but also of divers others of the conspirators, unto whom we had some thoughts of extending mercy: and do advertize you, that if by any inhumane, and unsouldier-like sentence you shall proceed to the execution of the persons by you named, or any other of our friends in your custody, that have been taken in a faire and open way of warre; then Sir Walter Pye, Sir William Crofts, Colonel Connesby, and divers others, taken in open rebellion and actual warre against the King and kingdome, whom we have here in custody, must expect no favour or mercy. And by God's blessing upon our just cause, we have pawnes enough for our friends securitie, without taking in any that have gotten out of our reach and power; although divers of yours, of no mean qualitie and condition, have beene freely released by us.—Given under our hands this 18*th* day of May 1643."

"NATH' FIENNES, President."

"CLEMENT WALKER, &c."

"To Patrick Earl of Forth, Lord Lieut.-General."

§ 38. "When this tooke no effect, the King, gracious as he is, and full of goodnesse, his bowells yearning over the destruction of his worst subjects, takes the condition of these that suffer for him into his"

"pious consideration; and since Fiennes swaying the rest remained obstinate, the King by a trumpeter sends his letter to the Major, Aldermen, and Sheriffes of Bristol, commanding them to rayse the power of the city, and imploy it to the rescue of these men designed for slaughter. Thus he writes."

"Charles R. Trustie and well beloved we greet you well. Whereas we are informed, that by the power and authority of certain factions and rebellious persons in that our citie of Bristol, divers of our good subjects (as namely, Robert Yeomans, George Bowcher, William Yeomans, Edw' Dacres, and others) of that our citie are imprisoned for preserving their dutie and loyaltie to us, and for refusing to joyne in, or assist this horrid and odious rebellion against us, and that the said wicked and trayterous persons, have presumed to condemne the said innocent men to dye, and upon such their sentence, notoriously against the lawes of God and man, they intend to execute and murther our said subjects; we have thought fit to signifie to you, the Major, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and the rest of the Common Councell of that our citie, that if you suffer this horrid and execrable murther to be committed upon the persons aforesaid, and thereby call the judgement of God, and bring perpetual infamy upon that our citie; we shall look upon it as the most barbarous and inhuman act that hath beene yet committed against us, and upon you as the most desperate betrayers of us, and of the lives and liberties of your fellow subjects. And we doe therefore will and command you, not to suffer any violence to be done upon the persons aforesaid, but that if any such be attempted against them, that you rayse all the power and strength of that our citie for their rescue. And to that purpose, we command all our good subjects of that our citie, to ayde and assist you upon their allegiance, and as they hope for any grace and favour at our hands; and that you and they kill and slay all such who shall attempt or endeavour to take away the lives of our said subjects, and for so doing this shall be your warrant. And hereof you may not faile at your utmost perill. Given at our Court at Oxford the 29*th* of May 1643."

"To our trustie and well beloved the Major,
Aldermen, Sheriffs, and the rest of the Common
Councell of our citie of Bristol."

"This letter arrived at Bristol that very day that these gentlemen by laying downe their lives did beare a good testimony to the truth, but came too late; yet had it come sooner, Fines having intelligence that a letter was coming from the King, kept the gates shut to keepe out the messenger, until their intended murthers were fully finished: but at last when he had admittance, contrary to the law of arms and nations, Fines committed him to prison, where he remained long."

"All these endeavours of a pious Prince to rescue his faithful subjects, being frustated by the obstinate malice of these bloody rebells, and having no force to compell what he could not persuade, they go on to act their cruell intentions. After sentence of death passed on them, they pursue them with threats, and use no language to them but death and hanging, often menacing what they could but once inflict: so that each night they thought to dye next morning: having some dayes languished under the insulting crueltie of these bloody butchers, and being frequently robbed of their necessary food by the centinells, (that stood at their prisons, not so much that they might not withdraw themselves from the intended death, as to intercept all comforts that were brought unto them) had not they hastened the execution, famine would have saved them that labour: for Master Yeomans (whom of the two they most hated) laden with chains, stifled with the nastinesse of a dungeon, macerated with the want of food, but filled with the scornful reproofe of the proud, reproached every day with the name of bloody villaine, and the like, was like to have prevented their malice by dying that morning that he dyed: he was a man of a magnanimous spirit, a large soule fit for great imployments, and therefore more sensible of indignities, for great spirits oppressed, like tapers held downeward, are extinguished by the same matter which gives them life; so that sitting by his dear wife that morning that he dyed, and leaning on her breast, he fell into a sound, and in probabilitie had then departed, had not the shriekes and out-cryes of his wife recalled him to a more glorious death, that so posteritie might read his name, together with Master Bowcher's, not in the catalogue of Confessours, but inrolled in the noble army of Martyrs."

§ 89. "When the time of their Martyrdome drew neare, Colonel"

"Fines, for fear the citie should oppose his bloody intentions, concealed the time resolved on to put them in execution: but when the fatal day was come, Fiennes drew his forces into the Marsh, the common place where they made their musters: he caused the gates suddenly to be shut, the citie not knowing his intention, and presently drew parties of horse and foot into every street, to awe the citizens, and to suppress insurrections, if haply they should recover so much of the ancient courage of true Englishmen, not to suffer so great a breach to be made on their lives and liberties, as to see their fellow citizens led to the slaughter, and they in the mean time stand dumb like sheep and not oppose it: nor was it without good reason that Fiennes should suspect some opposition from the citie, for (besides that, they now saw the basest of the citie made of the Councell of Warre; and the power of life and death over the Magistrates delivered in their hands, that before this rebellion were never thought fit to bear the office of a scavenger) Master Yeomans and Master Bowcher, were men of eminency in the citie, generally beloved, and their crime known to be nothing but loyaltie, that they could not likewise but consider, that an issue of blood was that day opened that might in time prove fatall to them, and involve them in the same condition, for if Fiennes and his blood-hounds shall for any other virtue passe the like sentence on any of them, as they did on these for their loyaltie; not conspiring with them to murther their soveraigne, what power shall protect them from such oppression, who having to their owne ruine refused the King's protection, are grown so tame, as not with the hazard of their lives to protect themselves?"

"Having thus made all secure, they bring the prisoners from the Castle to the main Court of Guard, in the way as they went, the people greedy to see, and salute these unhappy assertors of their libertie, presse to the hazard of many blowes to take their farewell of them, they in a courteous deportment, returning hearty thankes for those dangerous expressions of their affections, for it was reason enough to be committed as a Malignant to own them, or so much as to pray for them."

"To prepare themselves for their death, they made it an humble request, that they might have the assistance of Master Twogood and Master Standfast, two orthodox and learned and pious ministers of the"

"citie, to help to sweeten that bitter cup of which they were to drinke, and by spirituall comfort to take off from the sharpnesse of those dregs which they were to suck up: but as if they meant to murther their souls as well as their bodies, to vex their righteous soules instead of comforting them against the approach of death, they refuse to condescend to so reasonable a request, and impose on them Cradock and Fowler, two emissaries sent to that citie, to poyson it with schisme and rebellion, that so they might fill up the measure of their sinnes and ripen them for destruction. Standing at the foot of the tree, that by and by was to beare fruit unto eternal life, it was observed by some of these murtherers (well skill'd it seems in the art and method of hanging) that the halters were too long or too short, or else not tyed fast enough, some fault there was which the deathsman had directions to correct, he obeying the directions of the chief hangman, goes up and takes off the halters; the people who came thither spectators of this bloody tragedy, standing at distance, and not privy to the intention, fondly conceited, that certainly Colonel Fiennes had sent a reprieve, and instantly expressed the greatnesse of their joy by the loudnesse of their acclamations, never considering Fines his extraction, being borne and bred in a family sworne enemies to monarchy and all that love it: at last, seeing the guards stand fixed, and that this stay was but to make surer worke, the executioner fastening his instruments of death, according to the directions given to him by them, whose journeyman he was, the people, as if strooke with thunder, or blasted with lightnings, stood amazed, until at last, astonishment giving way to compassion, they sent out tears instead of acclamations, and exchanged their joy for lamentations. All things thus made ready to offer up these innocents, sacrifices to the implacable rage of Fines and his fellow rebells, Master Robert Yeomans is first commanded to ascend the ladder, thence to reach his crowne of martyrdome. But remembering whose pietie it was, in the middest of his sufferings, to recommend his mother to the care of a guardian (being himself to leave this world) he first makes his addresse to his father-in-law Master Yeomans, and tells him that he had left him a legacy, viz, his wife then great with child, and eight small children, the eldest not able to put on his own clothes: and so with many imbracements left him,"

"and set forward on his way to Heaven. And now being seated in that place of shame and ignominy, (so it is in its own nature where the goodnesse of the cause doth not change the accursed tree into a theatre of honour) and finding himself made a spectacle to that citie wherein he had lived in plentie and honour, being sheriffe but the year before, in discharge of which office he was inferiour to none of his predecessours in bountie and magnificence, which Colonel Popham and his friends by frequent experience know very well: and from that sad prospect, taking a view of many friends that could hardly looke through their owne teares to see him againe: and from thence too, seeing some of a farre different affection that rejoyced in his sufferings, and amongst them Robert Baugh the sheep's skin dresser (Fines his associate in the councell of warre) in a devilish cruceltie (and let God, that righteous judge, require it at his hands) stand jeering and mocking at him to his face, here flesh and blood interposed, which transported him to an expostulation bordering betweene indignation and submission, saying, Good God, what have I done to be here? But instantly sorry that humane frailtie should extort any thing from him, unbeseeming the justice of his cause, or the braveness of Christian resolution, silencing suggestions of such ill councellours. he composed himself to speak something to the people"

§ 90. "His strength exhausted by long and many sufferings, disabled him to speake much or loud, yet willing to clear himselfe from that prejudice under which he lay, of an intention to massacre all that should adhere to the two houses (which some miscall a Parliament) laying his hand upon his breast, and fixing his eyes on heaven, the habitation of the God of Truth, he made a solemn protestation of his innocency from any such thoughts; he professed his firm persuasion of the justice of that cause for the defence of which he suffered, affirming, that if he had more lives he would sacrifice them all to the service of his Soveraigne in the same way: and therefore we may justly wonder at the frontlesse impudence of that Clement Walker, that should tell the world in print, that Master Yeomans did confesse, that he was convicted in conscience of the justnesse of the Parliament's cause: but they that knowe the man, and that poore stock, either of religion or honestie which he hath, need not"

"wonder, that he that before this Parliament made it his frequent theame to declaim against Puritans, should now (judging them to be the prevailing faction) to indeare himself unto them, first imbrue his hands in this gentleman's blood, and then report him falsely to posteritie, as if he had recanted that loyaltie for which, and in which, he professed he dyed. While he was thus speaking to the people, Serjent-Major Langridge (*l*) and Clifton called upon the executioner to hasten the worke: nay, they did not stick to interrupt Master Yeomans in his discourse, and to goad him on the sides and thighs with their halberds, bidding him to contract and make an end: hereupon he desired the witnesses of his suffering to sing with him the 130 Psalme, which he sunge with great elevation of spirit and fervency of devotion, knowing that presently he should be translated from this Bochim, the valley of teares, where we doe not so much as sing or sigh out our hymnes, into that triumphant Quire, where with Angells and Archangells, and all the powers of Heaven, he should sing halelujahs and anthems of joy for ever more. Having finished the psalme and some other prayers, and amongst the rest, instantly beseeching God, not to charge his death upon that citie, nor require his innocent blood at their hands: prayed for his persecutors, and adjured his friends not to harbour a thought of revenge, he began againe to make some addresse to the people, challenging the world there to testifie against him, if he had wronged any man, and beginning to apologize for his innocency, even in the very cause of his death, Langridge and Clifton, the chiefe hang-man under Fines their Master, knowing how much his words might prevail with the people, and that one martyr falling quickly springs up into many converts, caused him instantly to be throwne off, hardly giving him so much time as in some short ejaculations to recommend his soule to God: and now there he is under the Altar, and joynes in that shrill cry that calls aloud in the eares of God, how long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? Rev' 6, 10. Being thrown off, and his body swinging with the fall, his brother-in-law, Master John Haggat, an honest gentleman, and of good qualitie in the citie, put out his hand"

(*l*) *The Serjeant-Major* was what we now call *the Major.* Langridge was at this same time Captain of a Company. Fiennes afterwards made Clifton his Lieutenant-Colonel.

"to stay it, which (that inhumane villaine) Clifton seeing, stroke him with his cane, with that violence, that he had almost stroken him to the ground: good God! which shall we most wonder at, either the barbarous inhumanitie of this murther, or the degenerous ignoble patience of the citizens of Bristol, that could stand by and see all this, and not chuse either to live freely, or dye courageously together?"

"Having had sufficient experience of the tamenesse of the citizens, and that there was no danger of opposition to be feared from them, the rebels wade on in blood. And having murthered Master Yeomans, they command Master Bowcher to ascend the ladder: it seems by what he left written by his own hand, and written to that purpose to communicate it to the whole world, that he intended to be large, exhorting those (to use his own words) who had set their hands to the plow (meaning the maintenance of the King's cause) not to be too hastie (as terrified with their sufferings) to take them off: nor to regard those beggarly and schismaticall rudiments which craftie and malicious men had invented and introduced into the church of God in these last and worst times of the world, denying the truth, and bringing in damnable positions of their own devising, &c. And likewise, giving an exact character of the schismaticks that domineere at this time in the draught, borrowing the pencil of the Holy Ghost, I mean, describing them in the phrase of the Scriptures, a man very well able to do it, being versed in the scriptures, a frequent hearer of sermons, and by the testimony of his very enemies, confessed to be a religious man. Proud (says he) they are, boasters, heady, unstable, who censure as unjust the actions of others, before they receive resolution from God, or rightly understand his will touching their owne, having hearts fraught with malice incessantly labouring to bring to pass their devilish designes by pestilent plots, dawbing and painting them over with false glosses against the light of their owne conscience, and against that knowledge which they have in the lawes, both of God and man; justifying the wicked, and condemning the innocent, &c. This was too much truth to be spoken to them whom it did so much concerne, and therefore he was not permitted to speake so largely to the assembly: at last, pressed on to hasten his death, by those that are swift to shed blood, he desired to sing Psalm 16, which being ended, he began to recommend his soule"

"to God in most pious pathetieall prayers and ejaculations; but they are not content that he should speak either to the people or to his God; for Rosewell, a levite of their owne, and a craet-brained separatist, interrupts him in the midst of his devotions, reviles him, and calls him hypocrite and apostate, that after so strict a conversation, so much time spent in the profession of religion, he should render all suspected for hypocrisie, by so obstinate perseverance in his rebellion against the Parliament, he meant for dying for his loyaltie to his Soveraigne: all this moved not the constancy of this resolved Martyr, but according to to the advise of Saint Bernard, he held up *scutum conscientiæ contra gladium linguæ*, the buckler of a good conscience to ward the blowes of a malicious tongue; Serm' 42. *De modo benè vivendi.* Knowing that as the flattering tongue is no cure for a bad, so the rayling tongue is no wound to the good conscience, possessing his soule therefore in patience, he lets this snarling dogge bark on, resolving with holy Job, *Ecce in cœlo testis meus*, behold my witness is in Heaven, and my record is on high: Job 16; 19. And so sustaining his soule under the burden of that reproach, with that comfortable promise of our Saviour, blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evill against you falsly for my sake, rejoyce and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in Heaven: Matt' 5; 11, 12; he yeelded himselfe to the will and desire of his murtherers; this Rosewell, in his very fall from the ladder, persuing him with the odious names of hypocrite and apostate, thereby (if it had been possible) to disturb the peace of his soule, and indanger his character in that very instant when he was going out of the world, and ready to be prësented at the dreadful tribunal of that most righteous judge, who putteth no trust in his saints, yea the heavens are not cleare in his sight: Job 15; 15. A practice so void of Christianitie, nay so perfectly devilish, to extend malice even to the endeavour of a second death, that had a black Angell beene dispatched from hell, (an agent for that kingdome of darknesse) he could not have done more to advance damnation, or approve himself a malicious emissary of that bottomlesse pit, than this schismatique did. These two now glorious Martyrs, having thus through their ignominious deaths ren-"

"dered their soules to God, the spectators smite their brests and returne. Never was there so generall a face of sorrow, such bitter lamentation heard in that citie, as on this day. Their bodies taken down, were both carried to Master Yeomans his house, father in law to Master Yeomans. In the evening Master Bowcher's body was conveyed to his owne house, a sad spectacle to his poor widow and seven orphans, and that night they were both interred, Master Yeomans at Christ church, and Master Bowcher at Saint Warburgh; their funeralls being attended by those orthodox ministers that the persecution had left, and by most of the honest well-affected citizens; though they knew that they could not expresse this piety to the dead, but to the hazard of losing their liberties, and plundering their estates. Thus have you scene the Martyrdom of these loyal citizens, suffering for their religion, by sectaries and atheists; for their loyaltie, by traytors and rebells, and for their lawes and liberties, by libertines and sonnes of belial; a fact so horrid, and in which so many acts of crueltie and injustice did meet and concenter, that as no history (not that of the Anabaptists of Germany) can give us a paralell of this rebellion, so this rebellion cannot give us a paralell of this murder, except that of Master Tompkins, and Master Chaloner at London, in the same manner.—*Finis.*"

§ 91. Further information concerning this memorable plot may be collected from a parliamentary pamphlet marked in the Catalogue I, containing the examinations and confessions of the conspirators. It was no doubt drawn up by Clement Walker, who acted as Advocate to their council of war at Bristol; and it's veracity is therefore very suspicious, not only on account of the general character of those parliamentary publications mentioned above § 42, but also on account of the character of the author. There are in it several circumstances unworthy of credit; particularly I wholly disbelieve that Mr. Yeomans made a discovery of his friends, or acknowledged the justice of the parliament's cause. The first article in it, entituled *Mr. Yeomans's Confession*, has the appearance of a paper compiled out of casual conversation with him during his confinement, copiously intermixed with Clement Walker's fabrications. Let the reader compare that article with his examination on April 28*th* and

judge. Nevertheless it contains so many circumstances relative to this city, that it would be inexcusable to suffer it to perish: it is therefore reprinted as follows.

"*Robert Yeomans'* confession. After I had the commission from the King, which was promised by *John Thruppe* and *John Bowcher* unknown to me and brought by *Millard*, as I before declared, I did nothing in it, but laid it by me: until being in company with some of the commanders of Colonel *Essex* forces, many of them declared themselves to be for the King, and that whensoever any of the King's forces came, they would deliver them the town; and the rather, for that they perceived that there were a great many of the town that would take their parts, by whose help they doubted not but easily to do it. Those that so declared themselves to me were Captain *Hilsdon*, Lieutenant *Marshall*, that commanded the Serjeant-Major's company; Lieutenant *Cheyney*, that commanded the Lieutenant-Col's company; and Lieutenant *Moore*, which commanded a company of a Captain which was in *London*. When I perceived so many of the commanders and many of this citie that way affected, and I beleeving that cause to be the justest, so as I were sure that the King himself was acquainted with the proceedings, and not done by others unknown to him, or he seduced by them; those commanders and myself and others had conference together, and we received a message from the King, that *we should send some able man to him, to inform him of the true state of the citie, and how the citizens stood affected.* Whereupon we sent *Geo' Teage* to *Oxford* together with *Cowling*, who went and spake with the King himself, and acquainted him with the estate of the city and all things here. He gave the King such content therein, that he lent him his own horse to ride to Prince *Rupert* to acquaint him with the businesse, as *Teage* reported to us at his return, when we met all together at the *Rose tavern*, with many thanks sent by his Majesty to us all, but especially to those commanders, persuading them to persist, and they should be well rewarded. *Cowling* brought the like message: Dr' *Marks* also brought the like message, and was willed by the King to speak to those commanders themselves, and to tell them that they should be private, until the coming of his forces thither, which should be ere long, and that he would reward and prefer them. Whereupon Doctour *Marks* spake"

"with *Hilsdon* and *Marshall* to my knowledge; whether he did with the rest I know not; but I know that *Teage*, *Cowly* and Captain *Cockram* did speak with them themselves, *Cockram* himself being sent to them and us from the King, and return their and our answer to the King. Afterwards those commanders and we meeting but a day before the coming of the King's army, they complained of the want of money to give their souldiers, without which they could not cause them to do, what they would have them to do: whereupon they importuned me to lend them fourty pounds, *viz*, ten pounds apiece, faithfully promising to repay it me; and upon their importunity I did lend it: and then it was agreed that some of us should have company provided to aid them; and that at the second round, (*Hilsdon* and *Moore* being of the grand court of guard) *Hilsdon* was to go the second round; and then he and those with him coming to the guard at *Frome-gate* as friends, should have seized them, and *George Bowcher* and his company should come and open the gate and keep it open, and send to the Downe to Prince Rupert to enter: and then I and my company should come to the main guard, and there with *Moore* and his associates secure the main court of guard in peaceable manner; he being of the guard and we expecting no resistance, being so assured by *Hilsdon* and *Moore* both. And for the better effecting all without any bloodshed, it was agreed that all our souldiers, and those that were made acquainted by the said commanders, and those without also, should every one wear a piece of white tape, to the end that the soldiers might be distinguished, that Prince *Rupert* might know, that they were his friends, and not doubt that he were betrayed at his entrance: for it was appointed by the King, that we should have some such signe, such as Prince *Rupert* should direct; which was so by him directed. The King had also assured us, and given charge to Prince *Rupert* that no violence should be used to any, which I believe was his full intent; the rather, for that I hear there came a proclamation to that effect. But before the businesse came to be effected, on that Tuesday in the evening I had intimation from *Hilsdon* and *Moore* that the businesse was discovered, and that I should send away the men that were there, which I was about to do; but before I could effect it, Captain *Buck* came and seized us. Now all the blame is laid on me: whereas"

"after the Commission was brought to me I stirred not, till those commanders declared themselves, as aforesaid. And when I perceived them so to declare themselves, and did and do believe that most of Col' *Essex* commanders and souldiers were that way minded, I feared lest if the town should be delivered or taken, and I lie still, as it were despising or neglecting the King's Commission, that then I should much suffer: and indeed I was then of opinion by the perswasions of others, that that party had the justest cause, which made me to do that I did, which was but little; I being ignorant in those courses, only following the directions of those commanders. And because we vowed each to other secrecy, and I not till now thoroughly convinced in my conscience of the justness of the Parliament's cause, by reason of my restraint from speaking with my friends, by whom I should, and now am thoroughly satisfied and convinced in my judgement: therein I have forborn to discover other men: being perswaded also that what was done would not be esteemed so hainous, as now I finde by the proceedings against me."—Then follows *the Judgement against Robert Yeomans*, as given above § 86.

§ 92. "*The Examination of* George Teage *taken upon oath before the Counsell of War, held at* Bristoll *the 27th of Aprill* 1643."

"This Examinate saith, that about six weeks ago *Robert Yeomans* invited this examinate to drink with him; and then acquainted him that he had a commission from the King to raise a regiment of foot in Bristol for his Majestie's service; telling this examinate, that if he would take part with the King, he would make him one of his captains. This examinate replying that he was willing to serve the King, the said *Yeomans* said that his intent was to seize upon this citie for the King, and to let in the King's forces." - - - "This examinate further saith, that within three or four dayes after Colonell *Fiennes* came into *Bristoll*, having some occasion to go to *Oxford*, he went thither in company with *Cowly* a practitioner in physic under Master *Bennet*. Upon the way *Cowly* discovered to this examinate that he was sent to *Oxford* by *Robert Yeomans*, Mr. *John Troupe*, and *John Bowcher* the merchant, son of *Nath' Bowcher*, to invite the King's forces to subdue *Bristoll*, saying that the King had a great party in *Bristoll*, ready to joyn with them,"

"when they came. The said *Cowly* further said, that he would addresse himself to Captain *Veale*." - - - "He saith, he had communication about the state of this city, and what party the King had in it, with one *Togood*, a scholer, son to M' *Togood* a Minister in *Bristoll*." - - - "He saith that being in company with some gentlemen at *Oxford*, whose names he hath forgot, the said young *Togood* told them, this examinate was a *Bristoll* man, well-affected to the King's service:" whereupon they told him, they would presently have come for *Bristoll*, but that they were to go upon another designe, but they would come to *Bristoll* shortly." - - - - "He saith, he saw there *Walter Cowly* and *Robert Doule*." - - - "He saith that *Thomas Hilman* said about a fortnight before the King's forces came before this town, that he would be upon the King's side."- - - - "Moreover he saith, that he was divers times at the tavern in company with *Robert* and *William Yeomans*, *M' Throupe*, *M' Green* the lawyer, *John Bowcher* merchant, and others, where they had ordinarily communication, with how many men to seize upon the guard and open a gate to the King's forces." "GEORGE TEAGE."

"*Captain* Jeremy Buck's *information upon oath before the Counsell of War, the 21st of Aprill* 1643."

"On the seventh of March I was sent from Colonell *Fiennes* and the Counsell of War in *Bristoll* about ten of the clock at night to the house of M' *Robert Yeomans*, there to apprehend him and the conspirators, who as they said they were informed, they were to destroy the guards, and so to give entrance unto Prince *Rupert* and his forces then against the town. I took 20 muskettiers from the bridge and went thither; and the first knock or suddenly after, M' *Yeomans* came to the door and desired to know my businesse. I answered, it was to speak with the man of the house. He again desired to know my businesse. I answered again, he should know when I came in. He then said, the Taptow had beaten, and therefore I could not after that time of night enter his house. I told him, I would enter; and then called up the muskettiers, who before stood silent, and called for something to break up the door. *Yeomans* then said, he would open it, but used many delayes: at length, I being urgent, he opened a little wide gate [*sic*], and I entered and took him prisoner, and demanded of him, how he could be so inhumane"

"as to indeavour the destroying his own town. He answered me with vows and deep execrations, that there was no men in his house, and that he was innocent of any such intention. But after I had secured him, upon searching some upper rooms in his house I found his brother *Willm' Yeomans*, and one Master *Arundel*, a merchant, with divers others, masters of ships and sailors with others, whom I found very desperate; one of them brake a sword striking at me, and they swore they would not be tied neck and heels together. I promised them they should not, but would use them kindly and fairly as prisoners. Master *William Yeomans* and Master *Arundel*, and some few more, I think but two, had before quietly yeelded themselves prisoners. At length one of the rest yeelded, but would hardly be disarmed, disturbing my muskettiers, the rest of the company pressing to go down that second pair of stairs to second him as I conceive; whom with my sword I kept off: and after I had a little pacified them, I acquainted Master *Robert Yeomans* of it, who was below under a guard, and he came up with me, and he with his brother *William Yeomans* and Master *Arundel*, and one or two more, went with me to their company, who were in the second pair of stairs, and there perswaded them to yield themselves prisoners and submit, when as before, all my threats could not prevail; for they said, they did not care or fear to lose their lives. M' *Robert Yeomans*, *William Yeomans*, M' *Arundel* and others, vowed their meeting was only to save his house from plundering by our garrison; and likewise that they were but eight, ten or twelve men in all: but at the top of the house, after the souldiers had searched, I took a souldier and went up myself with him, and there found eight men neer together in by corners, and a little barrel of gunpowder in a loft close by. In all I took about three and twenty men in the said *Robert Yeoman's* house: some of which formerly mentioned in the stayres, that opposed, were so desperate before they yeelded, that I was inforced to send for twenty muskettiers from the main-guard, which were first appointed to go along with me: I do beleeve that many escaped out of the top of the house. And this is the effect and sum of all that I can testifie. Witnesse my hand,"

"JEREMY BUCK."

§ 93. "*The testimonie of* Moses Longman *and* Robert Hawkesworth, *taken upon oath before a Counsell of War, held at Bristol May* 8, 1643. Who saith that Captain *Jeremy Buck's* information is all true: and further saith, that they saw in *Robert Yeoman's* house that night a thunderbusse, some petternels, and carrabynes, and clubs and swords."

"ROBERT HAWKESWORTH."

"MOSES LONGMAN."

"*The first examination of* George Boucher, *taken by* Clement Walker, *Esquire, tenth March* 1643.—To the first interrogatory this examinate sayth, that himselfe framed an oath in these words; I do voluntarily protest, &c." [as given above in § 85, with one or two slight verbal differences.] "He sayth he took this protestation on Friday was sevennight, and administered it to one *Thomas Barrett*, a cutler, *John Nickins*, a trunkmaker, *Ephraim Goody*, a goldsmith, all now in durance, and to divers others, whom he remembereth not. He sayth hee gave a copy to *Edmond Daker*, a plummer, who took it, and is likewise in hold. He sayth that by the rights and priviledges of the King, his crowne and dignity, he meant the laws of the land." - - - "He sayth also, he gave white inkle to many men for distinction sake; and had an intent to surprize the guarde at *Froome-gate*, and let in the Cavalliers, who should have fallen in upon the ringing of St' *John's* and St' *Michael's* bell, and then this examinate and his party, whereof about 20 hee had in his house, were to fall upon the backes of the said guarde." - - - "He sayth, he had many consultations about this businesse with *Robert* and *William Yeamans*, Mr. *Arundel* and Mr. *Teague*." - - - "He sayth, he knew eight dayes before they came of the Cavalliers coming, and that their said consultations tended to this purpose, how they might with most safety let in the Cavalliers. Whereupon they concluded that *Robert Yeamans* with his company should fall upon the mayne guard, and seize the ordinance there, and scowre the streets with them. He saith *Robert Yeamans* company consisted of his brother *William Yeamans*, *Mr. Arundell*, and divers others."

"GEORGE BOUCHER."

"This examinate further sayth that Mr. *Milward* had a party, but he knows not who they weare." - - - "He sayth that *Jo' Collins* came to him"

" upon Tuesday night *7th March* to joyne with him in letting in the Cavaliers, and beleiveth he knew the plott before hand." - - - "He denyeth that *Ancient Darker* [*Parker*], who then lay in his house, was privie to the businesse to his knowledge." - - - "This examinant further sayth, that upon Munday *6th* March *Robert Yeomans* sent a youth about 15 or 16 yeares old, being his apprentice, to this examinant, to give him notice that Prince *Rupert* would be before this towne the next night being Teusday, willing him to give warning to M' *Milward* and in his absence to M' *Brent* to ring St. *Michaell's* bell for a warning." - - - "He further saith, that he acquainted *Robert Blackborough*, that there was a difference betweene the King and his Parliament, in which they were all like to suffer; and there was some service to be done upon Teusday night the seventh of March for letting in the King's forces at *Froome-gate*, and desired *Blackborough* that some of the actors in that designe might have leave to passe through the saide *Blackborough's* garden towards *Froome-gate*."

"GEORGE BOURCHER."

"*Another examination of* George Bourcher, *taken upon oath before the Councell of warre the 27th April* 1643. Who affirmeth all his former examination, and further sayth that Capt' *T' Cole* did, some eight dayes before *Prince Rupert* comeing before this city, tell this examinant, as they were walking upon St. *Austin's* backe, that *Pr' Rupert* would shortly come to this towne, and for his more comodious comming into this citty he the said Capt' *Cole* would frame a bridge of lighters over the Key for passing of horse and foote."- - - - "Hee further sayth, that hee heard Mr. *Robert Yeomans* to say, that he had made some of the mayne guarde, and that it is likely they were to be distinguished by their cloths, or else that they had some other marke or tape given them."

"GEORGE BOURCHER."

"*Another examination of* George Bourcher, *taken upon 3d May* 1643. Who sayth that upon Tuesday *7th* March last about 9 of the clock at night *Rob' Yeomans* sent a messenger to this examinant, who told him that there was way made with the party that was to ride the second round to befriend us in letting in *Pr' Rupert*. To which purpose this examinant and his company was to come in the rear of the said round and fall in with them upon the guard at *Froome-gate*. But further hee saith,"

"hee doth not remember who brought the said message; but sayth the messenger told him, that hee which ridde the second round was to be knowne by wearing a scarlet gippo or coate."

"GEORGE BOUTCHER."

§ 94. "*The examination of* John Bourcher, *sonne of* George Bourcher, *taken upon oath before the Councell of Warre* 28*th of April* 1643, who saith that he hath seene the draught of a protestation, penned by his said father to this effect, *viz.* that with their lives and estates they should mayntayne the King's prerogative and dignitye: he believeth that many did take it. He further sayth, the designe or conspiracy was, that upon Tuesday the 7*th* March last, his father with his company should issue forth about midnight, and seize upon the guard at *Froome-gate*, and take the souldiers prisoners that were at the said gate, and lett in *Pr' R'* and his forces, who should have notice given him when to fall on by the ringing of St. *Michaell's* bel. By the appoyntment of Mr. *Milward* he saith that his father sent a boy to Mr. *Milward* to take order for ringing the said bell: and if *Milward* were not at home, the boy was to goe to Mr. *Brent's* to looke for *Milwarde* there: because *Milward* had promised *George Bourcher* to fetch the keys from him, or from the sexton." - - - "Hee sayth that *Rob' Yeomans* and his company were to surprize the mayne guarde, and they were to seize the ordinance in both places." - - - "Hee sayth that *Tho' Milward* and his company were to come downe upon the outside of *Froome-gate*, and joyne with *George Bourcher* after he had possessed the said gate" - - - "Hee sayeth he heard young *Cowley* say about 5 or 6 weekes before *Pr' R'* marched towards *Bristoll*, that *Robert Yeomans* sent him to *Oxon*, to invite *Pr' R'* and his forces to *Bristoll*, saying it would be an easy matter to give them entrance into the citty, because they had a great party there already. Hee sayth the said *Cowley* was suddaynely sent backe from *Oxon* to *Bristoll* with an answer; but what the answer was, this exam' knoweth not; but sayth that hee hath heard by the relation of *George Teague*, the said answer was to this effect; that the King had then another designe on foote; and as soon as that was over, hee would send his forces for *Bristoll*." - - - "Hee further sayth, that long before"

"*Cowlay's* said journey to *Oxon*, namely, before Christide last, *Thomas Milwarde* went to *Oxon;* by whose appoyntment this examinant knoweth not. And he believeth that *Milward* brought a commission from the King to *Rob' Yeomans;* for that he heard *John Throop* and *John Bowtcher*, merchant at *Oxon*, say, that *Milward* must have a great care to carry that safe to *Bsistoll:* this examinant believeth the particular that was spoken of was the said Commission." - - - "He saith, that he heard it spoken at *Oxon* usually, that the King should say, he would make *Bristoll* a famous city, if the said forces were let in." - - - "He saith, he heard one of the company at his father's house the seventh of March last say, seeing *Ancient Parker's* colours lye in the room, that if he might have leave, he would carry forth those colours that night. He saith he heard his father say, that they should not go forth until the second round was past; and that he that did lead the second round would be known by a scarlet *gippo*, and that he thought he would be for them. Hee believeth that M' *Throop* or *Robert Yeomans* gave his father notice of the particular time, when Prince *Rupert* would be before this town. Hee saith he saw a prentice-boy of *Robert Yeomans*, with his father that day, but knoweth not who gave notice of his approach to *Robert Yeamans*. He saith, he heard at *Oxon*, and hath since seen a printed proclamation, purporting a pardon to all that were in *Bristoll*, except Colonell *Finnes;* in case the forces were admitted, P' *Rupert* was to proclaim it after his entrance into the city; and should have bin proclaimed before Pr' *Rupert's* entrance, but that it was doubted it would much discover the plott." "Jo' BOUCHER."

"So did that vile court force the son to give testimony against his father's life."

"*The second Examination of* Edw' Hunt, *taken upon oath before the Councell of War*, 3*d May* 1643, who saith, that *Robert Yeomans* said unto the company in the room where this examinant was in *Robert Yeaman's* house and in his hearing, that they were resolved to surprize the main guard, to open the gates of the city and let in the King's forces with Pr' *Rupert;* and that if they prevailed they should see great men, who would reward them and make them for ever: saying further, you are the men that I must trust to; and that they should have arms to"

"accomplish the designe; and that he hoped to disarm the main guard and furnish them with their arms. He kept the door of the house locked, and would suffer no man to go forth." "E. H."

"*The examination of Master* Robert Yeomans *taken upon oath before the Counsell of War*, 28 *Aprill* 1643, who being demanded whether he knew of any message sent to *Oxford*, to invite the King's forces to come to this town; he saith, that about a fortnight or three weeks before Prince *Rupert* came before this towne, Dr' *Marks* came hither from *Oxford* and told this examinant, that the King gave thanks to all his loyall subjects, that were of his party in this city, and wished them to keep themselves private, untill hee had occasion to send his forces to this city, and then they should have timely notice thereof. And being further demanded, whether this message of Dr. *Marks* did not arise from some message formerly sent from hence, to invite the King's forces hither; he answereth that hee doth believe there was: but being asked whether he knew of any one that did send any such message; he answereth that he knows none. And being further asked whether he knew of any one that was acquainted with any such message, he answereth that he believeth that divers were acquainted with it, but he desireth to be excused for nominating any particular. And being asked what answer was returned to that message brought from the King to Doctor *Marks*; he saith, that hee answered hee should be ready to serve his Majesty to his power upon any occasion, and that hee doth verily believe divers others did know of the same message, as *Jo' Throop* and *Jo' Bowtcher* and others." - - - "He further saith, that Dr. *Marks* came againe the Saterday before Prince *Rupert* came hither, and brought word from the King, that his forces were comming this way; and therefore desired that they would be ready here to observe such commands and directions, as they should have from Prince *Rupert*, or words to this effect: and hereupon Prince *Rupert* sent one *Cockaram* a souldier, to know whether we could secure him of a port, if he came here: to which he saith that he answered, that now it was impossible so to do, but formerly it might easily have bin done, because the garrison was but weak, and the guards carelesly kept, or to this effect." - - - - "This examinant being demanded further why he and his brother provided such a company of men that"

"night in his house; he answereth that he doth not remember that he spake to his brother to bring any company to his house that night; but saith that the company which was at his house came out of love to him, (if need were) if his house should be in danger to be plundered." - - - - "This examinant being further demanded, whether hee did not know of severall meetings and consultations touching the letting in of Prince *Rupert* and his forces, before they came to this town; he answereth that he was at divers meetings and consultations with his friends, but he doth not remember any such discourse." - - - "This examinant being further demanded, whether he knew of any message or imployment that M' *Weeks* had in this business; he answereth he knows none. - - - - "This examinant being further demanded, what company of any quality was in his house that night; he answereth that he knows of none, but those that were taken and apprehended in his house." - - - "This examinate being further asked, whether he did not know of some designe to surprize the main guards that night; he answereth, that he knew none. He being further asked, whether he did not know of some of the officers of Colonel *Essex* or souldiers of the garrison, that were acquainted with this businesse; he answereth, that he knew none. This examinant being further asked, whether hee did not know of any designe to set some part of the town on fire; he answereth that he knows none. ROBERT YEOMANS."

§ 95. "*The examination of* John Pestor *taken upon oath before the counsell of war held at Bristoll* 12*th Aprill* 1643."

"This examinant being asked what he knew concerning a commission granted unto M' *Robert Yeomans* answereth; that a little before Colonell *Essex* came to this towne, Master *Robert Yeomans* told him that hee understood, hee the said *Robert Yeomans* had a commission from his Majesty to make more captaines, and desired this examinant to be one of those captains, which he consented unto; M' *Robert Yeomans* having told him, that the effect of his commission was for the mayntenance of the true Protestant religion established in the church of *England*, the King's prerogative and safety of his person, priviledges of Parliament and the liberty and propriety of the subject, and the defence of the city against all forces, without the joynt consent of the Major, Aldermen and"

"Common-councell, among whom there was some difference at that time concerning the admission of any forces. And he further saith, that not long after Colonell *Essex* comming into the city, the said *Robert Yeomans* meeting him in the street said, that he could have wished he had received his commission sooner, that he might have prevented their comming in, or to that purpose." - - - "Hee being asked whether he were not at *Richard Lucket's* house on Tuesday night the seventh of March; he answered, that hee was there betwixt eight and nine of the clock, and that he was sent for thither by *Tho' Stephens* and *Matthew Stephens*, and *Richard Lucket* was the messenger: and this examinant saith, that whilest they sate at the same *Lucket's* house, there was discourse amongst them concerning meeting at St. *Michael's* church, and to go from thence unto M' *Robert Yeomans* house, to assist him (as he believeth) to seize the guards; for that they had discourse that the guards were so weak, that it might easily be done, and that they were intreated to go unto M' *Robert Yeomans*. - - - - "And he further saith, about two or three days before meeting with M' *Robert Yeomans*, the said *Robert Yeomans* told him, that the King's forces were marching towards *Bristol*, and that he would let them in, if he could, and wished that all others would be as willing and forward as he was, so to do: whereunto this examinant seemed willing; but saith that about ten days before, the said M' *Robert Yeomans* gave him some tape, and told him that if he did weare it in his hat and his brest, it would be security unto him, whensoever the King's forces came into *Bristoll*, for that it would be their own colours. This examinant further saith, that when the said *Robert Yeomans* gave him the tape, hee gave him also the word, which was CHARLES; which word the rest which he met at *Richard Lucket's* house had before him, as they acknowledged to him." "JOHN PESTER."

"*The examination of* Nathaniel Street, *tiler, taken upon oath before the Councell of war* 21*st April* 1643. Who saith, that *William Yeomans* brought this examinant upon Tuesday the seventh of March last into the house of his brother *Robert Yeomans*, where he was brought into a large chamber, where he found divers men: where he heard one *Harry Russell* aske what those men should do, who had no arms; to which he heard *Robert Yeomans* say *Clubs*." "NATH' STREET."

Then follow the earl of *Forth's* letter to *Col' Fiennes* and his answer.

§ 96. The King's affairs were soon after this event considerably improved in the West, with which part Bristol is immediately connected. That gallant little army which came out of Cornwall, being joined by another small army of royalists from Oxford, had marched through Somersetshire and taken Taunton, Bridgewater, and Dunster Castle: Sir Wm' Waller who was sent by the Parliament to stop their progress had made his head-quarters at Bath, to which place he drew supplies from the garrison of Bristol, particularly he was joined by Col' Popham's regiment on July 2 or 3; and then marching out of the town on July 5 he fought the battle of Lansdown on the brow of the hill in sight of Bristol, at a spot where the monument of Sir Bevil Grenville records the tale of suffering loyalty. "They planted (*m*) their ordnance, says Mr. Aldworth, which they shot plentifully at each other from three in the afternoon till eleven of the clock at night, which we in Bristol heard, and saw them give fire." What followed must be passed over hastily; how Sir William Waller retreated in alarm to Bath, unconscious of his own victory, and having drawn a fresh supply from Bristol, came up with the royalist army, which on Friday lay at Marshfield; how the royalists retreated to Chippenham on Saturday, and on Sunday to Devizes, whither Sir W' Waller closely pursued them; how he besieged them in Devizes, and there at the moment when he thought (*n*) himself certain of a compleat victory, how he was utterly defeated on July 13, with unusual circumstances of rout, himself with few attendants making his escape to Bristol, and that with so much speed, that he brought the first tidings of his own misfortune. The alarm at Bristol must have been very great, for no small part of the garrison had been sacrificed in his defeat; it was therefore judged necessary to withdraw their force from Bath, and with it to reinforce the garrison of Bristol; by which it was made to consist of 2300 men besides some cavalry; and they began to prepare for a siege, the probability of which was now apparent. The governor made proclamation by trumpet through the city, that all the inhabitants should furnish themselves with three months provision; which they very generally did. The castle particularly was well supplied with provisions; and

(*m*) Copie of a letter from the Mayor of Bristol July 5. (*n*) Lord Clarendon.

the governor having declared, that he would in the last place retreat thither and hold it out to the utmost extremity, very many both of the city and the country, especially those, who were esteemed most attached to their cause, being so advised, carried there three months provisions, and the most valuable part of their property, plate, money, goods &c, having previously contributed liberally towards the expence of fortifying it. With that of others "all the (*o*) family plate of John Harrington Esq' of Kelson was removed thither; among which was a large golden font, in which Sir John Harrington (afterwards a very ingenious poet) was christened; a present from queen Elizabeth, his godmother. His house had been plundered several times: he is said to have been the only one of that family ever tinctured with disloyal (*p*) principles." Meanwhile they laboured at the fortifications as long as circumstances would permit; even when the King's troops appeared, the line was not so finished as it would have been, if more time had been allowed: and on "July 17 (*q*) Governor Fiennes gave orders to demolish St. Peter's and St. Philip's churches," thinking probably, that being so near to the castle walls they might afford a dangerous lodgement to an enemy; but the approach of the royal army prevented this sacrilegious order from being executed. That same night (the 17*th*) Sir William Waller with 500 horse quitted Bristol by the governor's recommendation, and marched to London; and with him many of the country gentlemen quitted the city.

§ 97. While these preparations were making in Bristol, the Cornish army after their late victory retracing their march easily recovered Bath, where they refreshed themselves, and concerted measures with those at Oxford for the recovery of Bristol. On July 22 some small parties began to make their appearance on the south and east sides of the town, but retired again. Next day they drew nearer, and that night took up their quarters in the neighbourhood, the Cornish troops commanded by the General in Chief the Marquis of Hertford and Prince Maurice on the Somersetshire side, the troops from Oxford under Prince Rupert on the

(*o*) Barrett, p' 230.

(*p*) This observation refers (as I suppose) to his accepting a Commission from Cromwell: for doing which he was fully justified by all the neighbouring gentry of both parties, who joined in requesting him to accept it. See *Nugæ Antiquæ*. (*q*) Barrett 228.

Gloucestershire side. On Monday the 24*th* they attacked some of the outworks, but were repulsed; and on the same day (*r*) the Prince by the help of some loyal sailors got possession of all the ships in King-road. On the 25*th* they assaulted some parts of the line and outworks more seriously and with greater numbers; but were again beaten off. Of this assault Col' Fiennes makes no mention; but says expressly, that he sustained two assaults, one on Monday and the final one on Wednesday. On these two days and again on the day of general assault the most violent attack was made against that part of the line, which was between the Windmill-fort [the Royal Fort] and Prior's-hill-fort; where not far from Alderman Jones's house [somewhere near Southwell-street] the line was strengthened by a sconce [probably *Colston's mount*, behind the Mountague tavern]. But the ground beyond the line [which can be no other, than *Cotham Hill*] commanded the works in such a manner, that the Governor had been advised by Serjeant Major Edward Wood, who commanded at that part of the line, to secure it by a small fort in advance, which advice he neglected, and in consequence the King's troops brought there their strongest and nearest battery, under cover of which, they often attempted the line 'with scaling-ladders, fire-pickes, granadoes and the like, but were beaten off with great loss, especially on the morning of the 26*th*.' On the 25*th* it was agreed at a council of war to assault the outward line in six places, three on the Somersetshire, and three on the Gloucestershire side. The King's army consisted of about 14,000 men according to Lord Clarendon, others (*s*) say 20,000; well-informed men in the city computed them at only 8000, mostly horse; Fiennes (*t*) says that they were 15 regiments of foot, and 12 regiments of horse. The beseiged had upward of 2000 foot, and a regiment of about 300 horse, besides about 200 volunteers, who were townsmen, and helped to defend the works; 100 of them were stationed between Windmill Fort and Prior-hill Fort: and the officers of the garrison boasted that they could have raised 6000 or 8000 able men more in the city, if they had wanted

(*r*) Clarendon. His history is so easy to be procured, that I wish to make only slight mention of those circumstances related by him. (*s*) Barrett.

(*t*) In his *Relation*. See Catalogue S. in § 42.

them. On Wednesday morning July 26 before daylight the assault was made; on the Somersetshire side unsuccessfully, for the Cornish troops were repulsed with great loss of their men and of their officers; on the Gloucestershire side two assaults failed, but the middle division, led on by Col' Washington, which made their assault against that part of the line, which was midway between the Royal Fort and Brandon-hill Fort, where now is the top of Park-street, succeeded in making a breach in the (*u*) line near a barn, and driving off the enemy. This happened at or before sun-rising. The part of the line where they entered was unfinished and weaker than any other, and under the command of Lieut' Col' Clifton before mentioned; and not far off was stationed one Langrish, a Major of horse, with his troop, an intimate friend of the governor, and a notorious coward. The soldiers who defended that part of the line ran away; Langrish, who might have charged with his troop, ran away also; so that the royalists entered there with little loss. Yet their number was but small, from 100 to 300, according to different testimonies, part of Col' Washington's own regiment; these possessed themselves of Essex Fort, the situation of which I cannot exactly ascertain, (*v*) except that it was in or near Park-row, and commanded the place of breach: they then moved forward to Sir Ferdinando Gorge's house [now Colston's school] which they occupied, and in and about that house they continued for two or three hours, until all their powder was expended; while a party of royalist horse stood outside the breach, and did not attempt to enter and assist their companions. It was two or three hours before they were joined by any of their own men, for they being repulsed had retreated as far as Durdham Down; and on the Somersetshire side one regiment of horse had retired as far as Whitchurch, resolved to come on no more.

§ 98. Meanwhile this error was not unobserved by the enemy; many officers and even common soldiers hastened into the town and

(*u*) In the original Churchwarden's book of the parish of St. Austin is an account of the expence [a few shillings] of levelling and making good the place, called *Washington's breach.* The memory of this exploit has lasted to our own time: in Roeque's map of the city 1742, the place is called *Washington's bridge* [erroneously for *breach*]: I have heard old persons call it by that name.

(*v*) See above § 45.

informed the governor of the situation in which the assailants stood: that the party at the Great House was wholly unsupported; that the line and even the breach was free from any enemy, insomuch that one informant rode along the whole line without interruption; that 200 men would be sufficient to make good the breach, and force or fire Sir F' Gorge's house: but Fiennes was resolved not to expose himself to danger. He had been a very active rebel with his tongue and with his pen; but by his own confession when he first came to Bristol, he was no soldier: and he much mistook his own disposition when he solicited a military command. In public he had used boastful language, that if the outworks were forced, he would defend the city walls; and if they should be taken he would retire into the castle disputing every foot of ground; that he would make the flag of truce to be his winding-sheet, and would leave his bones there, &c.: but when a siege was unavoidable, and the dangers of war closed about him, he was so alarmed that every one took notice of his cowardly behaviour: it was proved at his trial, that he had spoken in private concerning conditions of surrender; that he had enquired concerning the best mode of retreating; that he had refused to send away his prisoners, as he had been advised, but kept them for the purpose of making better conditions for himself; that he had sent away Sir Wm' Waller, who would willingly have staid; in fine that he had no thoughts of holding out to the uttermost, but had from the first intended to surrender, when besieged. As soon, therefore, as he was informed that the royalists were within the line, he sent word to those who still remained there to retire within the city walls on pain of death, and more than once he rode up to the line himself, giving the same orders; whereupon they did at last, with much murmuring and execration retire, and the greater part never afterwards joined their companions, but went away, some to bed, others to the alehouses. About 6 or 7 o'clock in the morning, the royalists who had retreated began to re-appear, and 300 or 400 entering at the breach, quickly levelled the rampart, and then Pr' *Rupert* entered with horse and foot, being joined by 1000 of the Cornish troops, who were come round to his assistance. Such was the event of this ill-conducted enterprize, and by so hazardous a chance only the line was forced: and even this advantage was dearly purchased, for the

King lost full (*w*) 500 men, who were incomparable foot soldiers, and a great number of excellent officers, whose names and characters are immortalized by the pen of the noble historian. Several witnesses on the garrison's side said that the King lost there 700 killed and as many wounded, with a loss of only 6 or 7 of their own men. *Fiennes* wrote to the Earl of *Essex* that he slew 1000 of the enemy with the loss of only 8 of his own men. It was evident also that the city was by no means conquered: for when the army came down the hill through the narrow streets of the suburbs in order to assault the walls, many were slain by shot from the windows, particularly Col' *Henry Lunsford*, and his Lieut' Col' *Moyle:* I have heard it traditionally said that mischief of this kind, and much abusive language, came from the windows of Stipe-street, and that the soldiers entered such houses and slew all they found there. The garrison, however, still kept the walls and the gates; and they drew some cannon into the Marsh, or more particularly (as another witness said) they planted one at the head of the Quay and three at Gyb-Tayler, and one on the top of Alderman *Hook's* house on the Quay, and stationed musqueteers in some of the houses on the Quay, by which means they drove the assailants from Sir F' Gorge's house, and from the College-green and College-wall, from which places they had annoyed the garrison on the other side of the river. About 9 on the clock the governor alarmed, sent a drum to the royalists for a parley, to which they seem to have paid no attention, but drove him in; and then two or three hours after he had first refused, he consented to order a sally to be made, which took place about 11 o'clock, and came out at Frome-gate: it was directed against the College-green, and had at first some success in driving off the enemy; but the royalists soon recovered themselves, and the party, which consisted of only 200 men, and moreover conducted themselves far from bravely, was presently driven back. Then they barricadoed Frome-gate on the inside with earth and wool-sacks to the thickness of 14 or 16 feet, which work was performed by women chiefly, who zealously offered their assistance; and they seemed resolute to resist; when to the great joy of the Prince and his officers, who began to fear that the business might prove long and dangerous, especially as

(*w*) So says Lord Clarendon.

not one of the out-forts was taken, about 2 on the clock *Fiennes* ordered another parley to be beaten, and proposed terms of surrender, on which hostilities ceased.

§ 99. The above is chiefly extracted from *Prynne*: Fiennes's own account of the matter is here transcribed from his speech, as printed in his *Relation*. "We stood it out four dayes together, wherein they spared not to plye us with small and great shot and with their granadoes, giving our men, who were forced to be constantly all of them upon duty, and were so five dayes and nights together, no rest at all: and two sharp assaults they made upon us, the one on Munday was seven-night at midnight; at which time having given a signall by three peeces of ordnance shot off, first on the one side of the water, and then answered by as many on the other side, they fell on very desperately on both sides the town at once; but were beaten off with losse: whereupon on Tuesday they entered into a solemn debate, whether they should proceed to fall upon the town by way of assault, or by way of approach; and it was resolved, that it should be by way of assault, as may appear by the result of their councell of war, which we found in the pocket of Col' *Buck*, who with divers other officers and gentlemen of quality was slain in that assault. And accordingly on Wednesday morning at break of day they made a most furious assault upon all sides of the town in eight or nine places at once with fire-pikes and granadoes in their hands, and with wains full of faggots which they drove into the ditches, that first getting upon them they might after get over the works: and they ran on so desperately, that they got up to the portalls of the canon and to the pallisadoes of the forts, and would not give over, till they were knocked down with stones and halberts: and so with the loss of divers hundreds of their men, with many officers and gentlemen of quality, besides a multitude that were wounded and maimed, they were beaten off on all sides, and the ground bestrewed with their dead bodies in all places where they stormed. But in one place where the works were not quite perfected, the ditch being not made without side, nor the foot bank within side the work, they entered the line, there being but a weak guard in that place. Yet, as I did in all places where through the want of foot I could not place a guard"

" strong enough, there were neer a hundred horse under the command of Major *Langrishe* appointed to second the foot there, who were commanded to charge the enemy so soon as they should enter; but these horse did not charge the enemy, as they were commanded, though some of them were most earnestly entreated thereunto by my Lieutenant-Colonell, who had the command of that part, when the enemy first began to enter, and our men began to give back: so the enemy falling on in five distinct bodies, the first and the second got over, and presently got to the walls and places of advantage within the line: but as the third body was entering, my troop of horse, that was set to second another guard, hearing of the enemies entrie in this place, came down and fell upon the third division of the enemy, as they were entering, and cut them off; but being assaulted both by those that were entering and those that had entered before they came down, firing upon them from the walls, (which they had got the advantage of) they were forced to retreat; and then the enemy had free liberty to possesse themselves of the suburbs by the *Colledge-green* and *Frome-gate*, which they did; and hoping to force their entrie by that gate, they drew off the whole body of their forces to the place: whereupon we also drew off all our men from off the line into the town, and not staying till they came to the gates we opened them, and issued forth upon the enemy both with horse and foot, and beat them back from street to street for an houre and halfe together, insomuch that many of them threw downe their arms and cried for quarter. But the enemy drawing down fresh companies, still one after another, upon us, and we being not able to answer them in the like kind, having so few men as we had, our men were forced at length to retreat into the town; and then and not till then, whether it were out of extream wearinesse, having bin upon continuall duty for five nights together, or that they began to be disheartened, the souldiers began to drop away from their colours and from their guards; insomuch that having declared that all souldiers should repair into the Marsh unto their colours, and that there they should receive both victualls and money, when I went into the Marshe to see what company came together, of 12 or 14 companies there came not a 100 men, and yet the enemy drew down thick upon the Back [St. Augustine's Back], and it began now to be low"

"water at the *Key*, so that they might wade over at their pleasure; and the guards being so weak, might (if they had attempted it) have forced their entrie into the town in halfe an hour. Hereupon I resolved to call a councell of war, for that now was the time, that either we must treat or retreat into the castle, if it should be thought fit so to do, for that the town could not be kept any longer." The second proposal for a parley was readily accepted by the royalist chiefs; and the following conditions of surrender were soon agreed to in a council of war holden at *Fiennes's* house, to which the Mayor and Sheriffs and some chief citizens were admitted; but the council of war was called by the governor in a very partial manner, only eight or nine officers being present, and two or three country-gentlemen; and even of those many dissented, although the Mayor and citizens earnestly pressed for a surrender: and the business was so hurried on, that before ten o'clock that night the following conditions were signed by the governor and Pr' Rupert; those articles which were most disadvantageous to the garrison having been settled by Fiennes alone, as he walked in the garden with Col' Gerrard, who negociated for the Prince.

§ 100. "*Articles agreed on at the surrender of the city of Bristoll between Colonell* Nathaniell Fiennes, *governour of the said city, on the one party, and Colonell* Charles Gerard *and Captain* William Teringham *for and on behalf of Prince* Rupert, *on the other party, the 26th of July* 1643.—*Published according to Order.*"

"1. That the governour *Nathaniel Fiennes*, together with all the officers both of horse and foot now within and about this city of *Bristoll*, castle and forts, may march out to-morrow morning by 9 of the clock, with their full arms, horses, bagge and baggage, provided it be their own goods; and that the common foot-souldiers march out without armes, and the troopers with their horses and swords, leaving their other arms behind them, with a safe convoy to *Warmister*; and after not to be molested in their march by any of the King's forces for the space of three days."

"2. That there may be carriages allowed and provided to carry away their bagge and baggage, and sick and hurt souldiers."

"3. That the King's forces march not into the towne, till the Parliament forces are marched out, which is at 9 of the clock."

"4. That all prisoners in the citie be delivered up, and that Captain *Eyres*, and Captaine *Gookin*, who were taken at the *Devizes*, be released."

"5. That Sir *John Homer* [*Horner*] Sir *John Seymour*, Mr. *Edward Steevens*, and all other knights, gentlemen, citizens, and all other persons that are now in the city, may (if they please) with their goods, wives and families, horses, bagge and baggage, have free liberty to returne to their owne homes or elsewhere, and there to rest in safety; or ride and travell with the governour and forces: and such of them and their families as shall be left behind by reason of sickness or other cause, may have liberty (as soon as they can conveniently) to depart this towne with safety. Provided that all the gentlemen and other persons shall have three dayes liberty to reside here or depart with their goods, which they please."

"6. That all the inhabitants of this city shall be secured in their persons, families and estates, free from plundering and all other violence or wrong whatsoever."

"7. That the charters and liberties of this city may be preserved, and that the ancient government thereof and present governors and officers may remaine and continue in their former condition, according to his Majesty's charters and pleasure."

"8. That for avoyding inconveniencies and distractions, the quartering of souldiers be referred or left to the Maior or Governour of the same city for the time being."

"9. That all such, as have carryed any goods into the castle, may have free liberty to carry the same forth."

"10. That the forces that are to march out, are to leave behind them all cannon and amunition, with their colours and such armes as is before expressed."

§ 101. On these conditions Bristol was surrendered to the Prince, and his troops were admitted by Newgate, for Frome-gate was still barricadoed. But the conditions were very ill observed; for almost all the officers' arms and troopers' swords were taken from them, and the soldiers in marching away were plundered and ill-treated in revenge for

what these same soldiers had done at Reading; and many private houses which belonged to men known to be disaffected, were broken open and plundered: particularly the houses on the bridge, the inhabitants of which were supposed to be eminently disloyal, were almost all of them plundered. The Parliament, in publishing the articles of capitulation, annexed to them a letter, wherein is the following passage: "On Thursday last we rendered the citie of *Bristoll*, as by the articles here inclosed you may perceive; but what faith hath been kept thereafter, let the robberies and spoyles of every particular person declare; amongst which I praise God I am escaped with my life to the towne of *Southampton*, with my sonne *John*. But before I could come forth of the gates of the city of *Bristoll*, I was deprived of my money, plate and baggage, from behind my servants, who were throwne off their horses, and the same cut off their backes and utterly lost, and themselves and their horses in like condition, for ought I know; and onley wee ourselves with some other gentlemen escaped hither with our lives on Friday night last. And on Saturday came in also the late governour of *Bristol*, Col' *Fiennes* and his brother, with the remainder of the whole soulderie, who were served with the like sauce; such is the faith held with the present victors." *Fiennes* in his printed *relation* makes the same complaint of the conduct of the royalist soldiers, "dismounting our troopers, pillaging our soldiers, as well officers as others, and by threats and incitements drawing off our soldiers to serve them, or dispersing them into their several countries: and our convoy used us worst of all, pillaging us almost all the way they went with us, and extorting moneys from us; wherein the officers for the most part were so much to blame as the common-souldiers. Yet I must doe this right to the Princes, Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*, contrary to what I find in a printed pamphlet, that they were so farre from sitting upon their horses triumphing and rejoycing at these disorders, that they did ride amongst these plunderers with their swords, hacking and slaying them, and Prince *Rupert* did excuse it to me in a very faire way, and with expressions, as if he were much troubled at it." These outrages were of great prejudice to his Majesty's cause: the Prince, however, in exculpation, accused Fiennes himself of being the cause of

these irregularities. The accusation had been already made by Colonel Charles Gerard, one of the principal officers of the royalist army; who in a letter to him charged him with unsoldierly neglect of duty in this respect. For no sooner were the articles signed, than he gave up all care of the place, although the surrender was not to take place until the morrow; no guards, or insufficient, were set at the gates; the garrison soldiers passed freely into the Prince's quarters, as the others did into the city; the castle was given up to the King's troops, and the prisoners were released many hours before the stipulated time; the castle, and its gates in particular, became a scene of the utmost confusion; officers of the garrison going there for their property, were kept prisoners, and some of them were much abused and plundered; citizens and others who had deposited their goods there, crowded into it in order to secure them, and when they attempted to remove them were plundered by the soldiery. The governor forgot to publish the articles of surrender; and being reminded of it by Capt' Bushell, one of the prisoners, he allowed him to do it as he would; he permitted one of the royalist hostages to walk away, and would have suffered the other also to do the same, had he not been reminded of his duty: he even forgot in his confusion to send notice to Capt' Husbands, who commanded in Brandon-hill fort, and to Capt' Blake who commanded in Prior's-hill fort, that he had capitulated, so that they refused for a time to surrender the forts, and thereby hazarded their life and liberty; for when Capt' Blake afterwards raised himself to an eminent degree of glory as Admiral of the Fleet in the Dutch war, and trifling circumstances of his life were thought worth recording, then it was remembered that Pr' Rupert on this occasion threatened to hang him for refusing to surrender after the capitulation. And at last the governor marched with his men out of town an hour before the appointed time, and before the convoy was ready (so eager was he to quit a place where he had given deep offence both to friends and foes) and at a different gate from that which was agreed on: all which irregularities could not fail of producing mischief, and was the main cause, as his own officers said, why numbers of their soldiers entered into the King's service. It is however, fair to observe, that Fiennes denied this charge, and said that he took his men into the

Marsh, leaving his own company in the Castle: and at the appointed hour he led his men to the gate leading to Warminster, and himself staid there in the town an hour or two afterwards.

§ 102. The following letter to the Governor of Oxford, dated July 30, 1643, contains some further information concerning this event, so interesting in the history of our city, although all the particulars do not seem worthy of credit:—"At (*a*) the assault of Bristol the outworks were very strong, and cost near 500 common men's lives on the King's side. Col' Herbert Lunsford was slain, and the Lord Viscount Grandison shot, and Master Bellasis wounded in the head by his own sword, which was struck to his head by a musket, when they rushed in upon the works: neither of them in any great danger. It was the hottest service that ever was in this kingdom, since the war began. In his Majesty's army there are at least 1400 armed men. The city was surrendered on Wednesday upon this condition; that the commanders were permitted to ride out with their swords, and the common men to march out with their sticks in their hands so many as were pleased to go, but at least 1000 of the garrison soldiers very willingly remain in the castle to serve his Majesty. Col' Fiennes marched out without molestation or hurt, who attempted before to escape; but was stopped by the seamen, who are his Majesty's friends. The royalists found in the city 1700 barrels of gunpowder with match and bullets proportionable, 60 brass pieces of good ordnance, and all the arms, 18 good ships in the river belonging to merchants, and 4 ships belonging to the Earl of Warwick, that came lately to relieve it, which have good store of ammunition in them. The city gives £1400 by way of composition, to save them from being plundered; upon which his Majesty hath sent a proclamation strictly to prevent it, that it shall be death for any soldier to plunder. Sir Arthur Ashton came post to Oxford on Friday to inform his Majesty of the state of things there. Upon which the Council of war and Council of state agreed to send away Sir John Pennington speedily to Bristol to have the command of the ships, and a proclamation to all mariners that are willing"

(*a*) It is transcribed from Barrett, p' 229, and was copied for him from the British Museum, pamph' fol' sheets, No. 3.

"to serve the King to this effect, that they shall have their pardon, who have served under the Earl of Warwick, and also their pay that is due from him presently paid at Bristol, and his Majesty's pay and his favour for the future. Informations of the 31*st* July were, ***Bristol taking—Exeter shaking—Gloucester quaking.*** The report is that Bristol is to pay but £50,000 in money for composition; but that they are also to cloath 1500 of the King's soldiers according to their quality; common men £3 a suit, and gentlemen and commanders £6, which amounts to £140,000. There was found in the castle of Bristol £100,000, as is reported."

§103. Fiennes's conduct on this occasion was so notoriously bad, and his imprudent confidence so great, that he personally provoked W' Prynne and Clement Walker, who were already sufficiently irritated by losing a great part of their property in the taking of Bristol, to prosecute him for cowardice and treachery. Clement Walker, who has been mentioned before, was (according to Lord Clarendon) "a gentleman of Somersetshire, of a good fortune, and by the loss of that the more provoked; who had been in the town when it was lost, and had strictly observed all that was done or said." Prynne's character, exploits, sufferings and writings are well known. "He was born (he says) not far from Bristol [at Swainswick near Bath] bred up some years therein, had many friends, kinred in or near it, who lost much and himself not a little, by it's surrender." The trial came on at *St. Alban's*, then the head-quarters of the rebel army, on Dec' 14, 1643, before a council of war. The substance of the accusation has been already mentioned; Col' ***Fiennes's*** defence was this, as contained in the ***Relation &c:*** that he never had a sufficient number of men for the defence of the city; on which account he was less scrupulous of permitting Sir *Wm' Waller* to take away from the garrison 1200 foot beside a regiment of horse which he had before, in order to strengthen his army; well knowing that if the enemy were master of the field he would in a short time be master of the city also in it's then defenceless state: whereas if he had had a competent number of men he would have kept ***Bristol*** independently of any fortune in the field. Under these circumstances therefore when *Waller* was defeated, and those 1200

men were all dispersed, and had lost their arms, every one looked on *Bristol* as a lost town; so that *Waller* himself wisely quitted it with the remnant of his army, knowing that otherwise he should have lost *that* also: and many gentlemen, who used to reside there constantly, foreseeing the inevitable loss of the place hastily withdrew; so that it was the general opinion that *Bristol* was lost, when *Waller* lost the field. Notwitstanding which, and that he had only 700 men left and not a penny to pay them, *Fiennes* says that in five days time by help of some money borrowed from Sir *John Horner* and some other *honest* men he raised 1700 or 1800 men in all, "which was nothing for the manning of those works, that required at least twice as many;" and with those forces he held out four days, during which time the enemy gave them no rest, but they were forced to be constantly all of them upon duty for five days and nights together. He says further, that if they had retired into the castle they must have fired the city behind them, which would have produced a general insurrection of the inhabitants and precluded all conditions of surrender: after all, the castle could not have been kept more than three or four days, for want of ammunition, and because of the extraordinary effect of the enemy's artillery, and of the course which they intended to take in storming it, "being provided with close-decked boates and galleries to that purpose." He insists moreover, that after the line was forced, it was impossible to keep his soldiers together, but that many of them ran over the water to the enemy, shewing how easily the enemy might do the same. For these reasons and many others, as given at length in Col' Fiennes's *Relation*, he with the concurrence of his officers and some gentlemen of the neighbourhood, Sir *John Horner*, *Edward Stroude*, Mr. *Stevens &c* lost no time in agreeing to a surrender. All these excuses are answered by Prynne at length with great acrimony as well as ingenuity. The result was, that after the Council of war had sat nine days Fiennes was convicted of cowardice by abundant and undoubted evidence, and condemned to lose his head. But his family interest in the two houses was so good, and his own merits with his party had previously been so great, that his sentence was remitted by the Earl of Essex, their commander in chief, and he continued for a short time to

sit in the House of Commons; but afterwards he retired out of the kingdom, and spent the remainder of his life abroad.

§ 104. The loss of Bristol gave an alarm to the whole faction; Prynne's words (p' 50) are worth transcribing. "The Parliament, his Excellency, London, and the whole kingdome, looked upon Bristoll as a place of the greatest consequence of any in England next to London, as the Metropolis, Key, Magazine of the West, which would be all indangered, and the kingdome too by its losse; as a towne of infinite more consequence then Glocester; by the gaining whereof the enemy would be furnished with all manner of provisions and ammunition by land, with a navie and all merchandize by sea, and enabled to bring in the strength of Wales and Ireland for their assistance." To the same effect is Fiennes's own representation in a letter to his father. "May it please your lordship to understand first the importance of the city of Bristol." - - - - "The enemy hath lately cast his eye upon it, prompted by the witty malice of our malignants to espye his advantage. If he possesse this city, he will reap these benefits by our losse :—1. He will get much money, armes and ammunition in a more cheap and less hazardous way, than he can have them out of the Low Countreyes; all which he will pay for with monopolies and engrosments of trade, things with which the great ones of this towne have been well acquainted, and are therefore malignant.—2. If hee gaine this town he will soon subdue Glocester, and become master of all the tract between Shrewsbury and the Lyzard's Point in Cornwall, a quarter so plentiful, as his plundering army yet never saw.—3. He will become master of all the traffic of that inland sea the Severn: and make all the shipping both of the Welch and English coasts his owne.—4. His neighbourhood to Wales will from time to time supply him with a body of foot.—5. Wee shall lose a great port-towne very important for the service of Ireland, and fit to give landing to the rebels of that place, or any other enemy." The following passages from Prynne, give likewise the same information, however distorted by his malevolence :—"I hope all intelligent Protestants [*he* (*b*) *says*] who have"

(*b*) Prynne's popish, royall Favourite, 1643, p' 71.

"hitherto sided with his Majesty and that party out of their overmuch credulity of their upright intentions, and ignorance of their secret design" [*that is*, to set up Popery and extirpate the Protestant religion, as Prynne expresses himself a few lines before] "upon the serious perusal of the premisses, and his Majesty's late sending of at least 30 sail of ships from Bristol (a sad effect of its unhappy surrender) besides other ships elsewhere, to bring over Irish rebels, to ruin our kingdom and cut our throats (many of which are already arrived, and have committed great murders and insolencies at Bristol and elsewhere without restraint or punishment) will now, upon consideration of all the premisses, for ever desert that antichristian party, &c." And again, he writes thus: "and the rather may they and we believe it, because some of the Irish rebels lately landed at Bristol (where they murdered two vintners and a tapster, beating out their brains on no just occasion at all, and yet were suffered to go scot free, and march up in Sir Ralph Hopton's army against the Parliament, as I am certainly informed by some lately come from thence) have openly blamed the Cavaliers for that, when Bristol was surrendered, they did not put man, woman, and child therein to the sword, notwithstanding their articles, though punctually observed in no particular, but violated in every thing, as were the articles, since made with Exeter and Dartmouth." The taking of Bristol therefore gave the King a great accession of power, for it was strong and defensible, as has been already described, and the city, castle and port were well stored with every thing necessary for military and naval purposes. There "were (*c*) in the castle provisions according to the following list.

11000 weight of biscuit.—800 bushels of wheat, or near about.—Some reasonable store of pease.—Beef of the first salting 60 barrels.—Pork 10 barrels.—12 fat oxen ready to be killed.—20 leaner oxen, which would serve.—6 milch kine.—Hay for two months.—Coals for a year.—Cheese and butter good store—16 butts of sack.—Good store of tobacco.—And all manner of victuals for 1000 men for 3 or 4 months.—And those families who chose to abide in the castle had laid in 3 months' provisions."

(*c*) Prynne.

"Of ammunition there was in the castle the following quantity.—70 French barrels of powder (equal to 140 English) found in the magazine by the King's troops, besides what was in the forts, and great quantities in the houses of those who sold it and 5 or 6 barrels made in the city every week.—1400 weight of match, and means to make it, as fast as it was expended.—Half a ton of musquet bullets ready made, and lead and tin to make more.—50 great grenadoes.—500 cannon shot for the pieces on the White Tower, beside other shot.—55 pieces of cannon, 44 in the city and forts and 11 in the castle, mounted; besides Sir Francis Popham's guns, and some pieces unmounted. One of those in the castle was a large new mortar-piece, with 140 granadoes, which the gunner often requested Col' Fiennes, that he might be permitted to fire against the enemy; but he refused."

§ 105. On the taking of the city July 26-27, Prince Rupert sent a messenger to the King, informing him of his success, and moreover (*d*) requesting the governorship for himself; to which the King immediately returned his consent. Soon after came letters from the Marquis of Hertford to the same effect, adding that he intended the government of the city for Sir Ralph Hopton; an office which he thought he had a right to dispose of, as being the superior officer of that army, and moreover as being Lord Lieutenant of the city. The coolness and jealousy which had long subsisted between these two was lately augmented by the Prince's neglect of the Marquis in the affair of the surrender; which the Prince negociated wholly by himself, without taking any notice of the Marquis. In order to compose this difference, which threatened to be of great detriment to his affairs, the King resolved to make a journey to Bristol. He (*e*) arrived here Aug' 3, accompanied by his sons Charles Prince of Wales, and James Duke of York, attended by Sir Edward Hyde (afterward Lord Chancellor) at that time Chancellor of the Exchequer, and others his Ministers. Here he made a public entry, and took up his lodging in (*f*) Small-street. I am sorry to observe an uncertainty with regard to the house in which he resided. Mr. Barrett

(*d*) Clarendon. (*e*) (*f*) MS' Calendars.

says that he lodged at Mr. Colston's house; meaning certainly the house *afterward* belonging to the celebrated Mr. Colston, who in the year 1643 was only seven years old. This house is situate nearly in the middle of Small-street on the north-eastern side, spacious and handsome according to the taste of that age, and some parts of which may even now be called elegant. Others say, that 'the King (*g*) lodged in Alderman Creswick's house, which is next above Mr. Colston's, and is the same in which Queen Elizabeth was received in her Progress. The rooms were [and are] remarkable for the curiously carved and pannelled wainscott; and one of them contains [or did, some years ago] the rostrum from whence the Recorder, John Glanville, addressed her Majesty.' Perhaps both these accounts may be true: the King and his attendants would probably require both these houses for their accommodation. The two Princes were lodged at Alderman Holworthy's on the opposite side of the same street. On (*h*) Sunday the King went to the College, to hear sermon, the Mayor carrying the golden mace before him, bareheaded, and in his scarlet robes, and after divine service he escorted the King back again to his lodging in the same manner. The Calendars say that he was honourably entertained by the Mayor and his brethren. Had he on the contrary shewn some token of disapprobation to Mr. *Aldworth* and his disloyal associates, neither friends nor enemies could have blamed his resentment: but the King, as usual, excused them; and on the *4th* of Feb' next following (1644) he signed a pardon to the Mayor, Burgesses and Commonalty of Bristol for all former offences, only excepting out of it Nathan' Fiennes, Richard Cole, Walter White, Thomas and Richard Hippisley, Robert Baugh, and Herbert late Provost Marshall at Bristol, all of them concerned in the late infamous murder of Mr. Yeomans and Mr. Bowcher.

§ 106. It appears from a pamphlet printed here in Jan' 1644, (*i*) that when the King had possession of Bristol, he appointed his printers; as probably he did in other places.

(*g*) Communicated by the Rev' Jas' Dallaway, F' S' A'.

(*h*) MS' Calendars.

(*i*) See Catalogue B.B.

§ 107. The conquest of Bristol secured the possession of the neighbouring country. Bath surrendered after the defeat of Sir Wm' Waller, and Berkeley Castle was taken soon after Bristol, and held for the King (*k*) by a Scottish Captain as governor; and by means of it the richest part of Gloucestershire was secured in it's obedience.

§ 108. While the King was here, he received a Petition from the clothiers of Gloucestershire, which was presented to him on Monday Aug' 7, by Sir *Baynham Throckmorton*, High-sheriff of that county, who resided at Stapleton, or at least had a house there. The petition and answer were printed at Oxford 1643, in a pamphlet of four pages. They represent that Pr' *Rupert* had 'commanded them to keep theire poore people at worke for the space of one month,' which they say they are ready to do to the utmost of their power; but they complain that they are in a most distressed situation; some having lost their whole estates; and many having the residue of their property in the hands of merchants in London, from whence they cannot procure it; that their credit is lost with their goods; and that their cloth being made, they have no place of safety to keep it, and no means of vending it. The King answers, that he has given express answer to all his officers and souldiers to protect the persons and estates of the petitioners: and he permits such of them as are well-affected to him and may be trusted, to repair to London to fetch their money from thence; and he will adopt the best means to enable them to sell off their cloth, and to treat with the merchants of Bristol and other ports within his power for the exportation of it. Very wretched must have been the situation of *England* at that time, when the communication between it's commercial towns was thus interrupted by the civil war.

§ 109. During his abode here the King confirmed Prince Rupert in the government of the city; but it was settled that he should appoint Sir Ralph Hopton his Lieutenant-governor, partly to recover his health from the effects of the unfortunate explosion at Lansdown, and partly because it was well known that the Prince's talents would be more useful

(*k*) Corbet's military history of Gloucester. See in Catalogue EE.

in the field, than in the administration of a government. How long the King continued here, our Calendars do not express; but certainly not many days, for on the 10*th* August he was at the head of the army in sight of Gloucester.

§ 110. When great affairs have proved unsuccessful, nothing is more easy than to enumerate the causes which have contributed to their ruin. Perhaps, among the many errors committed by the royalists in this unfortunate war, it is to be lamented that after the taking of this city, the king did not make it his residence, partially at least, as well as Oxford, instead of paying it a transient visit. It abounded with men, trade, and money, it commanded by land and sea a vast extent of country, advantages which Oxford did not possess: it might have been easily rendered secure against the military efforts of that age, and whereas the whole support of the rebellion lay in London, Bristol would at that period have been a formidable opponent to that factious city, which had not then reached that overwhelming superiority to which it has been gradually attaining for these last hundred years; and Bristol probably would not have been unwilling to have called forth its ancient rivalry into action. Ld' Clarendon speaks of this plan: he says (*l*) that if the Marquis of Hertford, when hostilities were about to commence, had fixed himself in Bristol instead of Wells, it would probably have been attended with success; and in another place, (*m*) he speaks of removing the Court to Bristol or Exeter, as a plan which had been mentioned, and he has a favourable opinion of it, though he enumerates some difficulties which would have occurred. And it may be seen in the examination of John Boucher above mentioned, that it was commonly said at Oxford, that if the King should get possession of Bristol, he would make it a famous city, which seems to refer to some prospect of this kind. But the King's deficiency in military habits and talents, except that of personal courage, was one main cause of his final ruin.

§ 111. We may be assured that a Military Establishment was settled here immediately after the taking of the city, although we have no

(*l*) Book 6, Initio. (*m*) Book 8, ad fin'

account of it until Dec. 4, 1644. On that day Edmund Turnor, Esq' of Stoke-Rochford, in Lincolnshire, was appointed Treasurer and Paymaster of the garrison, but his office was to commence Nov' 1, 1644. His arms are ermine, on a cross quartered, pierced argent, four mill-rinds sable: impaling or, on a cross azure five pheons of the first: which are carved in wood in the Hall of Corpus Chr' College Oxon, toward the improvement of which room he contributed £40, having been formerly a member of that society. If a judgment may be formed from the perusal of a memorandum book belonging to him, he was a person of very great piety and worth. On 10*th* Feb' 1644-5 he was appointed captain of a troop of cuirassiers, to bring in contributions (*n*) to the garrison of Bristol. At the battle of Worcester, he was taken prisoner, and was knighted soon after the Restoration. He died in 1707, aged 88, and was buried at Stoke-Rochford in Lincolnshire, the place of his residence. From his papers his descendant of the same name compiled an account of the military establishment of Bristol, as settled by the King after it's capture; which he read to the Society of Antiquaries June 11 and 18, 1801. The appointment was by Letter "Charles by the grace of God, King, &c. to our trustie and well-beloved servant Edmond Turnor, Esq' thesaurer of our garrisons of Bristoll, Bathe, the towne and castle of Berkeley, Nunney Castle, Farley Castle and Portshall Pointe, &c." The substance of the letter is, that 'whereas he has thought fit to settle garrisons at the above-mentioned places, with regular weekly pay, as expressed in the schedule annexed, and has ordered £200. per week to be paid out of the customs for their maintenance; he therefore appoints Edmond Turnor to be thesaurer of the said garrisons from the 1*st* Nov' last past; and allows him 13 *sh*, 4 *d* a day for himself; 5*sh* a day for each of two Deputies; 2 *sh*, 6 *d* a day for each of two Clerks; for eight Collectors of Contributions to each 4 *sh* a day; to three Keepers of the Stores or Magazines for provisions and victualls to each 3 *sh*, 4 *d* a day; and allowance for books, bagge, paper, inke, pens, and all such other necessaries as the service shall require.' The expences are as follow:—

"Three regiments of foote, 1200 in each regiment, officers and all, each regiment to bee paid accordinge to theise ensuinge particulars."

(*n*) Turnor's Military History of Bristol. See 42 Catalogue FF.

"*Per week.* To a Colonell £5.—to a Lieut' Colonell £4, 3*s*, 4*d*.—to a Sarjeant-Major £3, 16*s*, 8*d*.—to a Captaine £2, 10*sh*.—to a Lieut' £1, 8*sh*.—to an Ensigne 18*sh*.—to a Gentleman of Armes 8*sh*.—to a Corporal 5 *sh*.—to a Drumme-Major 8 *sh*.—to a Drummer 5 *sh*.—to a Quarter-Master £10.—to a Chaplaine £1.—to a Provost-Marshall £1.—to a Chirurgeon £2.—to a Carriage-master 18 *sh*.—to a common souldier 3 *sh*, 6*d*.—After which rate three regiments of foote theire pay amounteth weekely to £833, 17*sh*."

"A regiment of seaven troops of horse, consistinge of 60 horse to each troope, officers and all, and his Highnes troope of Horse, consisting of 200 beside officers to bee paid according to theise ensuinge particulars: To a Colonell £7.—to a Lieut' Colonell £6.—to a Serjeant Major £5, 10 *sh*.—to a Captaine £5.—to a Lieut' £3.—to a Coronet £2, 5 *sh*.—to a Quarter-master £1, 10 *sh*.—to a Corporal £1, 1*s*.—to a Trumpeter 17 *sh*, 6 *d*.—to a Chirurgeon 17 *sh*, 6*d*.—to a Chaplaine £1, 8 *sh*.—to a Trooper 10*sh*.—After which rate one regiment of horse their pay amounteth weekly to £352, 2*sh*. His Highnes troope of horse their pay weekely £120, 17 *sh*."

"The chief Officers of the several garrisons to be paid weekly as followeth, viz,—The Governor; the Treasurer to supply his charges—the Lieut' Governour £21.—the Deputy-Governor £10.—the Major £5.—the Commissary-general or Muster-master £3, 10*sh*.—the Quarter-master-generall £2, 6*s*, 8*d*.—the Engineir £2, 6 *sh*, 8 *d*.—the Petardier, or Engineir for fireworks £5.—the Provost-marshall £2, 6 *sh*, 8*d*.—the Keeper of the Stores £1.—the Proviant-master £1.—the Governour of Bathe £7.—the Governour of Berkeley £7.—the Governour of Portshall Pointe £5.—the Governour of Nunny Castle £5.—the Governour of Farley Castle £5.—the Treasurer £4, 13*sh*,4*d*.—to him for eight Collectors £11, 4*sh*.—to him for two Deputyes £3, 10 *sh*.—to him for two Clarks £1, 15 *sh*.—to him for three Keepers of the Magazine of Victualls, £3, 10 *sh*.—To the Gunners and other inferiour officers, as followeth, viz,"

		£.	s.	d.
"Master Gunner		2	6	8
Water-fort. Ordinance 7.	John Greenfield, Master gunner	0	17	6
	Richard Abbot, Mate	0	14	0
	to three Gunners, each 10 *sh*	1	10	0"

		£.	s.	d.
"Brandon-hill-fort. Ordinance 6.	Francis Pitt, Master gunner	0	17	6
	Henry Gosse, Mate	0	14	0
	to two Gunners, each 10 *sh*	1	0	0
Greate-Forte. Ordinance 22.	John Skinner, Master gunner	0	17	6
	John Sherland, Mate	0	14	0
	to six Gunners, each 10 *sh*	3	0	0
	Commissary of victualls	1	10	0
Redoubt. Ordinance 7.	Walter Daniell, Master gunner	0	17	6
	John Gilburte, Mate	0	14	0
	to two Gunners, each 10 *sh*	1	0	0
Prior-hill. Ordinance 13.	Joseph Tucker, Master gunner	0	17	6
	William Howlett, Mate	0	14	0
	to three Gunners, each 10 *sh*	1	10	0
Lawford's-gate. Ordinance 7.	John Simonds, Master gunner	0	17	6
	John Jones, Mate	0	14	0
	to sixe Gunners, each 10 *sh*	3	0	0
Temple. Ordinance 14.	James Fuller, Master gunner	0	17	6
	John Scott, Mate	0	14	0
	to five Gunners, each 10 *sh*	2	10	0
Redcliffe. Ordinance 15.	John Sterry, Master gunner	0	17	6
	Richard Hamans, Mate	0	14	0
	to four Gunners, each 10 *sh*	2	0	0
Castle and Newgate. Ordinance 16.	John Robert, Master gunner	0	17	6
	John Warden, Mate	0	14	0
	to eleaven gunners, each 10 *sh*	5	10	0
	Commissary of victuals	1	10	0
Froome-gate and Pithay-gate. Ordinance 2.	William Purser	0	14	0
	William Crookebank	0	14	0
For makinge of armes and ammunition		350	0	0
For finishinge the workes		219	0	0

Which is to be raised upon the assignations following, viz.

Out of the Hundreds of Somerset hereunto annexed,

rated weekly att may yield - - - - - - - - 850 0 0"

"Out of the Hundreds of Wiltes hereunto annexed, rated weekly att may yield - - - - - - £500 0 0
Out of the Hundred of Gloucester, being the whole division of Berkeley, rated weekly at , but may yield - 300 0 0
Out of Bristol hereunto annexed, rated weekly at - - 150 0 0
Out of the Customes - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 200 0 0"

"The only particulars, which the author of this communication [Edmund Turnor, Esq'] is possessed of, are as follows.

Hundred of Radcliffe cum Bedminster payeth 200 per month.

Long Ashdon	40	0	0
Bedminster	40	0	0
Barron [Barrow]	20	0	0
Batcombe [Butcombe] and Regilberry	20	0	0
Backwell	33	6	8
Chelby [Chelvy]	6	13	4
Winford	40	0	0
	200	0	0

Portbury Hundred.—Wraxall and Foyland	25	0	0
Naylsie	18	15	0
Broxton [Bourton]	6	5	0
Walton	7	2	4
Portbury	31	0	6
Abbot's Leigh	16	10	8
St. George's	16	17	0
	121	10	6"

§ 112. When Bristol returned to the dominion of it's lawful Sovereign, we may be sure, that the Clergy and Services of the Church of England were restored, and it's forms again admitted. The following is the title of a sermon preached here at that time, proving the restoration of

the national worship. *Clero-condimentum;* or a Sermon preached at a Visitation in St. Nicholas church in Bristoll, April 16, 1644. BRISTOLL, printed by Thomas Thomas, and are to be sold (*o*) at his shop in Broad-street. 1644.

§ 113. Nothing very particular happened in Bristol during Prince Rupert's government, which was, as the King intended, only nominal; he being seldom at leisure to continue long in this place. About a fortnight after the taking of the city he attended the King at the siege of Glocester; and Sir Ralph Hopton (now Lord Hopton) was left in command at Bristol; the Marquis of Hertford likewise and Sir Edw' Hyde remained here some time; and as the King had taken with him the chief part of the garrison, and Prince Maurice had marched away with another part to join the Earl of Carnarvon in Dorsetshire, Lord Hopton was obliged to raise a new garrison, as he could; which he shortly did.

§ 114. The Earl of Essex forced the King to raise the siege of Gloucester Sept' 5, 1643. Soon after which the governor, Massey, built a frigate (*p*) on the Severn, from which a party of soldiers landing at Chepstow surprized most of the officers of Col' O'Neal's regiment, and carried them off prisoners: and at the same time they took a vessel from Bristol laden with oil, wine, sugar and other commodities. This expedition gave an alarm to the royalists of Bristol and Wales; who to prevent the like inroads sent up divers frigates to guard the river.

§ 115. Toward the end of 1643 Duke Hamilton, having been arrested at Oxford by the King's order, was sent in custody to the castle of Bristol; from thence to Exeter, and then to Pendennis castle in Cornwall.

§ 116. After the King had agreed to a pacification with the Rebels of Ireland, Sept' 15, 1643, (*q*) the Irish forces were brought into England, and many of them landed in Bristol. Of them, Col' Mynne and Sir Will' St. Leger with both their regiments, making up 800 or 1000 foot

(*o*) I have not been so fortunate, as to see this Sermon.

(*p*) Corbet's Gloucester, p' 67. (*q*) Ibid, p' 63.

and 100 horse with eight pieces of ordnance, went to Thornbury, and from thence into other parts of Gloucestershire.

§ 117. The (*r*) governor, Lord Hopton, taking with him an army levied from the garrison of Bristol and the western counties, together with two regiments of foot and a troop of horse lately landed in Bristol from Ireland, the same probably which were commanded by Sir Charles Vavasor and Sir John Pawlet, marched about Christmas into Hampshire, where he fought unsuccessfully with Sir Will' Waller at Alresford, on March 29, 1644. He returned to Bristol about the latter end of May in order to secure the city, because the King's affairs began to be in a dangerous state. It was at this time no doubt that the governor completed the Royal Fort, described above § 46, and strengthened, as far as he was able, the lines round the city. I have seen no written memorial informing us where he or Prince Rupert resided during their governorship: there is an uncertain tradition that he inhabited one of the present five or six houses which surround the fort yard: I cannot, however, suppose that any of them were built so long ago as the time of which we are now speaking: nor is it likely, that in the short space of two years, during which Prince Rupert held the office, any other edifice would be there erected, but what was absolutely necessary for the lodgment of the garrison.

§ 118. Lord Hopton took a part of his garrison to Bath on July 15, 1644, to attend the King on his march to the West; and supplied their place in the garrison with men drawn out of Monmouthshire and South Wales.

§ 119. Prince Rupert after his unfortunate campaign in the north, met (*s*) the King at Chard, Sept' 30, 1644, and returned to Bristol Oct' 1, or thereabout; he brought with him about 300 horse. After the battle of Newbury, which was fought Oct' 27, he led some forces from Bristol to the King, and marched to Oxford.

(*r*) Clarendon 8 init' (*s*) Corbet's Gloucester, p' 105.

§ 120. About March 11, 1644-5, Charles (*t*) Prince of Wales, being almost fifteen years of age, came to reside in Bristol with his Council, consisting of six persons, among whom was Sir Edward Hyde, afterward Lord Clarendon. Lord (*v*) Hopton had been sent here before him, to put the city in the best state of defence, and to provide a house for him; but where the house was situate in which he resided, I have found no mention whatever. Within two or three days after his arrival, it was discovered that some of the inhabitants had entered into a conspiracy to deliver up the city to Sir Will' Waller, who was then at Taunton, and had advanced by Bath toward Bristol on that expectation. Two or three of the conspirators fled the city.

§ 121. April 11 (*u*) of this year we find Prince Rupert in Bristol, managing the military transactions of the West.

§ 122. Prince (*w*) Charles, who had received a commission as General of the four associated Western counties, who had promised to raise £100 a week for his royal Highness's support, and a body of horse and foot, as his guards, on coming to Bristol was disappointed of his expectation; for the commissioners of Somersetshire, although they attended him here, had failed of their promises. In consequence of which he went to Bridgewater April 23, 1645, to meet the commissioners of the four counties, and staid there a week, and returned to Bristol Wednesday April 30. After he had made Bristol his residence somewhat less than three months, the plague began to prevail here; on account of which, and partly through fear of the enemy he left Bristol about June 1, and went slowly through Bath, slept at Wells June 2, and then passed through Bridgewater to Barnstaple. Soon after he set out on this journey, a letter came from the King, recommending that the Prince should reside at Mr. Smyth's at Ashton; but it does not appear that this plan was ever executed. Lord Clarendon says, that when he quitted this city, "he (*x*) left 500 of his guards to keep the Fort in Bristol, the garrison being then very thin there, by reason of so many drawn"

(*t*) Clarendon, b' 8, fin' (*v*) Clarendon, b' 8. (*u*) Clarendon, b' 9.
(*w*) Ibid. (*x*) Ibid, b' 9, p' 660.

"from thence for the service before Taunton." Five hundred men could never have found accommodations within the Fort; it is probable therefore that the historian means *the Castle*.

§ 123. June 14, 1645, was fought the battle of Naseby in Northamptonshire, where Sir Tho' Fairfax and Cromwell with their new-modelled army gained a decisive victory over the royalists. The King retired into Wales and Prince Rupert to Bristol, the seige of which it was easy to foresee would not (*y*) be long delayed. The latter then paid a short visit to the Prince of Wales at Barnstaple; and afterwards he met the King at or near Chepstow, from whence it was expected that his Majesty would have crossed the Severn; but he altered his intention, and Prince Rupert returned to Bristol, which, in a letter written to the King Aug' 12, he undertook to defend at least four months: he had a garrison of about 5000 men, provisions and ammunition sufficient for a long siege, fortifications much strengthened since the city had been under his government, and some probability of being relieved by the King or from the West: in most respects, if not in all, his situation was far better than that of governor Massey above-mentioned, who by his desperate defence of Gloucester had turned the whole tide of the war, and re-established the sinking fortune of the rebel Parliament.

§ 124. Sir Tho' Fairfax, and his Lieut' Gen' Cromwell took Sherborne Castle on Aug' 15*th*: and it was then debated whether they should march westward and prosecute their success in Somersetshire, or should first lay siege to Bristol. The latter part of the alternative was resolved on, and to Bristol they came. In relating the progress of this siege and the remaining part of this reign as relating to Bristol, the Historian cannot but lament the necessity he is under of drawing his information almost wholly from the notorious misrepresentation of Parliamentary tracts, and the suspicious source of Prince Rupert's Vindication. Our own MS Calendars contain scarcely any thing during the whole civil war, but the main and principal facts; and at the taking of the city and for some years afterwards the Press was in the hands of the King's enemies, and no one in

(*y*) Clarendon, b' 9.

Bristol dared to contradict their narrative, until at the Restoration, when most of the minuter circumstances were forgotten. It is therefore from necessity, that I copy the following narrative of the siege of Bristol from Sprigge's *Anglia rediviva*. (*z*) The author was a preacher, a zealous partizan of the Parliament, and deeply infected with the puritanic cant of the age. His book is a journal of the proceedings of Sir Tho' Fairfax's army day by day from it's first march till the close of the war; he seems to have attended the army, and to have made diligent enquiry concerning those things which passed, where he was not present. I give his narrative verbatim, making some few additions or observations between brackets. I have also made use of two (*a*) pamphlets, of which Mr. Sprigge seems to have copied the greater part.

§ 125. "Sherborne being now by God's blessing reduced, a council of warre was called, where the subject of debate was, what should be the next design of the army, the West, or Bristol. - - - - It was urged on the negative of Bristol, that to go thither was to hazard the whole army, the plague being sore in the city, an hundred dying weekly, and that it was in most of the villages about the town." [One of our Calendars says, 'there was then a mortality or sickness of pestilence in the city, which continued until near Christmas following, whereof dyed in the parish of St. Michael 180 persons or thereabout,' and one of the pamphlets says that 120 persons died weekly of the plague in the city.] "But on the other side it was considered, that Prince Rupert being in Bristol, and able to draw into the field 3000 horse and foot, leaving also sufficient to defend that garrison, might with the asistance of the ill-affected club-men, of whose disaffection to the Parliament there was sufficient proof, and having the advantage of sending forces and recruits out of Wales, which were easily to be transported over Severn, raise a considerable army in the midland parts; which might interrupt the proceedings of our army by marching on their rear, when they were far advanced west; whereby Goring being in the front, they might come to be inclosed between two armies, and so all intercourse with London and the eastern parts would be thereby cut off." [One of the pamphlets

(*z*) See the Catalogue G G. (*a*) See Catalogue H H and I I.

lately quoted expresses the same reason thus. "The army could not march from *Sherborne* into *Cornwall*, leaving *Bristol* a garrison on our backs and Prince *Rupert* at liberty with neer 1000 horse and 1000 foot, besides the addition of other forces that might be joined to his, to range all over *Wiltshire* and *Dorsetshire*, and draw to them the asistance of of the ill-affected *club-men;* we not being able to leave strength to secure *Bath*, *Bridgewater* and other garrisons, and sufficient power to balance his forces."] "Besides the great importance of the place as to the enemy: Bristol being the only considerable port the King had in the whole kingdom, for shipping, and trade, and riches; being withal his magazine for all sort of ammunition: which should it please God to make us masters of, must needs prove sadly fatal to his affairs, and would so be judged in this and forraign kingdoms. What advantage it would be to the Parliament, both in reputation and real improvements (it being justly reckoned in the first rank of populous and rich cities in this kingdom) was very clearly evident. These and other like considerations being offered, for the present reducing of Bristol; after long consultation and debate, it was resolved to march thither in order to the reducing of that place. After once this resolution was taken, it was said by the General: 'Seeing our judgements lead us to make Bristol our next design, as the greatest service we can do for the publick; as for the sickness, let us trust God with the army, who will be as ready to protect us, in the siege, from infection, as in the field, from the bullet.'"

§ 126. "Hereupon orders were given for the army to march towards Bristol: - - - - but to expedite, what might be, this designe against Bristol, and the relief of the country thereabouts, in the mean time, two thousand horse and dragoons were sent under the command of Commissary General Ireton, to preserve the towns adjacent to Bristol from plunder and firing, for the better accommodation of our quarters: the next day the army marched to Chue, 9 miles, and ill way; and in relation to the straiter siege, messengers were sent to the Vice-Admiral, Captain Moulton, riding about Milford Haven, to send ships into King-road to block up Bristol by sea, as this army intended to do by land. Some prisoners were taken by our horse near Bristol, others came in"

"voluntarily unto us; all agreeing, said, the enemy did not imagine our forces to be so near, or that we had any design upon Bristol. And by a trumpeter that came with a message from thence, they seemed to be so far from a beleif thereof, that he said, he did not expect to find us on that side Sherborne, and when he met our horse, he took them to be the King's (not offering to sound his trumpet as he ought to have done.) That night there was a strong party of horse, and one regiment of foot disposed at Hanham, within three miles of Bristol, on Gloucestershire side, by whom the enemy was alarmed. Upon this approach of ours, the enemy fired Bedminster on Somersetshire side, and burnt it down to the ground, as also divers houses on Gloucestershire side." [One of the pamphlets above quoted mentions this transaction in these words. "Saturday the 23*d* of August the army encompassed the city round both on *Gloucestershire* and *Somersetshire* side, our horse having been there some days before to prevent the burning of the towns and villages adjacent; whose seasonable coming saved the burning of Stapleton, Hanham, and other towns, which the enemy had sent out parties of horse with fire balls to set them on fire, but that our horse repulsed them; but Bedminster, Clifton and other places they consumed by fire." And from Whitelock (p' 167) accidentally, as it were, we learn, that Prince Rupert disarmed divers of the citizens, and fired Bedminster, and some other villages *near* Bristol, and the whole Temple-street *in* the city."] "It was but the day before, when Prince Rupert was sending out a party to releive Barkley-castle, which was much straitened by the Gloucester forces; but the approach of our horse under Commissary Ireton diverted that designe."

"Thursday 21, in the morning, to encourage us in our engagements, we received intelligence of the surrender of Nunney Castle to Colonel Rainsborough, upon condition to have liberty to go to their own houses. By reason of the train coming in so late, the army rested that day at Chue, save that another party of horse and foot advanced towards Bedminster, upon intelligence that the Prince intended to break through with his horse, and join with Goring, with which party the General and Lieutenant-General went, viewed the town, and appointed guards and quarters on the west side of the river, and quartered himself at Kenisome"

[Keynsham] "that night; where divers lords sent for passes to come out of the city, and go beyond sea, but upon good reason were denied, it being a received opinion, that persons of quality and great estate in a besieged town, rather incline to a timely yielding, than hazardous defending thereof, when no relief is at hand."

"Friday 22, there was a general rendezvouz of horse; and all that day was spent in setting of guards on Somersetshire side, where the countrymen maintained a passage at Clifton [Rownham Ferry] the head quarter that night being removed to Hanham."

"Saturday 23, the General and Lieutenant-General employed the whole day in the settling of quarters and guards on the other side of Bristol. This day the enemies canon played from the Great Fort and Pryor's Fort, but hurt none but one dragoon, who had his thigh shot off. The enemy sallied out also with a party of horse, but were beaten in again, where Sir Richard Crane was mortally wounded, who presently after died of his wounds. The head quarter this night was removed to Stapleton."

§ 127. "Lord's Day, Aug' 24, the enemy about noon sallied out again, at the Sally-port, near Prior-hill-fort, in a full career, and were upon our dragoons on the sudden; yet by our horse coming on, were beaten back again, as also their foot were, by the foot of Col' Rainsborough's brigade, made to retreat in disorder, and worse than they came forth, by the loss of a major and some others."

"Monday 25, warrants were issued out by the General to Sir John Horner, High Sherrif of the county of Somerset, to raise the power of the county, which was much promoted by the interest and endeavours of Mr. Ash and Mr. Moore, two worthy members of the House of Commons. This day the army had intelligence that Goring, then about Collumpton, in Devon, did seem to draw to a rendezvouz, as if he intended to march to interrupt our siege. But Major-Gen' Massie's brigade of horse were quartered not far from Taunton, in such an advantageous posture, that the enemy could not move, but he might flank them, and interrupt their motion, whilst our horse might draw off to meet them, in case they should attempt the fore-mentioned design."

"Tuesday 26, four in the morning, the enemy made a third sally on the Somersetshire side, on a post of Col' Welden's brigade at Bedminster, and through the negligence of the officers that had then the command there, they took ten and killed as many; towards a recompence of which affront, the same day, Capt' Molleneux, a very valiant man (Captain-Lieutenant to Colonel Butler) and with him another stout soldier, perceiving three gallant cavaliers under their works (whom afterwards they found to be Sir Bernard Ashley, Colonel Daniel, and a third man) rode up to them, asked them who they were for, they swore, God dam them, for the King, and shot at ours: whereupon our men discharged their pistols at them, wounded them, and after some bickering took Sir Bernard Ashley, who died within a few days, of his wounds: but Col' Daniel, though dangerously wounded escaped from them."

"Wednesday 27, the enemy drew out the fourth time, about the close of the evening, with intention to fall on our guards, which ours perceiving (and they understanding that they were privy to their intention) they drew back to their works. All this night the General and Lieutenant-General were abroad upon the field, to be in readiness if any alarm should happen."

"Thursday 28, Rupert sent out those foot of ours which were taken prisoners on Somersetshire side, being in number ten, with a Trumpet, propounding also an exchange for Sir Bernard Ashley, but the exchange was not hearkened to. This day we had intelligence of the King's plundering of Huntingdon, and the cruel usage of the people by his forces in those parts, having unhappily escaped the Scotch and Northern horse out of Nottinghamshire. Meanwhile, as an earnest of the whole, the fort at Portshead Point, that had been four days besieged by Lieut'-Colonel Kempson, of Colonel Walden's regiment, with a party of foot, was, with six pieces of ordnance, this day surrendered unto him, who managed that business with much judgment and resolution; by the taking whereof the passage into Kingroad with our ships was made open."

"Friday 29, a fast was kept through the army, to seek God for a blessing upon the designs against Bristol. Mr. Del and Mr. Peters kept the day at the head-quarter. The enemy endeavoured to interrupt us by a sally about noon-time, upon our quarters near Lawford's-gate, where"

"he took three or four soldiers. After the public exercises a council of war was called, and it being agreed in the first place, to punish the vices of the army, it was propounded whether to storm Bristol or not; the debate was long, opinions various; however it was agreed, that all things should be prepared in order to a storm, and afterwards to take into further consideration, whether to storm or to intrench the leaguer. In the midst of these thoughts and resolutions, tidings were brought the army of the defeat given by Montross to our brethren the Scots, and that he was marched to Edenbrough in pursuit thereof; and that the King was now advanced to Bedford unfollowed, and was expected speedily to raise the siege at Bristol; and this day, towards evening, the intelligence was confirmed by letters from the Committee of both kingdoms, of the King's speedy march towards Oxford, and probably to these parts. At the same time, his Excellency had intelligence that Goring in the west advanced his quarters nearer Chard, and as it was verily thought, intended a conjunction with the King. And now was the army in a great straight, the whole strength thereof being but sufficient, and scarce that, for its present undertaking before Bristol, utterly unable to check the enemies conjunction, or attend their motions at any distance from the leaguer: and though the further proceeding with the siege of Bristol in this conjuncture of affairs seemed very hazardous, yet resolving to abide the utmost, and not to give over upon great looks, we put ourselves into the best condition we could to receive them, in case either or both should attempt us."

"Lord's Day, August 31, Captain Moulton, Admiral for the Irish coasts, (who was now come into Severn) came from aboard his ship to the General, expressed much readiness to assist in the storming of the city, (if it were so determined) with his seamen. A debate was then had concerning the storming of Bristol, and what might be done by water with the assistance of the seamen. Goring's letters from Exeter to Secretary Nicholas, bearing date August 25, were this day intercepted, wherein he writes, that in three weeks time he will be ready to interrupt Fairfax in his siege before Bristol."

"Monday, September 1, the weather wet and misty, about 12 at noon,"

"Prince Rupert with 1000 horse and 600 foot, sallied out the sixth time in full career, and came upon our horse guards with much fierceness; but the horse instantly came up, and with the assistance of the foot of Colonel Rainsbrough's brigade, forced them to as hasty a retreat. We lost in that skirmish Captain Guilliams, a Captain of horse, a valiant, faithful, and religious man; besides that, Colonel Okey, colonel of dragoons (it being in the mist) fell among the enemy unawares, and by that accident was taken prisoner. At that time, further advertisements confirmed our former hints of the King's advance from Oxford towards Bristol: orders were given for all the colonels to view the line and works; and for our soldiers to make faggots, and all fitting preparations for a storm."

§ 123. "Tuesday, September 2, a council of war being called, and all the Colonels present; after a long debate, whether to storm Bristol or no, it was put to the question, and resolved in the affirmative; and for the manner of the storm, it was referred to a committee of the Colonels of the army, to present in writing to the General the next morning, to be debated at a general council of war: accordingly, Wednesday Sep' 3, the manner of the storm was presented in writing to the General, which was to be after this manner. Colonel Welden with his brigade, consisting of the four regiments that were at Taunton, (viz, his own, Colonel Inglesbie's, Colonel Fortescue's, and Colonel Herbert's regiments, whose posts were to make good Somersetshire side,) was ordered to storm in three places, viz, 200 men in the middle, 200 on each side, as forlorn hopes to begin the storm; 20 ladders to each place, two men to carry each ladder, and to have 5 *s* a piece; two serjeants that attend the service of the ladder, to have 20 *s* a man; each musquetteer that followed the ladder, to carry a faggot, a serjeant to command them, and to have the same reward: 12 files of men with fire arms and pikes to follow the ladders to each place where the storm was to be: those to be commanded each by a Captain and a Lieutenant; the Lieutenant to go before with five files, the Captain to second him with the other seven files; the 200 men that are appointed to second the storm, to furnish each party of them 20 pioneers, who are to march in their rear; the 200 men each to"

" be commanded by a field-officer, and the pioneers each by a serjeant ; (those pioneers are to throw down the line, and make way for the horse;) the party that is to make good the line, to possess the guns, and to turn them ; a gentleman of the ordnance, gunners and matrosses, to enter with the parties ; the drawbridge to be let down ; two regiments and a half to storm in after the foot, if way be made. Much after this manner was the General's brigade, under Colonel Montague's command, consisting of the General's, Col' Montague's, Col' Pickering's, and Sir Hardress Waller's regiments, to storm on both sides of Lawford's gate, both to the river Avon, and the lesser river Froom ; the bridge over Froom to be made good against horse with pikes, or to break it down. Colonel Rainsbrough's brigade, consisting of his own, Major-General Skippon's, Col' Hammond's, Col' Birches, and Lieu'-Colonel Pride's [instead of *Lieut' Col' Pride*, others write *Col' Barkley*] regiments, to storm on this side the river Froom, beginning on the right hand of the Sally-port, up to Prior-hill's-fort, [this sally-port must have been somewhere in Stoke's Croft, near the Baptist Academy] and to storm the fort itself, as the main business : 200 of this brigade to go up in boats with the seamen to storm Water-fort (if it be to be attempted.) One regiment of horse, and a regiment of foot, to be moving up and down in the closes before the Royal Fort, and to ply hard upon it, to alarm it, with a field-officer to command them. The regiment of dragoons, with two regiments of horse, to carry ladders with them, and to attempt the line and works by Clifton and Washington's breach."

§ 129. "The manner of the storm being thus agreed on (though it's probable, some more certain information might change the attempts from one place to another) the soldiers were drawn out to try their inclination, in whom more courage, joy and resolution could not appear in men. The General, to make good his promise to reward them for the service of Bridgewater, ordered them immediately to receive 6 *s* a man, which by the care of the Commissioners of Parliament was forthwith paid unto them, and which put a great obligation upon the soldiers."

"At this council of war it was also agreed, that a letter should be written, and subscribed by the General, and all the Officers, to General"

"Leven, to express how sensible they were of the losses their forces had received in Scotland by Montrosse; and their willingness to serve them, if need were, for the settling of their nation in peace, so soon as the condition of this kingdom could spare them. The copy of which letter followeth in these words."

"May it please your Excellency and the rest, honoured friends and beloved brethren. We have, not without much grief, received the sad report of your affairs in Scotland; how far God, for his best and secret ends, hath been pleased to suffer the enemy to prevail there: and are (we speak unfeignedly) not less sensible of your evils, than you have been and are of ours, nor than we are of our own. And the greater cause of sympathy have we with you, and the more do our bowels yearn towards you, because whatever you now suffer yourselves in your own kingdom, are chiefly occasioned by your assisting us in ours, against the power that was risen up against the Lord himself, and his anointed ones. Wherefore we cannot forget your labour of love, but thought good at this season, even amongst our many occasions, to let you know, that when the affairs of this kingdom will possibly dispense with us, the Parliament allowing, and you accepting of our assistance; we shall be most willing, if need so require, to help and serve you faithfully in your own kingdom, and to engage ourselves to suppress the enemy there, and to establish you again in peace. In the mean time we shall endeavour to help you by our prayers, and to wrestle with God for one blessing of God upon both nations; between whom, besides many other strong relations and engagements, we hope the unity of spirit shall be the surest bond of peace. And this, whatever suggestions or jealousies may have been to the contrary, we desire you would believe, as you shall ever really find to proceed from integrity of heart, a sense of your sufferings, and a full purpose to answer any call of God to your assistance; as become your Christian friends, and servants in the Lord,"

"THOMAS FAIRFAX.	"WILLIAM HERBERT.	"RALPH WELDEN.
OLIVER CROMWELL.	ROBERT HAMMOND.	JOHN RAYMOND.
THOMAS HAMMOND.	JAMES GRAY.	LEON WATSON.
HENRY IRETON.	THOMAS PRIDE.	ARTHUR EVELIN.
EDWARD MONTAGUE.	ROBERT PYE.	RICHARD DEAN.
RICHARD FORTESCUE.	THOMAS RAINSBROUGH.	THOMAS JACKSON.
RICHARD INGLESBY."	THOMAS SHEFFIELD.	JOHN DESBROUGH.
JOHN PICKERING.	CHARLES FLEETWOOD.	CHRISTOPHER BETHEL."
HARDRESS WALLER.		

§ 130. "The report concerning the storm being made unto the council of war, and fully agreed unto, the canon baskets were ordered to be filled, seamen and boats sent for."

"Thursday, September 4, the weather that had been so extremely wet before that many soldiers and horses died thereby (and with extreme hard duty) in that wet season, began to alter, to the great reviving of the drooping soldiers. Our great guns played this day from off the new battery, against Pryor's-fort. Summons was also prepared to be sent to Prince Rupert, and being agreed unto, was sent in accordingly, which runs in these words:"

"*For his Highness Prince Rupert.*—Sir, for the service of the Parliament, I have brought their army before the city of Bristol, and do summon you in their names to render it, with all the forts belonging to the same, into my hands for their use. Having used this plain language, as the business requires, I wish it may be as effectual unto you, as it is satisfactory to myself, that I do a little expostulate with you about the surrender of the same, which I confess is a way not common, and which I should not have used, but in respect to such a person and to such a place. I take into consideration your royal birth and relation to the Crown of England, your honour, courage, the virtues of your person, and the strength of that place which you may think yourself bound and able to maintain. Sir, the Crown of England is, and will be, where it ought to be; we fight to maintain it there. But the King, misled by evil councellors, or through a seduced heart, hath left his Parliament [*al'* and his people] under God, the best assurance of his crown and family: the maintaining of this schism is the ground of this unhappy war on your part; and what sad effects it hath produced in the three kingdoms, is visible to all men. To maintain the rights of the crown and kingdom jointly; a principal part whereof is, that the King, in supreme acts concerning the whole state, is not to be advized by men of whom the law takes no notice, but by his Parliament, the great council of the kingdom, in whom (as much as man is capable of) he hears all his people as it were at once advising him; and in which multitude of counsellors lies his safety, and his people's interest; and to set him right in this, hath been the constant and faithful endeavour of the Parliament, and to bring"

"these wicked instruments to justice that have misled him, is a principal ground of our fighting. Sir, if God makes this clear to you, as he hath to us, I doubt not but he will give you a heart to deliver this place, notwithstanding all the other considerations of honour, courage, fidelity, &c, because of their consistency and use in the present business, depends upon the right or wrongfulness of this that hath been said. And if upon such conviction you shall surrender it, and save the loss of blood, or hazard of spoiling such a city, it would be an occasion glorious in itself, and joyful to us, for restoring of you to the endeared affection of the Parliament and people of England, the truest friend to your family it hath in the world. But if this be hid from your eyes, and through your own wilfulness, this so great, so famous, and ancient a city, and so full of people, be by your putting us to force the same, exposed to ruin and the extremities of war, (which we yet shall in that case, as much as possible, endeavour to prevent) then I appeal to the righteous God to be judge between you and us, and to require [requite] the wrong. And let all England judge whether the burning of its towns, ruining it's cities, and destroying it's people, be a good requital from a person of your family, which hath had the prayers, tears, purses, and blood of it's Parliament and people. And (if you look on either as now divided) hath ever had that same party both in Parliaments and amongst the people, most zealous for their assistance and restitution, which you now oppose and seek to destroy, and whose constant grief hath been, their desire to serve your family have been ever hindred or made fruitless by that same party about his Majesty, whose counsel you act, and whose interest you pursue in this unnatural war. I expect your speedy answer to this summons, with the return of the bearer this evening, and remain your Highness humble servant, "THOMAS FAIRFAX."

"Sept' 4, 1645."

"This day, about 2000 well affected countrymen, who with many more, upon treaty with the Lieutenant-General at the beginning of the siege, had engaged their assistance to make good the same; marched with some 36 colours in the face of Bristol, had quarters assigned them, and kept guards. Two pieces of ordnance also were sent unto them for their encouragement: it not a little grieving the enemy within to see"

"the forwardness of the country to come to our assistance; for which reason (and to lay an effectual caution against their revolt) it was held fit to make use of those forces from the country, rather than for any considerable service could be expected from them.—The trumpeter that went in with the summons was detained all night, during which space no sally was made by the enemy, nor no alarm given by us. Only the seamen and their boats coming up the river to St. Vincent's rock was all the motion this day produced. Neither upon Friday, Sep' 5, was there any sallying out, but all was quiet on both sides; and the trumpeter returned from Prince Rupert with an answer to the General's summons, in these words."

"Sir, I received your's by your trumpeter; I desire to know, whether you will give me leave to send a messenger to the King to know his pleasure in it. I rest, your servant, "RUPERT."

"Sept' 5, 1645."

"Saturday, Sept' 6, a trumpeter was sent in with a reply to Prince Rupert's answer, in these words:— Sir, your overture of sending to the King, to know his pleasure, I cannot give way to, because of delay. I confess your answer doth intimate your intention not to surrender without his Majesties consent; yet because it is but implicite, I send again to know a more positive answer from yourself, which I desire may be such as may render me capable of approving myself, your Highness humble servant, "THO' FAIRFAX."

"Sept' 5, 1645."

"This day came 12 colours more of the well-affected countrymen, as an addition to the former forces."

"Sept' 6, seven in the morning, the trumpeter went in and was detained all that day and night; every thing was prepared for a storm; the General was in the field to that end; the soldiers had their faggots on their backs, and leaped for joy they might go on: yet about ten at night, for several reasons it was held fit to give orders to put off the business till Monday morning, two of the clock; and only to alarm the enemy for that time, as we did often, to amuse them, and keep them waking."

§ 131. "Lord's day, September 7, in the forenoon, the trumpet returned with these propositions from Prince Rupert:—Sir, whereas I received your letter for the delivery of the city, forts, and castle of Bristol, and being willing to join with you for the sparing of blood, and the preserving of his Majesties subjects, I have upon those grounds, and none other, sent you these following propositions:"

"1st. That myself, all noblemen, commanders, and soldiers of horse and foot, that have served either his Majesty or Parliament, in England or elsewhere, as likewise all persons whatsoever, men or women, now resident in this city of Bristol, castle and forts thereof, shall have free liberty to march away out of the said city, castle and forts, with their arms, flying colours, drums beating, trumpets sounding, pistols cocked, swords drawn, matches lighted at both ends, bullets in their mouths, and as much powder and match as they can carry about them, with all their bag and baggage, horses, arms, and other furniture, ten pieces of canon, 50 barrels of powder, match and bullet proportionable."

"2. That neither mine own person, nor the person of any nobleman, commander, officer, gentleman or soldier, or any other of mine or their retinues, be searched, molested, or troubled upon what pretence soever, but left to their liberties, to depart, or stay, as it shall be most convenient for them."

"3. That none of your army whatsoever shall entice or persuade any officer or soldier of mine from their regiments or colours, with any promise of preferment or reward."

"4. That all such officers and soldiers that are hurt and sick, and cannot now march out of this city, castle and fort, shall have liberty to stay in till they be recovered, and then have safe conducts to go wheresoever they please, either to any of his Majesties armies or garrisons, or their own houses, where they may live quiet, and that in the interim, those being sick and hurt, may be protected by you, and have civil usage."

"5. All prisoners taken on both sides since the beginning of this siege, be forthwith set at liberty."

"6. That myself, and all those above mentioned, may not be required to march further in a day than what conveniently we may, and that a day"

"or two of rest be allowed upon our march, if we shall find it requisite; and that we be accommodated with free quarter during our march, and a sufficient convoy to any of the King's armies or garrisons which I shall name, to secure us in our march from all injury and incivility that shall any ways be offered unto us. And likewise that there be one hundred and fifty carriage horses, and forty wains, with sufficient teams provided for carriages of all sorts."

"7. That no person here in these articles mentioned, shall be in their march, rendezvous or quarters, searched or plundered, upon any pretence whatsoever: and that two officers be appointed by you, the one for accommodation of free quarters for officers, soldiers, and others, and the other for providing of horses and carriages for our baggage and train."

"8. All noblemen, gentlemen, clergymen, citizens, resiants, or any other person within this city, suburbs, and liberties thereof, shall at any time when they please, have free liberty to remove themselves, their goods and families, and to dispose of them at their pleasures, according to the known and enacted laws of the land, either to live at their own houses or elsewhere; and to enjoy their houses, lands, goods and estates, without any molestation, and to have protection for that purpose: and this article to extend to all those whose estates are sequestered, or not sequestered, and that they may rest quiet at their abodes, and travel freely and safely upon their occasions. And for their better removal, they may have letters of safe conduct, with horses and carriages at reasonable rates, upon demand."

"9. That all persons above mentioned, may have free liberty to pass to any parts beyond the seas, any time within three moneths, as their occasions shall require."

"10. That the lines, forts, castle, and other fortifications about, or in the city of Bristol, be forthwith slighted, and the city stated in the same condition it was before the beginning of this unnatural war: and that hereafter the Parliament during this war, place no garrison in it."

"11. That no churches be defaced: that the several members of the foundation of this Cathedral, shall quietly enjoy their houses, and revenues belonging to their places, and that the ministers of this city may likewise enjoy their benefices without any trouble."

"12. That no oaths be imposed upon any person now in this city, suburbs and liberties, other than such as are required by the ancient and enacted laws of the land."

"13. That the Major, Sheriffs, Aldermen and citizens within this Corporation of the city of Bristol, shall be free in their persons and estates, and enjoy all their privileges, liberties and immunities in as full and ample manner as formerly at any time they did before the beginning of this war, and that they shall have freedom of trade both by land and sea, paying such duties and customs as formerly they have done to his Majesty: and that no mulct or fine be imposed upon any person mentioned in this article, upon any pretence whatsoever, or questioned for any act or thing done, or committed before the day of our marching forth. That no free quarters shall be put upon them without their own consents."

"14. That all other persons, whose dwellings are in this city, and now absent, may have the full benefit of these articles, as if they were present."

"15. That all noblemen, gentlemen and others, that have goods in this city, and are now present or absent, may have liberty at any time within three months to dispose of their goods as they please.

"16. That there be no plundering or taking away of any man's person, or any part of his estate, under what pretence soever; and that justice, according to the known laws of the land, be administered to all persons within this city by the civil Magistrates."

"17. And for the performance of these articles, I expect such hostages to be given as I shall accept of, and hereunto I desire your speedy answer."

"Sir, by this you may evidently perceive my inclination to peace, and you may be assured that I shall never desire any thing more than the honour of the King, and safety of the kingdom; and that I may become Sir, your servant, "RUPERT."

"Sept' 7, 1645."

"To which propositions the General returned this answer.—Sir, I have perused your propositions, wherein some things are doubtfully expressed; other things inconsistent with the duty I owe to them I serve. Notwithstanding, to the end I may give assurance, that I earnestly desire to save effusion of blood, and the ruin of a city and people, that may in time be so serviceable to the Crown and kingdom; if it please your"

"Highness, that Commissioners [*al'* Committees] may treat between us, concerning the accomodating of things: I hope to make it evident to the world, that what shall respect the honour of a soldier, due civility to all men, the good and welfare of the people of that city, both in passing by what is past, and restoring them to the priveleges of all other subjects, and to the immunities of their city, will readily be condescended unto by me: and to the end no time may be lost, I have here inclosed sent you the names of Commissioners [*al'* Committees] who upon the return of hostages of equal condition unto me, shall attend your Highness, sufficiently instructed to conclude on my part: provided the said treaty be ended by nine of the clock this night. And to this I desire your answer within the space of an hour, and remain your Highness humble servant, "THO' FAIRFAX."

"Sept' 7, 1645."

§ 132. "This answer being returned presently after dinner by the same trumpeter, he was detained till eight at night; and then he brought this answer from the Prince, or to this effect in writing. That he hoped his propositions had been such, as needed no explanation; yet because some doubts were made, he was willing to have the exceptions set down in writing, and his Highness would return an answer." [The writer of one of the pamphlets mentioned above, adds as follows. "So this night also, though eight men [*sic*] were drawn out, and appointed to their several posts, the storming was put off, and tomorrow a certain hour will be set the Prince peremptorily, for his positive answer. There can be but two things in my opinion that induces the Prince to offer conditions: either he is not able to defend the place, and in fear of Sir *Lewis Dives* conditions, if he be driven for refuge into the fort-royal; or else he doth it to gain time, till his counter-scarfes and inner lines be finished, which he is very active in making day and night; or that he expects aid from the King or *Goring*, neither of which are moving this way, as our intelligence is; and therefore (on that reason) one day's time longer is given. No man knows how this business may work, especially with the townsmen: if the General's answer be made known to them or if a treaty be embraced, the noise of it and the sight of Committees will make men"

"greedy of conditions, or unwilling to resist, if on the Prince's part it be broken off. - - - The essential articles are *exemption from sequestration—Cathedral-men to continue*, against which there is an ordinance—*the works to be demolished and no garrison hereafter*, which may be inconvenient; these articles will receive dispute.—Sept' 7, past 12 at night."] [*Mem.*' The ordnance of the House for taking away the use of the Common Prayer-book and substituting the Directory is dated March 13, 1644-5.]

"Monday, Sept' 8, the General returned a particular answer to every article, which as to the soldiery was very honorable, and could not but be very acceptable to the citizens; for the offer was most fair to the citizens to oblige them to us, in case the conditions offered them were but known to them, as we hoped they would. However we had used means by our spies to convey the same to them." ["Sir Thomas Fairfax sent two copies of the articles, which he proposed, signed and sealed by himself, and required one of them to be sent back to him signed and sealed by the Prince, by six o'clock in the evening; otherwise he should consider the treaty at an end."] "In the interim all things were prepared for the storm, every commander viewing his posts. The trumpet was detained beyond the time appointed, yet afterwards returned with a denial, but not positive. That night was appointed for the army to fall on, but upon better consideration it was held fit to put it off to another day, and only to alarm the enemy."

"Tuesday, Sept' 9, in the morning the trumpet was sent in again [with a letter from the General, informing the Prince that he has already offered all that he can grant, and that he perceives that delay was wholly and chiefly intended by his letters and carriage.] He therefore informs him that if he did not immediately accept what was offered, all that had passed should be as no treaty, requiring the trumpet to return by 12 of the clock, but notwithstanding he was detained till 10 at night, and then returned with an unsatisfactory answer. Whereupon all things on our part were put in readiness for a storm. At 12 of the clock in the night the General went into the field to give orders about the drawing out of our men, and managing the storm for the next morning."

§ 133. "The enemy being left inexcusable for refusing such honorable conditions as were offered; the whole army horse and foot being set in a posture round the city, to fall on about two in the morning, Sept' 10, the signal was given to fall on at one instant round the city and works, which was by setting on fire a great heap of straw and faggots on the top of an hill, and the shooting off four great guns against Prior's fort, from the place where the General was to reside all the time of the storm." [The word during the storm was *David;* the word after the line was entered was, *the Lord of Hosts.*] "The signal being given [about two o'clock in the morning] the storm began round the city, and was terrible to the beholders. Colonel Montague and Colonel Pickering with their regiments at Lawford's gate entered speedily, and recovered 22 great guns, and took many prisoners in the works, [Col' Mountague's brigade took 16 peeces in the severall workes and half-moones, which they took by storming] Major Desbrough advancing with the horse after them, having the command of the General's regiment, and part of Col' Graves's. Sir Hardress Waller's and the General's regiments commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson, entered between Lawford's gate and the river Froom: Colonel Rainsbrough and Col' Hammond's regiments entered near Prior's fort: Major-General Skippon's, and Col' Birche's entered nearer to the river Froom: and the regiment commanded by Lieut'-Col' Pride was divided; part assigned to the service of Pryor's fort, and the rest to alarm the great fort, and afterwards they took a little fort of Welchmen. The seamen that were at first designed to storm by water (the tide failing) assisted in storming the line and works. The horse that entered here, (besides the forlorn hope so valiantly led on by Captain Ireton,) were in several parties commanded by Major Bethel, Major Alford, and Adjutant-Gen' Flemming, being of Colonel Whalye's, Colonel Riche's, and part of Colonel Graves his regiments. And after the line was broke down with the Pioneers, and a gap made in the same, our horse with undaunted courage entered, and within the line met with a party of the enemie's horse, put them to a retreat, mortally wounded Colonel Taylor (formerly a member of the house of Commons) of which wounds he died, and took divers prisoners. This so disheartened their horse, (perceiving withal our foot to be master"

"of the line, and their men beaten off) that they never came on again to give one charge; but retreated and stood in a body, under the favor of the great fort and Coulston's fort. In the meanwhile Pryor's-hill-fort very obstinately held out, playing fiercely with great and small shot upon our men for two hours after the line was entred; our men all that time in like manner plying them hard with musquet-shot in at the port-holes, until they brought up ladders to the fort; but it being an high work, many of the ladders proved too short, through which fault, some that got up were beaten down again. Notwithstanding, this disheartened them not, but up they went again upon greatest danger and disadvantage, some at last creeping in at the port-holes, and others got on the top of the works, Capt' Lagoe of Lieut'-Colonel Pride's regiment, being the first man that laid hold on the colours; and in the end we forced the enemy within to run below into the inner rooms of the work, hoping to receive quarter; but our soldiers were so little prepared for to shew mercy, by the opposition that they met withal in the storm, and the refusal of quarter when it was offered, that they put to the sword the commander (one Major Price, a Welchman) and almost all the officers, soldiers, and others in the fort, except a very few, which at the entreaty of some of our officers had their lives spared. [This brigade took foure great peeces in this fort and two more in a redoubt.] By that time the fort was gained the day began to break. And most happy it was the storm began so timely, for otherwise had the enemy had daylight when we first entered, we could not have stood upon any ground to have attempted Pryor's-hill-fort; in regard the great fort, and Coulston's fort on the one side, and the castle on the other side, might have cut off our men as fast as they had been drawn up, but being in the dark, they durst not shoot for fear of killing their own men; their horse (during the storm) being drawn in a body, between the great fort and Coulston's fort. But in the mean time the success on Somersetshire side was not answerable unto this, on this side, our forces there being put to a retreat, though they went on with much courage; the works on that side were so high [and the moat being very deep] that the ladders could not near reach them, and the approach unto the line of great disadvantage. The horse designed to enter the line, in case it had pleased God to give us here"

"also success, were, Lieut'-General Cromwell's regiment, commanded by Major Huntingdon, Col' Sir Robert Pye's, and Col' Sheffield's, both which Colonels in person attended the storm, being impatient they had not fair opportunity of entering the line, such was their zeal to the service. [The club-men also fell on at Bedminster, and much terrified the garrison.] And lest during the storm, the Prince, (in case he see the town like to be lost) should endeavour to escape with his horse; to prevent the same, Commissary General Ireton's, Colonel Butler's, and Colonel Fleetwood's regiments of horse, were appointed to be in a moving body upon Durdham down; that place being the most open way, and most likely for the Prince to escape by; besides part of those horse did alarm that side of the line and great fort, towards Durdham down, and Clifton, during the storm, as likewise to secure the foot; Col' Okey's dragoons alarming Brandon-hill-fort, and the line towards Clifton: [being masters of the line, they began to plant cannon against the castle, expecting to reduce it in 24 hours (as they said)]: but about four hours after the taking of Pryor's-hill-fort, a trumpeter came from the Prince to desire a parley, which there was reason enough to refuse: but considering the enemy had fired the city in several places, in so much as it was probable the whole city would have been consumed, if the fire had gone on; the General sent the Prince word that he would embrace a parley, provided he caused the fire to be quenched immediately, which was done accordingly, and so the treaty proceeded on, and by seven at night it was concluded of according to these articles:"

§ 134. "That his Highness Prince Rupert, and all noblemen, [commanders] officers, gentlemen and souldiers, and all other persons whatsoever, now residing in the city of Bristol, and castle, and forts thereof, shall march out of the said city, castle and forts thereof, with colours, pikes, and drums, bag and baggage. The Prince his Highness, all noblemen, gentlemen and officers in commission, with their horse and arms, and their servants with their horses and swords, and common soldiers with their swords; the Prince his life guard of horse, with their horse and arms, and 250 horse besides to be disposed by the Prince, and his life guard"

"of fire-locks with their arms, and each of them one pound of powder, and a proportion of bullet; and that none of the persons who are to march out on this article, shall be plundered, searched or molested"

"That such officers and soldiers as shall be left sick or wounded in the city, castle or forts shall have liberty to stay till their recovery, and then have safe conducts to go to his Majesty, and in the interim to be protected."

"That the persons above-mentioned, who are to march away, shall have a sufficient convoy provided for them to any such garrison of the King's as the Prince shall name, not exceeding fifty miles from Bristol; and shall have eight days allowed for their march thither, and shall have free quarter by the way, and shall have two officers to attend them for their accomodation, and 20 waggons for their baggage, if they shall have occasion to use the same."

"That all the citizens of Bristol, and all noblemen, gentlemen, clergymen, and all other persons residing in the said city and suburbs of the same, shall be saved from all plunder and violence, and be secured in their persons and estates from the violence of the soldier, and shall enjoy those rights and priveledges which other subjects enjoy under protection and obedience to the Parliament."

"That in consideration thereof, the city of Bristol, with the castle, and all other forts and fortifications thereof, without any sleighting or defacing thereof, and all the ordnance, arms, ammunition, and all other furniture and provisions of war, excepting what is before allowed, shall be delivered up to Sir Thomas Fairfax, to morrow, being Thursday the 11*th* day of this instant Sept' by one of the clock in the afternoon, without any diminution or imbezlement; his Highness Prince Rupert then naming to what army or garrison of the King's he will march."

"That none of the persons who are to march out on this agreement, shall plunder, hurt, or spoil the town, or any person in it, or carry out any thing but what is properly their own.

"That upon signing these articles, Colonel Okey, and all persons now in prison in the city of Bristol, the castle or forts of the same, shall immediately be set at at liberty.

"That sufficient hostages be given to Sir Thomas Fairfax, such as he shall approve, this night, who are to remain with him until the city be delivered."

"That neither the convoy nor officers sent with the Prince, shall receive any injury in their going or coming back, and shall have seven days allowance for their return.

"That upon delivering of the town, sufficient hostages be given for the performance of the articles on both parts."

"Signed by us the Commissioners on the behalf of his Highness, Prince Rupert,

"*John Mynne, W' Tillyer, W' Valvasour.*"

"Signed by us the Commissioners appointed on the behalf of his Excellency, Sir Thos' Fairfax."

"*Edw' Mountague, Tho' Rainsborough, John Pickering.*"

"That which moved the General to give such favourable conditions, was merely the preservation of the city, which otherwise would have been consumed by fire if the enemy had been driven to desperate condition."

"God, to shew the watchfulness of his providence over the General and Lieutenant-General, brought them into some danger, and delivered them out of the same graciously, during the time of the parley; for while they were both sitting on the top of Pryor's-hill fort, a piece of ordnance was shot thither from the castle, and the bullet grazed upon the fort within two hands breadth of them, but did them no hurt at all."

"This day, the well-affected countrymen of Gloucestershire, to the number of about 3000 with some 30 colours, appeared, expressing great forwardness to serve the Parliament; but the service being over, they returned to their own homes."

"In this storm we lost several officers, both of horse and foot, and had many wounded; Major Bethel was shot at entering the line, whom I have never occasion to mention but greatly to his honour. Of this wound he shortly after died. Captain Ireton, who led on the forlorn hope at the storm, was shot with a brace of bullets in the arm (and it is broken thereby) but after enduring great torture and pain for many months, he is, through God's blessing, happily recovered. Major Cromwell, a valiant and discreet gentleman, (Major to Colonel Inglesbie) was wounded in the storm, whereof he afterwards died. Lieutenant-Colonel Purefoy,"

" of Col' Fortescue's regiment, a very stout man, was slain upon the place. Captain Hill, of Sir Hardress Waller's regiment, slain at the storm. Major Reade, Colonel Inglesbie's brother, and divers other officers wounded." [Another writer says, " our loss of men was inconsiderable, not credible almost. I assure you that in Col' Rainsborough's and Col' Mountague's brigade not 40 men are lost."]

" Thursday, September 11, the Prince, according to the articles, marched out of the great fort, as also many ladies and persons of quality, who had convoys appointed them according to agreement." [One of our Calendars says, " Prince Rupert marched out with 8 lords in his company, and 500 horse and 1400 foot, with their muskets and other arms."] In the Prince his marching out, the General himself attended him out two miles. The Prince, after he was out of the fort, declared which way he intended to go, and propounded Oxford, whither, accordingly, he, and all his company, were safely convoyed; and because he feared the rising of the clubmen upon him, and not being secure enough in his convoy, as he conceived, he desired the General to let him have 1000 arms for his foot, engaging himself upon his honour, they should injure no man therewith, only to make use of them (if need were) to keep themselves from the violence of the people, and to return them back again, which accordingly was allowed him, and so many as kept their arms restored them again; but the greatest part of them in their march running away, many of the arms were lost. Divers persons of quality that were in the town, desired liberty to stay a little while longer, till they could provide themselves with horses and necessaries to march away, which civility the General did not deny them."

" A great appearance there was of the country to see the marching away of the Prince, and extremely cryed they out against the Prince, give him no quarter, give him no quarter."

" The goodness of God to the army during this siege, in preserving them from the sickness was very remarkable: for when the army was resolved to march from Sherborn to Bristol, one main objection there against it that time was, least the plague should be thereby brought into the army, but every man's conscience and judgment being satisfied that the design was good, and most for the advantage of the publick, and"

"feazible in their opinion, they resolved to trust God what he would do with them, as to the sickness that was much spread in those parts. And whereas when the army came before Bristol, as likewise for many weeks before, there died within the city above an hundred a week of the sickness: nor could we quarter our forces in any town or village but the sickness was in it: yet during all this time not one officer or soldier in our army died of the plague, that we could not hear of, or but one." [One of the pamphlets says thus: "God hath appeared to own our coming hither in preserving this army from the infection of the plague; considering that the soldiers (do what we can to prevent it) run daily into infected houses: and to this day, not a man in the army dead thereof, that I can hear of, or but one.]" What ordnance, arms, ammunition, and provisions we found in the forts, city, and castle, I shall give you in the words of Lieutenant-General Cromwell's letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons: wherein also the reader may find, not only a confirmation, but an amplification of this story, by some other particulars not yet mentioned, which letter followeth."

§ 135. "It hath pleased the General to give me in charge to represent to you a particular account of the taking of Bristol, the which I gladly undertake. After the finishing of that service at Sherborn, it was disputed at a council of war, whether we should march into the West or to Bristol. Amongst other arguments, the leaving so considerable an enemy at our backs, to march into the heart of the kingdom, the undoing of the country about Bristol, which was exceedingly harassed by the Prince his being but a fortnight thereabouts; the correspondence he might hold with Wales, the possibility of unityng the enemies forces where they pleased, and especially the drawing to an head the disaffected clubmen of Somerset, Wilts, and Dorset, when once our backs were towards them. These considerations, together with the taking so important a place, so advantageous for the opening of trade to London, did sway the balance, and beget that conclusion. When we came within four miles of the city, we had a new debate whether we should endeavour to block it up, or make a regular siege? The latter being over-ruled, Colonel Welden with his brigade marched to Pile-hill, on the south side of the"

"city, being within musquet shot thereof, where in a few days they made a good quarter, over-looking the city. Upon our advance, the enemy fired Bedminster, Clifton, and some other villages [(*l*) which they did purposely to disaccommodate the army in point of quarter] lying near to the city, and would have fired more if our unexpected coming had not hindered. The General caused some horse and dragoons under Commissary Gen' Ireton, to advance over Avon, to keep in the enemy on the north side of the town, until the foot could come up; and after a day, the General, with Col' Montague's, and Col' Rainsbrough's brigades, marched over at Keynsham to Stapleton, where he quartered that night; the next day, Col' Montague (having his post assigned) with his brigade, was to secure all between Frome and Avon, he came up to Lawford's-gate, within musquet shot thereof. Col' Rainsbrough's post was near to Durdham-down, where the dragooners and three regiments of horse made good a post upon the down, between him and the river Avon, on his right hand, and from Col' Rainsbrough's quarters to Froome river, on his left. A part of Col' Birch and Major-Gen' Skippon's regiments were to maintain that post. These posts being thus settled, our horse were forced to be upon exceeding great duty, to stand by the foot, lest the foot being so weak in all their posts, might receive an affront. And truly herein we were very happy that we should receive so little loss by sallies, considering the paucity of our men to make good the posts, and the strength of the enemy within: by sallies (which were three or four) I know not that we lost 30 men in all the time of our siege. Of officers of quality, only Colonel Okey was taken, by mistake, going to the enemy, thinking them to be friends; and Captain Guilliams slain in a charge. We took Sir Bernard Astley, and killed Sir Richard Crane (one very considerable with the Prince.) We had a council of war concerning the storming of the town, about eight days before we took it; and in that there appeared great unwillingness to the work, through the unseasonableness of the weather, and other apparent difficulties. Some inducement to bring us thither, was the report of the good affection of the townsmen to us, but that did not answer expectation. Upon a second consideration, it was overruled for a storm, which no sooner"

(*l*) This paragraph is in Sprigge, but not in Cromwell's own letter.

"concluded, but difficulties were removed, and all things seemed to favour the design: and indeed there hath been seldom the like cheerfulness in officers and soldiers to any work like to this, after it was once resolved on. The day and hour of our storm was appointed to be Wednesday morning the 10th, about one of the clock: we chose to act it so early, because we hoped thereby to surprize the enemy; with this resolution also, to avoid confusion, and falling foul one upon another; that when we had recovered the line, and forts upon it, we could not advance further until day. The General's signal unto the storm was, the firing of straw, and discharging four pieces of canon at Prior's-hill-fort: the signal was very well perceived by all, and truly the men went on with great resolution, and very presently recovered the line, making way for the horse to enter. Col' Montague and Col' Pickering, who stormed at Lawford's-gate, where was a double work, well filled with men and canon, presently entered, and with great resolution beat the enemy from their works, and possessed their canon: their expedition was such that they forced the enemy from their advantages, without any considerable loss to themselves; they laid down the bridges for the horse to enter, Major Desbrough commanding the horse, who very gallantly seconded the foot: then our foot advanced to the city walls, where they possessed the gate against the Castle-street, whereinto were put one hundred men, who made it good. Sir Hardress Waller, with his, and the General's regiment, with no less resolution, entered on the other side of Lawford's-gate, towards Avon river, and put themselves into an immediate conjunction with the rest of the brigade. During this, Col' Rainsbrough and Col' Hamond attempted Prior's-hill-fort, and the line downward towards Frome; Col' Birch and the Major-General's regiment being to storm towards Frome river, Col' Hamond possessed the line immediately, and beating the enemy from it, made way for our horse to enter. Col' Rainsbrough who had the hardest task of all at Prior's-hill-fort, attempted it, and fought neer three hours for it, and indeed there was great despair of carrying the place, it being exceeding high, a ladder of thirty rounds scarce reaching the top thereof; but his resolution was such, that notwithstanding the inaccessibleness and difficulty, he would not give it over. The enemy had four piece of cannon upon it,"

" which they plyed with round and case shot upon our men ; his Lieut'-Colonel Bowen, and others, were two hours at push of pike, standing upon the palizadoes, but could not enter. Colonel Hamond being entered the line, and Captain Ireton, with a forlorn of Captain Rich his regiment, interposing with his horse, between the enemies horse and Colonel Hamond, received a shot with two pistol bullets, which brake his arm ; by which means the entrance of Colonel Hamond did storm the fort on that part which was inward ; by which means Colonel Rainsbrough and Col' Hamond's men entered the fort, and immediately put allmost all the men in it to the sword. And as this was the place of most difficulty, so of most loss to us on that side, and of very great honour to the undertaker. The horse did second them with great resolution. Both these Colonels do acknowledge that their interposition between the enemies horse, and their foot, was a great means of obtaining of this strong fort, without which all the rest of the line to Frome river would have done us little good ; and indeed, neither horse nor foot would have stood in all that way in any manner of security, had not the fort been taken."

" Major Bethel's were the first horse that entered the line, who did behave himself very gallantly, and was shot in the thigh, had one or two shots more, and had his horse shot under him. Col' Birch with his men, and the Major-General's regiment, entered with very good resolution where their post was ; possessing the enemie's guns, and turning them upon them."

" By this all the line from Prior's-hill-fort to Avon (which was a full mile) with all the forts, ordnance and bulwarks, were possessed by us, but one, wherein there were about an hundred and twenty men of the enemy, which the General summoned, and all the men submitted."

" The success on Colonel Welden's side did not answer with this. And although the Colonel's, and other the officers and soldiers, both horse and foot, testified very much resolution as could be expected ; Col' Welden, Col' Inglesby, Col' Herbert, and the rest of the Colonels and officers both of horse and foot, doing what could be well looked for from men of honour ; yet what by reason of the height of the works, which proved higher than report made them, and the shortness of the ladders,"

"they were repulsed with the loss of about an hundred men: Colonel Fortescue's Lieut'-Colonel was killed, Major Cromwell dangerously shot, and two of Col' Inglesbie's brothers hurt, with some officers."

"Being possessed of thus much as hath been related, the town was fired in three places by the enemy, which we could not put out; which begat a great trouble in the General, and us all, fearing to see so famous a city burnt to ashes before our faces. Whilst we were viewing so sad a spectacle, and consulting which way to make further advantage of our success; the Prince sent a trumpet to the General, to desire a treaty for the surrender of the town: to which the General agreed, and deputed Col' Montague, Col' Rainsbrough, and Col' Pickering for that service, authorising them with instructions to treat and conclude the articles, which are these inclosed; for performance whereof, hostages were mutually given. On Thursday, about two of the clock in the afternoon, the Prince marched out, having a convoy of two regiments of horse from us, and making election of Oxford for the place he would go to, which he had liberty to do by his articles. The canon which we have taken are about 140 mounted, about 100 barrels of powder already come over to our hands, with a good quantity of shot, ammunition and arms; we have found already between two and three thousand muskets. The Royal-fort had victuals in it for one hundred and fifty men for three hundred and twenty days, the castle victualled for near half so long. The Prince had foot of the garrison, as the Major of the city informed me, 2500, and about 1000 horse, besides the trained bands of the town, and auxiliaries 1000, some say 1500. I hear but of one man that died of the plague in all our army, although we have quartered amongst and in the midst of infected persons and places: we had not killed of ours, in this storm, nor all this siege, two hundred men. Thus I have given you a true, but not a full account of this great business, wherein he that runs may read that all this is none other than the work of God: he must be a very atheist that doth not acknowledge it. It may be thought that some praises are due to these gallant men, of whose valour so much mention is made: their humble suit to you, and all that have an interest in this blessing, is, that in the rembrance of God's praises, they may be forgotten."

"It is their joy, that they are instruments to God's glory and their country's good; it is their honour that God vouchsafes to use them. Sir, they that have been employed in this service, know, that faith and prayer obtained this city for you: I do not say ours only, but of the people of God with you, and all England over, who have wreastled with God for a blessing in this very thing. Our desires are, that God may be glorified by the same spirit of faith by which we ask all our sufficiency, and having received it, it is meet that he should have all the praise." [*Here ends Oliver Cromwell's letter, as published by Parliament.*] "Presbyterians, Independents, all have here the same spirit of faith and prayer, the same presence and answer; they agree here, have no names of difference: pity it is it should be otherwise any where. All that believe have the real unity, which is most glorious, because inward and spiritual, in the body and to the head. For being united in forms, commonly called uniformity, every Christian will, for peace sake, study and do as far as conscience will permit. And for brethren, in things of the mind, we look for no compulsion, but that of light and reason. In other things God hath put the sword in the Parliament's hands, for the terror of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well. If any plead exemption from it, he knows not the gospel: if any would wring it out of your hands, or steal it from you under what pretence soever, I hope they shall do it without effect. That God will maintain it in your hands, and direct you in the use thereof, is the prayer of, your humble servant,

"Bristol, Sept' 14, 1645. "OLIVER CROMWELL."

§ 136. "This night the General removed from his quarter at the farm-house where he had been all the time of the siege, extremely ill accommodated by reason of the littleness of the house, which yet he contented himself withal, in regard it lay so conveniently upon any alarm." [It is a farm-house, situate on Ashley-hill, above Rennison's Bath, for many years occupied by Mr. Humphreys, the governor of Bristol gaol. In the adjoining field is the trace of a redoubt, from whence they canonaded Prior's-hill-fort, distant almost half a mile.] "But this night, he and the Lieutenant-General removed, and went to Bristol, which they found so unlike what it had been formerly, in its flourishing condition,"

"that it looked now more like a prison than a city, and the people more like prisoners than citizens, being brought so low with taxations, so poor in habit, and so dejected in countenance, the streets so noisome, and the houses so nasty, as that they were unfit to receive friends or freemen, till they were cleansed."

§ 137. "Besides the publique mercy to the kingdom, in the recovery of Bristol, the vindication of Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes (once Governor thereof) seems to have been also particularly designed by Providence. The General, with the Lieutenant-General (sitting upon Prior's-hill-fort after the storm) and most of the chief officers of the army, upon a view of the place, comparing the present strength of it with what it was when he delivered it, and other circumstances, freely expressed themselves, as men abundantly satisfied concerning the hard misfortune that befel that noble gentleman. And indeed, whosoever shall compare both the defences together, according to this ensuing paralel, must needs confess, that if Prince Rupert deserved to be acquitted (as he was by the King and a council of war, at Newark) the former defence deserves to be commended. For, Prince Rupert, in this latter, had the advantage of the former, 1, in the line, which was so much stronger (than the former) by the addition of a fort-royal, and many other works. 2. In the numbers of men for defence, which were (*a*) more than double, and 1200 of them horse (which number of horse was a thing of great consideration in so large a line.) 3. In a place of great strength for (*b*) retreat. And lastly (which is as considerable as any thing) in a probability of relief, the (*c*) King having promised it, and being resolved to have performed it in his own person, with all the force he could have drawn together. Yet he in the defence, slew not 200 (in"

(*a*) "Prince Rupert had between 4 and 5000 horse and foot; Colonel Fiennes but 1700, of all sorts."

(*b*) "Viz' the Fort-royal: which though it be twice reckoned in this paralel, yet it is in a different respect; viz' here, as a place of retreat; but above as it did flanker the line, and so strengthen it much."

(*c*) "This appeareth in Prince Rupert's Apology; and that the design of his relief, was laid very probably to have succeeded."

"all) of our men; embraced a parley, so soon as ever the town was entred; and concluded the surrender, upon no better articles than the former governor had."

"On the other hand, Colonel Fiennes in the former, though he had a (*d*) line full as large, less strong and tenable, and in that part where the enemy entered, his works not finished, nor half so many to defend them; though the Royal-fort was then not built, nor any thing but a weak and rotten castle to retreat into, which by the judgement of the officers (*e*) of this army, could not hold out 48 hours against a strong battery, much less till relief could reach it, whereof there was no likelihood; nay, the (*f*) governour having sent several times, received no answer; but by intelligence which he had, he understood he could expect no relief. Yet, to the utmost improving the means he had, 1, he slew 1200 of the enemy, among whom divers prime officers and commanders: 2. disputed the suburbs a long while after the line was entered: 3. entertained no parley, till all endeavours that could be used by promise of money or otherwise, were not able to get 120 men together: and at length purchased as good conditions as the latter, and in some substantial (*g*) points better. However all wise men would have saved me this pains; the sense of the honourable House of Commons, immediately on the reduction of Bristol, calling Col' Fiennes to his former state of honour and employment, being beyond all that can be said. Yet these considerations are not in vain; for that they serve as"

(*d*) "Prince Rupert in his printed declaration and apology, alledgeth; that the line he had to defend being about 4 miles in compas was generally but 3 foot thick, and 5 foot high; the graft commonly but 6 foot broad, and where it was widest but 7; but 4 foot deep, and where it was deepest but 5. And that in the opinion of all his Colonels and Officers, it was not tenable upon a brisk and vigorous assault."

(*e*) "The officers expressed themselves so."

(*f*) "Col'Fiennes sending to the Earl of Essex for relief, his Excellency wrote to the Lord Say, that the army was not in ease to relieve him, nor, (he thought) ever would."

(*g*) "As may appear by comparing the articles together."

" well to the commendation of the goodness of God, in the assisting and bearing forth this army through this undertaking; which, by how much the odds between the means and preparations for this latter defence were beyond the former, carried so much the greater demonstration of the more immediate presence of God, and his power with our army in this reduction of Bristol, than the enemy could boast of, when he took it."—*Finis.*

The House of Commons ordered 17*th* Sept' that there should be a general thanksgiving for the taking of Bristol on the next Lord's day in London, and on the next Lord's day come fortnight, being the fift day of October in the rest of the kingdom, and that Cromwell's letter should be read at that time; and that collections should be made in London, and the money paid to the treasurers for maimed soldiers, and distributed for the relief of many distressed and plundered people of Bristol and the places adjacent. The date of the taking of Bristol was quaintly expressed in the following *Chronogram* (*m*) *by Johan' Rokytsanus, Exul Bohemus.* A' D' 1645.

BRISTOLIA VNDENO VII BRIS SOLE NITENTE
EXPVGNATA FVIT DEDITIONE BREVI
1-50-1-5-500-5-1-1-1-50-1+10-5-5-1-500-500-1-1-5-1=1645.

§ 138. The taking of Bristol gave the last blow to the Royal cause: no reasonable hope could be entertained of its final prevalence after the loss of this important place: no wonder, therefore, that Prince Rupert was severely judged. The King, incensed at his nephew's conduct, and overwhelmed by the loss, wrote that excellent letter preserved by Lord Clarendon, wherein he reproaches him for " submitting to so mean an action:" he reminds him of his " letter dated Aug' 12, whereby you assured me that *if no mutiny happened you would keep Bristol for four months.* Did you keep it four days? Was there any thing like a mutiny?" And he concludes with dismissing him from his service, and ordering him to quit the kingdom. The Prince instead of immediately obeying, went to Newark, where the King was, and there endeavoured to justify himself in a rude manner, as related by Lord Clarendon; and

(*m*) Chronometra, 1646, 4to'.

afterwards he published a pamphlet (*n*) called *a declaration and narrative of the state of the garrison of the city of Bristol*, 1645.

§ 129. It may well be questioned, whether this justification offered by Prince Rupert be sufficient to clear his character. The number of his garrison was according to the enemy's account above-mentioned at least 4500; or enough to bring 3000 men into the field, leaving sufficient to defend the garrison; or as Whitelock says (p' 167) 900 horse, 2500 foot and 1500 auxiliaries: the Prince in his justification attempts to lessen these numbers exceedingly; which is incompatible with his own assurance, only a few days before the siege, that he would defend the place for four months. He complains much of the inefficiency of the fortifications. Now the graff is at this day, in almost all places, (*o*) where it is visible, deeper and wider, than he describes the extreme depth and width. The wall (he says) was only three feet thick; if it were so yet the enemy took no advantage of this circumstance; it was taken by scalade. It was only 5 feet high he says; but it was sufficient in all parts but one to keep out the King's army in 1643; and his own officers as well as those of the Parliament at that time joined in speaking in the highest terms of the means of defence: and after all if the fortifications were in any way deficient, the blame must fall on the Prince himself, who had been governor of the city for two years, time enough to have made them perfectly secure in every place, as they were on the Somersetshire side. No vigorous resistance seems to have been made, when the walls were stormed, and no wonder; the Prince's conduct in entertaining proposals from the enemy, and himself proposing articles of surrender was sufficient to prevent that, although the castle and most of the forts and the inner walls of the city and all Redcliffe side were still in the Prince's power. The expedient of firing the town was not only cruel, but more destructive to the King's friends, than to his enemies, for it appears from Cromwell's own account, that the population of the city was not favourable to the Parliament. His apprehension that the Royal-fort might be cannonaded from Brandon-hill-fort was a weak excuse: which it would have been time enough to have urged, when that fort should have been

(*n*) See the Catalogue C C.

(*o*) See § 45.

taken and the effect of it's fire had become intolerable; which might never have happened, the two places being half a mile distant from each other, and apparently on the same level. The improbability of relief was an unmilitary excuse, which might have been urged with better reason than by Prince Rupert by many governors during that war, who yet preserved their fortresses; at all events had he been true to the royal cause or mindful of a soldier's character, he would have held the city to the last extremity: many things might have happened during a protracted siege, which might have relieved him, particularly since he had the population of the city favourable to his cause; and it is evident from several parts of the preceding account, that the rebel officers considered their success very doubtful. In all respects the Prince's conduct was similar to that of Fiennes, and not better. What then could have induced him to surrender? for personal courage he certainly possessed. The truth seems to be this. In all military transactions in which he was concerned, he shewed an impetuous spirit, and nothing more: he was excellent in leading a charge of cavalry, but in the qualifications of a general, he was deficient. To train an army, to organize a garrison, to provide for the subsistence of his soldiers, in these essential qualities he was deficient through ignorance, or would not practice them by reason of his pride; in these respects he was unfit for command. Neither is it perfectly certain, that he was well *inclined* to defend Bristol; some suspicion hangs over his loyalty. The King's letter (*p*) to him not long before the siege shews, that he had so far given up all hope of success, that he had advised the King to submit to the Parliament: now it is but reasonable to suspect, since he despaired of success and had advised submission, that he was induced not so much by the enemy's attack as by the bias of his own mind, to surrender this important trust. It is true, the King (*q*) after hearing the Prince's justification, signed "a short declaration, by which he was absolved from any disloyalty or treason, but not of indiscretion." It may be seen however from the noble historian's narration, that the King, his affairs being now desperate, in the midst of his friends had lost his authority; he was overwhelmed by the clamour and importunity of Prince Rupert and his partizans, and wishing

(*p*) (*q*) Clarendon, 9.

to be rid of him, he signed the declaration. Posterity however cannot but judge, thas Bristol was lost by his misconduct.

§ 140. Soon after the surrender of the city, Major-General Philip Skippon was appointed Governor by the Parliament. The ordinance for this appointment is dated *die* Martis 2 Dec' 1645. After mentioning the necessity of keeping up a garrison there, and of entrusting the command to a person of quality and fidelity, and the good opinion they have of Serjeant-Major-Generall ***Philip Skippon***, they appoint him "to be Governor of the said city of Bristoll, and of the garrison, castle and forts there, and of all forces in the same, willing and requiring all officers and souldiers of the said garrison to receive and obey his orders and commands." And it is further ordained, that the said "Major-Generall ***Philip Skippon*** shall have power, and is hereby authorized to execute martiall law within the said city and garrison of Bristoll according to the articles published by the Earle of Essex, and now used in the army under the command of Sir ***Thomas Fairfax***. And the said Lords and Commons for the support and maintenance of the forces of the said garrison, and defraying incident and necessary charges, Doe Ordaine that £3000. a month should be levied and raised out of the citie of ***Bristoll*** and of the severall counties hereafter mentioned, and by the several committees of the said city and county [counties]: that is to say,

"The city of ***Bristoll*** the summe of £200. a moneth.
The county of ***Sommerset*** £1200. per ***mensem*** :
The county of ***Gloucester*** £800. per ***mensem*** ;
And the county of ***Wiltshire*** £800. per ***mensem***:

which said £3000. shall be disposed of according to such establishment for the said garrison, as shall be appointed by both houses of parliament. - - - - the said committees within their several counties being hereby authorized to set out such part of the county lying nearest unto the city of ***Bristoll***, as the proportion of money allotted for the payment of that garrison and laid upon that county, will be raised in. - - - - the said taxations and assessments to be made, and the said several summes to become payable from the first day of Nov' last past. - - - - Provided - - - - that this ordinance shall continue for sixe moneths and no longer."

Beside the garrison stationed here and paid as above, a city-regiment was also raised and officered by the following persons, who appear to be citizens: Capt' *Hart*, senior; Capt' *Grig;* Capt' *Pope;* Capt' *Roe;* Capt' Lieut' *Richards;* and no doubt there were others: and it was trained by Major *Samuel Kem*, who received government pay. Major *Kem* appears to have been an officer according to Cromwell's example; he not only brought his regiment to a good state of discipline; "I have put you, *says he*, in a posture whereby you are enabled to defend yourselves, or offend the kingdom's enemies;" but he was their chaplain too. There lies before me a farewell sermon which he preached to the regiment Nov' 8, 1646, when he was called to other service, printed in London 1647. His text is 1 Cor' 16; 13, 14. *Stand fast in the faith*, &c. The sermon is dry and systematic, as those of the Presbyterians in that age usually were, and abounds in questions and solutions; but it is by no means enthusiastic; and it contains good doctrine and good advice. The following passage will give a favourable representation of his knowledge and his divinity. The question is, how shall truth be discerned? he answers, "fourthly, by it's antiquity; *id demùm verissimum, quod antiquissimum.* And truly as it was sometime replied to those of *Rome*, that we can look beyond *Luther:* so may we to the rabble of heresies in these times; we can look and see the time when they had not a being. Indeed they are comparatively but of yesterday; and it is possible for an easie herald to derive the pedigree of the *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, *Antinomians*, *Pelagians*, *Socinians*, *Arians*, *Antitrinitarians*, *Seekers &c* and to demonstrate them to be all subservient, although active, actors for Scout-master-general *Self-ends* or *aims:* when truth, like the Sun, hath run it's course through all ages: not that *all* have embraced it, but *some* have received it." The multiplicity of sectarian opinions and teachers in this city seems to have grieved the presbyterian spirit of Major *Kem*, as much as the churchmen of modern days. "It is a sad time this, (says he) but a more sad omen of worser times, even the rabble of opinions in this city of *Bristol;* of which I may say, that as the sword hath slain many, so hath error many more in a few moneths time. One while such a man preacheth truth, and you are"

"willing to pull out your eyes to do him good: a little after you are ready to pull out his eyes and he is a low man and not worthy your presence; and so discouraged. How many wayes do you make to heaven in this place! I beseech you where I am related unto, to look to your guards; keep a strict watch; double your guard; eye your sally-ports; and *and put on the whole armour of God &c.*" He speaks of governor *Skippon* in terms of high commendation. "And since I must leave you, give me leave to comfort you and to tell you my heart; that I think you are the happiest garrison in the kingdom, (maugre your semi-reducement) whilst you possesse within your line that real piece of valour, humility, and sincerity, and no less noble than cordial patriot of his kingdome, your Governour; who abhors all self-ends, and denyeth attendance only for the public good. And should I hear that he were *charioted* from you either by discouragement or ingagement, I should sadly cry out, *O my father, my father, the horsemen and chariots of Israel!* and pray for a double portion of his spirit on all his public aiming scholars in this kingdom."

§ 141. The rebel army entered Bristol Sept' 11, 1645, as mentioned above: and Sept' 15, being the day whereon the civil officers were to be elected, (*r*) the Mayor and Council sent a message to Sir Tho' Fairfax, enquiring whom he would wish to be elected mayor. For the present the General declined to interfere, and sent word that they should follow their ancient custom: wherenpon they elected Francis Creswick. This election however displeased the persons now in power, and on the 21*st* of October following the Mayor and twelve more of the Common-council were removed, "because (*s*) they were for the King, and John Gunning was sworn in Mayor. Among the ejected members were Alderman Hooke and Alderman Long:" who the others were, does not appear, nor who were elected in their stead. All this was done no doubt by an ordinance of Parliament. "In (*t*) this year, 1645, the pestilence raged in this city, whereof about 3000 persons died."

§ 142. "In the (*u*) year 1647 wheat was sold for 12 *sh* a bushell; rie"

(*r*) (*s*) (*t*) (*u*) MS' Calendars.

"at 10 *sh*; barley at 8 *sh*; beans at 8 *sh*; pease at 8 *sh*; oatmeal at 12 *sh* the bushell; fresh butter 7*d* a pound; and all other provisions exceeding deare."

§ 143. The loss of Bristol was succeeded by an uninterrupted series of calamities, until at last the King fearing to be taken prisoner in Oxford, surrendered himself to the Scottish army at Newark, May 5, 1646; by which army, if not actually sold to the English Parliament, yet he was delivered up to them, as a part of their bargain. Then followed the quarrels between the Parliament, and it's own army, and between the Presbyterians and the Independents: during the confusion of which time there were drawn up and presented *two petitions* (*t*) *of divers freemen of England, inhabitants in the city of Bristoll and in the adjacent parts:* the first is to Sir Tho' Fairfax, General-in-chief. Until at length the army, with Cromwell at it's head, having gained the superiority, threw off the mask, brought the King to trial, and finally to public execution on Jan' 30, 1648-9.

(*t*) These two petitions are contained in a pamphlet in the Brit' Museum; for the knowledge of which I am indebted to B' H' Bright, Esq'.

End of Chapter XXVIII.

CHAPTER XXIX.

COMMONWEALTH AND CROMWELL.

1. *Cromwell passes through Bristol on his way to Ireland.*—2. *Battle of Worcester: the King passes through Bristol.*—3. *Relief for wounded sailors.*—4. *Quakers first appear in Bristol.*—5. *Enthusiasm and persecution of various Quakers.*—6. *Fryers disguised as Quakers.*—7. *Obstinacy and persecution of many others: most of them soldiers.*—8. *List of Books.*—9. *Story of James Naylor: he enters Bristol, and is arrested,*—10. *examined,*—11, *and sent to London.*—12. *He is convicted, and cruelly punished in London,*—13. *and in Bristol.*—14. *further accounts; concerning his virtue, his insanity, his recantation, his death.*—15, 16. *State of Religious Sects in Bristol.*—17. *Ministers and Writers on religious subjects then in Bristol.*—18. *Demolition of the Castle and Forts.*—19. *Two Frigates built here.*—20. *Richard Cromwell arrives in Bristol.*—21. *A letter from the Protector.*—22. *Death of Oliver and movements of the Royalists.*—23. *Insurrection of the Apprentices in Bristol.*

§ 1. THE government being changed into a Republic, or a *Commonwealth*, as they called it, proclamation to that effect was ordered to be made. William Cann, the Mayor, caused it to be read in Bristol, early in the year 1649, "being (*a*) the first, who did so, after it had been refused by the Lord Mayor of London." Nothing required the attention of the new government more earnestly or more instantly than the affairs of Ireland, where the Roman-Catholics, mortal enemies to the Puritans, were almost every where predominant, and the Earl of Ormond at the head of a Royalist army. Cromwell was appointed Lord Lieutenant, and

(*a*) MS' Calendar.

immediately began to draw together a large army toward Milford Haven. It must have been in the course of this employment that he came to Bristol: our Calendars say, 'Saturday July 7, 1649, Liev' General Oliver Cromwell came to Bristoll, and thence passed to Ireland.' His intention was to land in Munster; but hearing that Dublin was still safe, he steered for that place, and there landed about the middle of August, with an army of about 15000 men.' And in June 1650 he returned to (*b*) Bristol after a very stormy passage, having left Ireton Lord Deputy of Ireland.

§ 2. Sept' 3, 1651, was fought the fatal battle of Worcester, where King Charles II. and his Scottish army were utterly defeated. The young King had the good fortune to escape, and wandered about the country in great danger and distress, concealing himself as he could for many weeks, until at last he found an opportunity of conveying himself to France: a particular account of which his adventures may be seen in a well-known pamphlet of that time, entitled *Boscobel*. Lord Clarendon relates that among many places he came to "Mr. Norton's, a person of £800. or £900. *per annum*, who lived within four or five miles of Bristol." This was the Court-house of Abbot's Leigh, formerly a country seat belonging to the Abbot's of St. Augustine: the King arrived there disguised as a servant riding on a double horse before Mrs. Lane, and during his continuance there was treated as a servant: some years ago they used to shew a large block of wood traditionally preserved in the house, on which the king once stood when he wound up the kitchen jack. "The day that they went to Mr. Norton's [says the historian] they were necessarily to ride quite through the city of Bristol; a place and people the King had been so well acquainted with, that he could not but send his eyes abroad, to view the great alterations which had been made there after his departure from thence; and when he rode near the place where the great Fort had stood, he could not forbear putting his horse out of the way, and rode with his mistress behind him round about it." It must be supposed that he approached Bristol by the old Glocester road through Winterbourn and Stapleton, and from thence to Lawford's-gate, for the present road to Glocester through Stoke's-croft was not then

(*b*) Biog' Britan'.

in use. If from Lawford's-gate he really went up to the Great, or Royal Fort, it must have been a mile at least out of the regular road, and by a hill almost inaccessible to a double horse. I should therefore suppose, that when Lord Clarendon speaks of the *Great Fort* he means the Castle, which the King must have seen, as he passed through the city by the regular road from Lawford's gate to the bridge, over which he must have passed in his way to Abbot's Leigh. There appears, however, to be some inaccuracy in this account given by Lord Clarendon. It will be seen in § 18 that the order for demolishing the fortifications of Bristol was not made until two or three years after the time of which we are now speaking; and therefore, when the King in Oct' 1651, rode round the Great Fort, whether the Royal Fort or the Castle be meant, it was still standing as before; for the *alterations* which the historian mentions took place afterwards.

§ 3. After the great battle with the Dutch fleet in Feb' 1652-3, "it (*c*) is to be remembered, that the Mayor and some of the Aldermen, assisted with other honest citizens, upon the report of this good newes, made a collection through the citie for the wounded men, and gathered £200. in money, besides much good old lyninge; all which was sent and distributed at Weymouth and other ports to the wounded seamen, which charitable act being taken notice of by the Parliament, was so well received by them, that they sent the citie the thanks of the House in a letter from the Speaker."

§ 4. In the year 1652 arose the religious order commonly called *the Quakers*. From Westmoreland, where George Fox first began preaching singular doctrines in a very singular manner, the sect spread rapidly over all England, and in 1654 arrived in Bristol. I shall give an account of their first appearance here, and of the tumults which they occasioned, extracted from a book entitled "*The Cry of Blood, and Herod, Pontius Pilate*, &c. being a Declaration of the Lord arising in those people of the city of Bristol, who are scornfully called *Quakers*, and of the manifold sufferings and persecutions sustained by them from"

(*c*) R' Ricarts' Cal'.

"the priests, rulers, professors, and rude multitude, contrary to law, liberty, &c. together with a true account of the material passages in substance between the rulers and them, at their several examinations and commitments, &c. gathered up, written in a roll, and delivered to *John Gunning*, late Mayor of that city, being the fruits of his year, for the private admonition and conviction of himself and brethren, &c. subscribed by *Geo. Bishop*, *Thomas Goldney*, *Henry Roe*, *Edward Pyott*, *Dennis Hollister*. London, 1656." It is a quarto (*d*) book of 143 pages, and contains an interesting account of the very first appearance of Quakers in Bristol, 12 July, 1654, of their rapid increase, and the injudicious and harsh means by which the magistrates and puritanic clergy of that time endeavoured to suppress them. The whole book is extremely curious to the inhabitants of Bristol, as making us acquainted with the characters, opinions, and practices of our fellow-citizens in very dangerous and difficult circumstances, and in an age not so far removed, but that the families and portraits and anecdotes of them still remain. The writer has not subscribed his name; but he appears to have been a Quaker, a person above the vulgar, a warm advocate for civil and religious liberty, one who justified the late wars, with the arraigning and putting to death the King, Lord Strafford and others, very ready in quoting Scripture, as they all were, and ludicrously ingenious in applying it to the defence of their own opinions. I will not suppose, that any objection will be made to bringing again into public notice these singular transactions: such facts and opinions form the history of the human mind, far more valuable than that of battles and sieges; inasmuch as these errors of our ancestors, as long as the records of them shall be generally redd, are a security against similar errors in time to come. "In A' D' 1654 some of the brethren neer Kendal in Westmoreland, being moved not by man nor the will of man, but by the Lord, to come to Bristol, to which place they were wholly strangers" - - - - "They came thither on the 12 day of the 5 month, called July, 1654, in the evening, and having the next day delivered the word of the Lord there given them in charge to the Independent and Baptized churches (so called) and having testified the things of the kingdom to a few others, who were waiting for the redemption of Israel,"

(*d*) A copy of this pamphlet is in the possession of Benj' H' Bright, Esq'.

"the day following being the 14 of the same month, they passed away toward Plymouth in Devonshire." - - - - "Being come to and departed from Plymouth to London one of the brethren aforesaid, to wit *John Audland*, was mightily pressed in spiritt to visit Bristoll again, and therefore returned thither about the beginning of the 7 month following, called September; with whom *John Camm*, being moved of the Lord, came also, and spake publicly as the spirit gave them utterance." - - - - "The places of meeting were too streight; the assemblies thereupon in the fields, though in the winter season, were multiplied to two, three, nay sometimes to near four thousand people." [Prynne says that on the 10*th* and 13*th* of Sept' they had meetings at the Fort and Red Lodge, at which were present hundreds of people.] "At the manifestation of Jesus, the priests and rulers, with many professors of all opinions, and the worser sort of the city were exceedingly moved:" all sects and parties joined against these strangers. "Puritans, Presbyterians, Independents, Notionists, Ranters, and the rude rabble of ignorant and dissolute people, the priests and the rulers aforesaid reconciled, joined and folded together as Herod, Pontius Pilate and the Jews, in exercising the very same reproaches and persecutions, wherein themselves suffered from each other, and from the priests and rulers." On Monday Oct' 30, the common-council being assembled in their council chamber, and the "priests being ready according to appointment, sent for Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough, who came attended by three or four friends of the city; whom when the magistrates saw, they were enraged, and aldermen Richard Aldworth, Jos' Jackson, and George Hellier would not be at rest, till the maior had commanded them forth." The council then examined them, who they were, whence they came, &c.; and some disputation passed between them and the priests; in fine they were ordered to quit the city, which they refused to do, alleging it to be contrary to law. After this the Quakers went on as before, and their opponents were also more and more enraged. "With these things the city was, as it were, set on fire, and the minds of the people fully prepared for michief: and as opportunities were administered, their tongues were exercised, and their hands stretched out against those, who bore testimony to the truth: for now no friends whatsoever could pass up and"

"down the streets upon their occasions, nor to a friend's house, nor to or from their meetings to wait upon the Lord, but by boys, servants, porters, priests, and other people who would be esteemed of rank and quality, were they openly abused, reproached, dirted, stoned, pinched, kicked, and otherwise grossly injured without check or controul; insomuch as there appeared not the face of civility in the town, and a stranger would have doubted, whether any such thing as government were in it, or religion."

§ 5. "On December 10*th* Elizabeth Marshall being moved of the Lord to deliver a message to Ralph Farmer, and to the people hearing him at Nicholas steeple-house, went thither, and sitting over against him, and waiting in the power of the Lord all the while he was speaking, but spake nothing, till he had ended his sermon and prayer of it, and seemed to be going out of the pulpit, to give that they call the sacrament to the people - - - - cried out *this is the word of the Lord to thee, Farmer; wo, wo, wo, from the Lord to them who take the word of the Lord in their mouths, and the Lord never sent them.* She was proceeding to speak further, but the multitude prevented her, by laying on her violent hands, crushing her arms, pinching and thrusting her, the first that laid hands on her and crushed her arms, being one of the ruler's sons. Notwithstanding she got a little respite, and turning about was moved to speak to the people; and to them she said from the Lord, *this is the mighty day of the Lord; the Lord is coming to pull his people out of the mouths of all dumb shepherds:* but she was hindered by the tumult from speaking any further, who drew her out of the steeple-house into the street, where the boys and other people followed her with dirt and stones. *John Gouning*, the mayor, was present at the steeple-house aforesaid, to whom Ralph Farmer openly called, that *course might be taken with her.*"

"The same day in the afternoon, one Captain *Samuel Grimes* divining at Philip's [preaching at St. Philip's] and affirming many gross untruths of those whom he reproachfully called *Quakers*, one Henry Gunning reproved him, he having said that *he committed sin in all the things that he did.* Whereupon John Worring, apprentice to Peter Hiley, said to"

"him - - - -. Then the multitude abused and beat Worring and Gonning; and the churchwarden (so called) and the clark laid hands on them, the constables present not keeping the peace." This *Captain* Grimes was probably one of Cromwell's preaching officers; in the sequel he is called *the Minister*. "The 17*th* day of the same month, [Dec' 1654] Elizabeth Marshall was moved of the Lord to speak to John Knowles, priest, at the steeple-house called *the College:* whom she hearing all the time without saying a word, - - - - the power of the Lord was upon her, and commanded her to warn him to repent: and she said *this is the word of the Lord to thee, Knowls: I warn thee to repent, and to mind the light of Christ in thy conscience.*" This produced a tumult of the same kind as the former. She was turned out of the church and sent to Newgate.

Dec' 18, 1654, in the morning, John Camm and John Audland above mentioned, going to a meeting of Quakers appointed at Brislington, were stopped on the bridge by some apprentices, who by a signal closed upon them on both sides, according to a plan which they had been contriving for some days before, assisted by persons of better condition. "They fell violently on those innocent strangers, and assaulted, punched, pulled and haled them back over the bridge again towards the High-cross, their numbers being encreased to some hundreds, and their rage heightened; that some cried out *hang them presently;* others *knock them down*, and would have dragged them through Wine-street, and so out of the city, there to have executed their cruelty upon them: but it pleased the Lord that others were hearkened to, who spoke to have them brought before the maior; and so the riot haled them into the Tolzey. This riot occasioned a great amazement in the city, it being sudden to many; and put the chief officers of the garrison (*who by* (*e*) *commission had command over the city, as well as over the fort and castle)* upon consideration what to do, not knowing to what public mischief such a tumult (should it not have been endeavoured presently to be dispersed) might grow; or what design against the Common-wealth under the pretence aforesaid might be brought forth: it being a season"

(*e*) The words of this parenthesis are in the original printed in Italics, probably for the purpose of drawing the reader's attention: and they well deserve it; for they shew in what manner Cromwell secured that obedience which a legitimate monarch was unable to obtain.

"wherein a general one [a general design] was then laid over all parts of the nation: of which they were sensible, and of the affections of those who acted herein, and of the generality of (*f*) the people to the *old enemy*, which gave them strong ground of suspicion and jealousy." Three of the chief rioters were "on the next day sent for before the maior, at the information of the officers of the garrison, who had witnesses ready, and did prove it upon them. Which drew them [the rioters] to the Tolzey, where they were in a high riot about three hours together, their numbers being esteemed to be at one time above 1500, crying *one and all*. And so heightened were they in their rage, that though the Maior and Aldermen with the Sword, and the Sheriffs, required all present whatsoever to depart, and published a proclamation to that purpose, and stood there near half an hour, and a guard of musqueteers were drawn up near them, to rescue their officers, who (they heard) were in danger of their lives by the riot, and therefore marched thither, yet neither master nor man would stir: nay, some masters persuaded some of the rioters to stay, and to stand their ground, and not to budge one foot, when they were intending to depart upon the Maior's order in the name of the Lord Protector, saying *it was a lye, the Maior had no such order from the Protector; and Charles Stuart* was publicly mentioned by the name of *King*, many of the rioters having been *Cavaliers*; and *one* was named openly among them to be *Captain*; and the soldiers were dared by them to advance, and hats waved at them in defiance, not a constable at the time keeping the peace." The same riots took place again in the evening, when "some of them boasted of raising thousands, if the Maior would assign them his power, and there were such mutterings of the listing of hundreds of men, that the whole city was in a great affrightment." The writer of the book from which I am making extracts, considers these practices and cries to be intended against the *Commonwealth*, a general rising of the Royalists being expected Feb' 12 next ensuing. "He accuses the Mayor and Aldermen and Robert Aldworth the Town-Clerk, of"

(*f*) This confession from the pen of an adversary, together with the information given in the following lines, proves undoubtedly, that even in the midst of Cromwell's domination, the generality of the people of Bristol were attached to the royal cause.

"being friends to royalty; that when an apprentice said *they had* 400 *horse in the town ready for the King*, no notice was taken of it: that when in the height of the riot Proclamation was read at the High Cross in the name of the Lord Protector, that every one should depart home, some of the rioters who then filled the street cried out, *what do you tell us of a Protector; tell us of King Charles;* and that one who went to the Mayor and Aldermen to give information of what had been said was rebuked, some of them telling him *he had committed treason in so doing.*" After this the Quakers went on peaceably for some time until January 23, 1654-5, when Alderman Richard Vickris, being Deputy Mayor in Mr. Gunning's absence, granted a warrant for searching the house in Corn-street, where the Quakers usually met: the master of the house resisted this warrant as illegal, and a great riot was the consequence, and when the Quakers left the house, the mob violently assaulted them "with blows, kicks, dirt, stones, and other vile abuses, and reproaches, and clamours, following them up the streets:" nor did the magistrates or constables interfere, "though the Council-house, where they sat, was at the upper end of the same street where the meeting was; and though some of the Aldermen saw the tumults and abuses, yet so far were they from doing their duty therein, and causing their own order of Sessions to be observed, that Alderman Joseph Jackson, and John Knolles, priest, laughed openly on the Tolzey, as they stood and looked thereon."

§6. About this time there was a strong report that many Romish priests, and particularly Franciscan Fryers, were come into England, and under the appearance of Quakers were spreading their doctrines among the people. William Prynne wrote a book on this subject, entituled *the Quakers unmasked*, and *clearly detected* to be but the spawn of Romish frogs, Jesuites, and Franciscan Fryers, sent from Rome to seduce the intoxicated, giddy-headed English nation. By an Information formerly taken upon oath in the city of Bristol Jan' 22, 1654, and some evident Demonstrations. By *William Prynne* of Swainswick, Esq. The second edition enlarged. London 1664." It is in 4to' containing in all 38 pages. Prynne's object in this book is to prove, that many of the first Quakers were Jesuits and Franciscan Fryers in disguise, sent into England by

their superiors for the purpose of preaching some of their own doctrines, which were as fanatic, as those of the Quakers and not unlike them. In proof of this he brings forward " the information of George Cowlishaw of the city of Bristol, Ironmonger, taken the 22*d* day of Jan' 1654, before the Town-clerk and Magistrates of Bristol: who informeth on his oath, that in the month of September last this informant had some discourse in Bristol with one Coppinger, an Irishman, formerly a school-fellow of his, that came purposely thither for his passage into Ireland; who told this informant, that he had lived in Rome and Italy 8 or 9 years, and had taken upon him the Order of a Fryer of the Franciscan Company. And he told this informant, that he had been at London lately for some months, and while he was there, he had been at all the churches and meetings, public and private, that he could hear of, and that none came so near him as the Quakers: and being at a meeting of Quakers, he there met with two of his acquaintance in Rome (the which two persons were of the same Franciscan Order and Company) that were now become chief speakers among the Quakers; and he himself had spoke among the Quakers in London about thirty times, and was well approved of among them. And this informant further saith, that the said Mr. Coppinger asked him, what kinds of opinions in religion there were in Bristol? and this informant told him, there were several opinions and judgements: and not naming any opinions of the Quakers, the said Mr. Coppinger asked him, whether there had been any Quakers in Bristol? and the informant answered him *no*. Whereupon the said Mr. Coppinger told him, the said informant, two or three times, that if he did love his religion and his soul, he should not hear them. Whereupon this informant told him, that he thought none of them would come to Bristol; who expressly replied, that if this informant would give him five pounds, he would make it five hundred pounds, if some Quakers did not come to Bristol within three weeks or a month then following. And on the morrow following the said Coppinger departed this city for Ireland his native place; and about 18 days after there came to this city two persons that bear the name of Quakers, [most likely his two fellow Franciscan Fryers fore-mentioned], who have there done much hurt, and gained many disciples, some whereof disturbed two of the ministers publicly in"

"the church, and assaulted and reviled one of them in the streets very lately." Prynne considers many of these fanatics, Quakers and others of his own age, as well as those of more antient times, heathenish, popish and monkish, to be actually possessed by evil demons. John Audland, who is mentioned above, wrote an answer to this, entituled *The Innocent delivered out of the snare, and the blind Guide fallen into the pit:* and another book he wrote on the same subject, entituled, *the Schoolmaster disciplined.* Prynne, who had a wonderfully ready pen, quickly wrote *a brief reply to John Audland's rayling paper;* and from the quotations which he produces, it is evident that Audland was an ignorant, uneducated man. Whether there was any truth or not in the report of Franciscan Fryers, the Magistrates of Bristol on that plea granted a warrant for apprehending several Quakers; but when information was given that Mass was actually celebrated in Back-street, they refused to grant a warrant; although Alderman Joseph Jackson confessed, he believed it to be true.

§ 7. Thomas Murford was apprehended at the meeting-house in Redcliffe-street, and carried before the Maior and Aldermen, where it appeared that he wore a coat of hair next to his skin; and he told them, that *he was commanded of the Lord to mourn for them in sackcloth and ashes, and to warn them to let the Lord's people alone, as they would answer it at the day of judgement, and not to persecute and imprison his saints.* He was turned out of town; but coming in again he was again taken before the Mayor, who commanding his hat to be taken off, the ashes on his head flew about, which he shaked from him, and told the Maior, that the Lord of Hosts &c.

Two of them were at Nicholas steeple-house at the time of the divination of Priest Hazzard. As soon as one of them began to speak, the multitude rose upon them, beat them and carried them to the Mayor's, who committed them to Newgate.

Christopher Birkhead on the same day was moved to go to Stephen's steeple-house, where he began addressing the Priest, *thou son of pride.* When brought before the Mayor, "the Magistrates asked him, why he quaked so (for the power of the Lord was much upon him, while he was

before them), and whether he was acold or afraid? He answered he was neither cold nor afraid of any man, God was his witness; he feared the Lord. They replied the Devil shook him. He answered the holy men of God shaked, and instanced in Daniel, Habakkuk &c. Thus did he quake yesterday at church, said one of the Aldermen; and said Joseph Jackson deriding him, I'll make thee give over shaking; and so looks fierce on him and then said shake now, shake now." He was sent to Bridewell and kept there 9 or 10 days, "though Bridewell is no prison."

"Sara Goldsmith being moved to put on a coat of sackcloth of hair next her, to uncover her head and to put earth thereon, with her hair hanging down about her, and without any other clothes upon her, except shoes on her feet, and in that manner to go to every gate and through every street within the walls of the city, and afterwards to stand at the High-cross in the view of the town and market, as a sign against the pride of Bristol, and to abide in that habit for the space of seven days. In obedience whereunto, though very cross to her own will, she cheerfully prepared her garment, being in the manner of a coat down to the ground; and on the day appointed her, being the last day of the week, and the 5th day of the third month [Sat' May 5, 1655] taking with her two friends to accompany her, went forth about the fourth hour of the morning, and having finished her going to the gates, and through the streets, some people following them, but doing them no harm, she returned home: and at the ninth hour came to the High Cross with ono of the friends aforementioned, a great multitude following, and there stood for the space of half an hour, till the tumult, which consisted of many hundreds, grew so violent and assaulted so much herself and friend, who stood with her, that they were enforced through the help of some whom they knew not, but were made friendly, to repair to a shop near, out of which the multitude cried to have them thrown" - - - -

"When they had been a little while in the inner Tolzey, the Maior came in and Joseph Jackson, who stamped with his foot and grew much enraged and furious, when he saw her." In fine she was committed to Bridewell, and there kept for ten or twelve days, "though the law gives no power to any judges or justices to commit any one"

"*close* (*g*) prisoner, and keep him so, be the crime what it will: but not one of the tumult is to this day called to account or punished, though it stood so long before their faces. Had Sara Goldsmith appeared in the *fantastic* dress of this vain and wanton age, or in a spirit of lightness and haughtiness, she had received enough of friendship from this generation: but being through the cross to her own will made obedient for their sakes to pass through the city in haircloth next her and ashes, as a testimony against their pride, which never was at that height as at this day, she hath received that hard measure aforementioned."

Daniel Wastfield was committed to Newgate May 8, 1655, by the Mayor and Alderman Viekris, and kept a close prisoner for 33 days, without any accusation, or any reason alledged, probably as a known Quaker.

Sept' 2, 1655, the same Christopher Birkhead went to the steeple-house called Nicholas, and there standing with his hat on during the time of prayer, disturbed priest Farmer and the congregation. Some Aldermen being present he was committed to Bridewell.

Sept' 9, 1655, one Benjamin Maynard went to a steeple-house, and seeing the minister "John Paul speaking to the people out of his high place the Lord moved him powerfully to say, *John Paul, in the presence of the Lord, be silent.* This produced an immediate disturbance; he was carried to Bridewell, and next day committed to Newgate, where he amused himself, as Birkhead had done a few days before, with writing a fanatic letter to the minister."

Margaret Thomas went to Nicholas steeple-house 16*th* Sept' 1655, being moved of the Lord to testify against Priest Farmer. The Mayor and some Aldermen being present committed her to Bridewell and next day to Newgate.

Sept' 23, 1655, Temperance Hignell was moved of the Lord to witness against Jacob Brent in Temple steeple-house. Hereupon she was violently assaulted, and a Temple-street mob being probably not the

(*g*) The stat' Westm' 2, with other laws provide for a *safe* imprisonment: but for a *close* imprisonment there is not any, but it is directly contrary to the 28 Hen' VIII. cap' 2, which saith, *prisons shall be in the most eminent and populous towns, where there is most resort of people, that they may be the more often visited and relieved.*

mildest in the city, she was grossly illtreated, and committed to Newgate; out of which when she was released, she was dangerously sick, and died three days after.

John Smith was another of these fanatics who went to Nicholas steeple-house Sept' 23, 1655, and interrupted Mr. Farmer, who seems to have been particularly obnoxious. The same thing happened to him as to the others: he was beaten and kicked and his cloaths torn; and as he passed up the High-street, the rude multitude following him, he called on the Mayor and Sheriff, who were passing at the same time, to protect him, but they did not, nor did they send any officer to appease the tumult; but the multitude followed him to his lodging, and broke his glass windows, and would have forced his door upon him. Next day he was committed to Newgate, where he continued till Oct' 8, when he was again brought before the Magistrates: meanwhile Mr. Gunning went out of office, and was succeeded by Mr. Walter Deyos, who was unwilling to proceed against him and wished to leave the house, but the Aldermen would not suffer him, but drew him in again; and finally, the prisoner holding fast by the bar was by main force haled from thence and again committed. All these persons, when they were sent to prison, demanded a *mittimus*, but were told, that the Magistrate's word was a *mittimus*. An apology is sometimes made for them by saying, that they were crazy. They themselves firmly rejected that apology; nor had they the appearance of being such on any other subject, than Quakerism; for they managed their ordinary concerns with propriety, and defended themselves legally with perfect self-possession: and if they were insane, such were their numbers through all England, that such insanity must have been epidemic; a notion of Bishop Butler, but not seriously to be maintained. They rather appear to have been persons of inflexible obstinacy, such extreme lovers of liberty, that they hated all reasonable authority in church and state; men who took pleasure in drawing the public attention to themselves by religious singularity carried to a strange extreme; in the same manner, as many of the devotees of the Romish church, particularly the founders of the Orders of Monks and Friars. It is worthy of observation, that almost every one of the fanatics before mentioned,

however mild and patient and simple now, had yet been soldiers in the armies of the Commonwealth: one had been five or six years in arms for the Parliament, an officer in Col' Brigg's regiment, was at Preston fight, at the engagement at the bridge, in Scotland and Carlisle, living on his own estate, and bearing his own charge in the wars: another was a soldier in the service of the Commonwealth and at Worcester fight: and others had been always faithful and active for the public interest, and served it in arms; and so of the rest. And here may be closed the account of these extraordinary persons; as detailed in *the Cry of Blood.*

§ 8. From several other books and pamphlets of that age, beside our own Calendars, much additional information concerning these persons and the religious state of England in general may be obtained. Some of these books and pamphlets are the following.

A. "The Report of the Committee of the House of Commons to whom the Examination of James Nailer for blasphemy and other misdemeanours was referred."

B. "A particular relation of the hard usage of the people called Quakers in the city of Bristol." 4*to*', more than 38 pages, the pamphlet being torn at the end. It contains very minute details of the shameful persecutions carried on against the Quakers in the year 1682. In the possession of Benjamin H' Bright, Esq'.

C. "A Relation of the inhumane and barbarous sufferings of the people called Quakers in the city of Bristoll during the Mayoralty of John Knight, commonly called Sir John Knight, commencing from the 29*th* of the 7*th* month [September] 1663, to the 29*th* day of the same month, 1664. Impartially observed by a private hand, and now communicated for public information by the said people. *Many shall be purified &c.* Printed in the year 1665." This book is in 4*to*, consisting of 128 pages, dated at the end, "Bristol, 13*th* of the 10*th* month [December] 1664." It belongs to Benj' H' Bright, Esq', and is a compleat exposition of the violence of the times, and of the private characters of all the principal persons in Bristol of that age. It was written by Wm' Ford, one of the suffering Quakers; apparently a man of some learning and knowledge; and is well worth reprinting.

D. "The grand Impostor Examined, or the life, tryal and examination of James Nayler, the seduced and seducing Quaker, with the manner of his riding into Bristol. John 19, 7. *We have a law &c.* London, 1656." It contains 50 pages 4*to*. B' H' Bright, Esq' has a copy.

E. "The sad and lamentable cry of Oppression and Cruelty in the city of Bristol; relating to the prosecution of certain Dissenting-Protestants, in some passages most notorious to the grieved inhabitants of the said city. London, MDCLXXXII." 4*to*, 6 pages; belonging to Benj' H' Bright, Esq'.

F. "The Quaker's Jesus; written by William Grigge, a citizen of Bristol."

G. "Rabshekeh's outrage reproved, or a whip for William Grigge of Bristol, tanner, to scourge him for his many notorious lies, &c."

H. "Persecution Exposed: in some Memoirs relating to the sufferings of *John Whiting*, and many others of the people called *Quakers*, for conscience sake, in the West of England &c. 4*to*, London, 1715." It is a Biography of the early Quakers, written by John Whiting himself. He was born at"

"Nailsea about 1656, and lived great part of his life at Wrington; and the book contains very much information concerning the people of that sect, the Magistrates, Clergy and other principal persons in Bristol and the adjacent parts of Somersetshire. He appears to have been a man of some reading, of great scripture knowledge, and good morals, but like the rest of invincible obstinacy."

I. "Memoirs of the life, ministry, and tryal and sufferings of that very eminent person *James Nailer*, the Quaker's great Apostle &c. Published by an impartial hand, to prevent the abuses in Dr' Kennett's History, when published: and the gross imperfection and misrepresentations of James Nailer in the late folio collection of Tryals. London, 1719, 8*vo*, xiv and 80 pp" The writer is an ardent admirer of James Nailer; he calls him *holy Confessor; meek, lamb-like Apostle*. His account of Nailer's early conduct and preaching in Westmoreland and Yorkshire is very favorable; and although he prints the *Report of the Committee*, yet he endeavours by notes at the bottom of the page to justify the culprit from the accusations preferred against him. I am indebted to Francis Freeling, Esq', for the use of this book, which contains other tracts, beside the last mentioned.

From these books I extract the story of James Naylor, the most extraordinary fanatic, who ever appeared in Bristol, or perhaps in the kingdom. In one of the books abovementioned is an engraven portrait of him, with the following subscription:

> " Of all the sects, that night and errors own,
> and with false lights possesse the world, there's none
> more strongly blind, or who more madly place
> the light of nature for the light of grace.
>
> James Nailor, Quaker, set two howers on the pillory at Westminster, whiped by the hangman to the old Exchainge, London: som dayes after stood too howers more on the pillory at the Exchainge, and there had his tongue bored through with a hot iron, and stigmatized in the forehead with the letter B. Dec' 17, anno dom' 1656."

This portrait (together with one of Capt' James mentioned above Chapt' XXVIII, § 14 &c) I have caused to be engraven anew in the manner called *fac simile:* to which are added two small prints of Naylor's punishment, taken from the same books. There is also in one of them a portrait of Naylor very different from the former, apparently cut out of some Dutch book, and very well engraven.

§ 9. Naylor was one of the first persons who invented and published the doctrines, and adopted the manners of the Quakers, and as a preacher of Quakerism, was scarcely inferior in celebrity to George Fox himself; continually travelling through the kingdom and every where haranguing not only in private rooms where *friends* usually met, but in streets and fields, wherever he could find an audience inclined to hear him. He

was born at Ardisloe, near Wakefield in Yorkshire, and was bred up as a husbandman, and possessed some property: there he lived 22 or 23 years *according to the world*, as he expressed it. Then he married and removed into the parish of *Wakefield*, where he continued till the civil wars began, in which he was a soldier in the Parliament's army, serving under several commanders, particularly under Lord *Fairfax*, and was at last quarter-master in Major-General *Lambert's* troop, in which service he continued till disabled by sickness in Scotland, after which he retired to his own home, having been a soldier 8 or 9 years, from which service arrears were due to him at the time of his punishment. Some 5 or 6 years after this, being at plow and meditating on the things of God, suddenly, *says he*, "I heard a voice saying unto me, get thee out from thy kindred and from thy father's house - - - - And shortly after going a gate-ward with a *friend* from my own house, having on an old suit without any money, having neither taken leave of wife or children, not thinking then of any journey, [as] I was commanded to go into the West [*Westmoreland*] not knowing whither I should go, nor what I was to do there: but when I had been there a little while, I had given me what I was to declare: and ever since I have remained, not knowing to-day what I was to do tomorrow." It was in 1652, that he was first noticed in Westmoreland as a preacher among the Quakers; and there after a very curious examination before the magistrates he was imprisoned at Appleby for the apparent blasphemy of his doctrines, and for the contumacy of his behaviour in not putting off his hat &c. In 1655 he went to London: soon after which it must have been, that he made a progress into the West of England, intending to go into Cornwall. By this time he had by his preaching attached to himself a considerable number of followers, men and women, who attended him with the most enthusiastic devotion, considering him as the very Word of God, and calling him, as mentioned above, by the most blasphemous appellations. These enthusiastic tokens of devotion overthrew his reason, and he became (as he afterwards confessed) actually crazed. His friend and editor thus expresses his situation; "he came to be clouded in his understanding, bewildred and at a loss in his judgement. Thus, poor man! he stood not in his dominion &c," and afterwards he mentions his recovery: nevertheless his conduct

and his language during his whole life give manifest tokens of insanity. At the time of which we are now speaking instead of rebuking the madness of his followers, he suffered them to go on with their blasphemous conduct. After some stay in London, where he was imprisoned, he went to Bristol and from thence to Exeter. At Exeter he was brought before Major *Saunders*, and dismissed with leave to prosecute his journey: but after having gone 20 miles he was brought back, fined 20 marks for not taking off his hat, and committed to the common gaol as a vagrant: whence he and his company being delivered by an order from the Council, they set out on their return to *Bristol*. During their progress through *Somersetshire* their fanaticism reached it's utmost height of absurdity and impiety; for as he rode into Wells, Glastonbury and other towns, his company spread their garments before him, handkerchiefs, aprons, scarfs, and the like, and even gloves, singing *holy, holy, holy &c.* October 24*th*, 1656, they came through Bedminster: Nayler (*h*) rode on horseback and there were six more in his company, one of whom, a young man, bareheaded "led his horse by the bridle, and another uncovered before him, through the dirty way in which carts and horses and none else usually go: and with them two men on horseback with each of them a woman behind him, and one woman walking on the better way or path. In this posture did they march; and in such a case, that one *George Witherley* noting their condition asked them to come into the better road, adding that God expected no such extremity: but they continued on their way, not answering in any other notes but what were musicall, singing *Holy, holy, holy Lord God of Sabbath &c.* Thus continued they till by their wandering they came to the almeshouse within the suburbs of Bristol, where one of the women alighted, and she with the other of her own sex lovingly marched on either side of Naylor's horse. This Witherley saith, he supposes they could not be lesse deep in the muddy way than to the knees [and at this very time it happened to rain so violently, that the water ran in streams from their cloaths]; and he saith they sang, but sometimes with such a buzzing mel-ODIOUS noyse, that he could not understand what it was. This the said Witherley gave"

(*h*) These particulars are from the pamphlet abovementioned, marked E, and from a MS Calendar.

" in upon oath. Thus did they reach Ratcliff-gate, with *Timothy Wedlock* of Devon barcheaded, and *Martha Symonds* with the bridle on one side, and *Hannah Stranger* on the other side of the horse. This Martha Simonds is the wife of Thomas Simonds of London, bookbinder, [and sister to Giles Calvert the bookseller, living at the black-spread-eagle at the west end of Paul's, publisher of most of the fanatic books of that day] and *Hannah Stranger* is the wife of John Stranger [alias Stangar] of London, combmaker, who sung *Holy, holy, holy Lord God of Israel.* Thus did he ride to the High-crosse in Bristol, and after that to the White Hart in Broad-street: which the Magistrates hearing, they were apprehended and committed to prison by Joseph Jackson, the Mayor: being searched, letters and other papers, 21 in all, were found upon them, some extracts from which are here subjoined, for the purpose of shewing the great ignorance (rather than impiety) as well as the inconceivable nonsense of the early Quakers. *A letter from Hannah Stranger to James Naylor of Exeter.* " J' N' in the pure feare and power of God my soule salutes thee, thou everlasting son of righteousnesse and prince of peace. Oh! how my soule travelleth to see this day, which Abraham did and was glad, and so shall all that are of faithfull Abraham. O! suffer me to speake what the Lord hath moved. There is one temptation neere, the like unto the first; and is like the wisdome of God, but it is not and therefore it must be destroyed: oh, it defileth and hateth the innocent; I beseech thee wait: my soule travelleth to see a pure image brought forth &c," the remainder being of the same kind. " From London, 16 day of the *7th* month." Another letter she begins thus. " O thou fairest of ten thousand, thou only begotten son of God, how my heart panteth after thee, &c." Her husband, *John Stranger*, adds this postscript. " Remember my dear love to thy master; thy name is no more to be called *James* but *Jesus*."

§ 10. The Magistrates of Bristol on Saturday Oct' 25 examined the whole company, and the several examinations are printed in the pamphlet marked E, from which the following passages are extracted. Being asked whether his name was *James Naylor*, he replied, " the men of this world call me *James Naylor*.—Q. Art not thou the man, that rid"

"on horseback into Bristol &c. A. I did ride into a town; but what it's name was, I know not; and by the Spirit a woman was commanded to hold my horse's bridle; and some there were that cast down cloathes and sang praises to the Lord, such songs as the Lord put into their hearts; and it's like, it might be the song of *holy, holy, holy &c.*—Q. Whether or no didst thou reprove those women? A. Nay; but I bad them take heed, that they sang nothing but what they were moved to of the Lord.—Q. Dost thou own this letter, which Hannah Stranger sent unto thee? A. Yea I do own that letter.—Q. Art thou, according to that letter the fairest of ten thousand? A. As to the visible, I deny any such attribute to be due unto me; but if as to that which the Father has begotten in me, I shall own it.—Q. Have any called thee by the name of *Jesus?* A. Not as unto the visible, but as *Jesus*, the Christ, that is in me.—Q. Whether art thou more sent than others? A. As to that I have nothing at present given me of my Father to answer.—Q. Art thou the everlasting Son of God? A. Where God is manifest in the flesh, there is the everlasting Son, and I do witness God in the flesh. I am the Son of God, and the Son of God is but one.—Q. Art thou the Prince of peace? A. The Prince of everlasting peace is begotten in me.—Q. Art thou the everlasting Son of God, the King of righteousness? A. I am, and the everlasting righteousness is wrought in me: if ye were acquainted with the Father, ye would also be acquainted with me.—Q. Did any kisse thy feet? A. It might be they did; but I minded them not.—Q. How dost thou provide for a livelyhood? A. As do the lillies without care, being maintained by my Father.—Q. What businesse hadst thou at Bristoll, or that way? A. I was guided and directed by my Father.—Q. What wentest thou for to Exceter? A. I was to *Lawson* [perhaps *Launceston*] to see the brethren.—Q. What estate hast thou? A. I take no care for that.—Q. Doth God in an extraordinary manner sustain thee without any corporal food? A. *Man doth not live &c:* the same life is mine that is in the Father, but not in the same measure.—Q. How art thou clothed? A. I know not.—Q. Dost thou live without bread? A. As long as my heavenly Father will. I have tasted of that bread, of which he that eateth shall never die.—Q. How long hast thou lived without any corporal sustenance? A. Some fifteen or sixteen days,"

"sustained without any other food, except the word of God.—Q. Thou hast a wife at this time? A. A woman I have, whom by the world is called my wife; and some children I have, which according to the flesh are mine, &c, &c."

Martha Simonds being examined saith, "she knew *James Naylor* formerly; for he is no more *James Nayler*, but refined to a more excellent substance.—Q. What made thee lead his horse &c? A. I was forced thereto by the power of the Lord.—Q. He is styled in H. S's letter, the fairest of ten thousand &c: dost thou so esteem him? A. That *James Nayler* of whom thou speakest is buried in me; and he hath promised to come again.—Q. Hast thou a husband? A. I have a man, which thou callest my husband.—Q. What made thee to leave him, and to follow *J' N'* in such a manner? A. It is our life to praise the Lord: and the Lord, my strength, who filleth heaven and earth, is manifest in *J' N'*.—Q. Oughtest thou to worship J' N', as thou didst, upon thy knee? A. Yea, I ought so to do.—Q. Why oughtest thou so to do? A. He is the Son of righteousness; and the new man within him is the everlasting Son of righteousness; and J' N' will be *Jesus*, when the new life is born in him &c &c."

The examinations of *Hannah Stranger*, and of her husband, and of *Timothy Wedlock*, contain matter of the same kind. The extravagance of *Dorcas Erbury* goes beyond them all. She says, that "J' N' raised her from the dead. Q. In what manner? A. He laid his hand on my head, after I had been dead two daies, and said, *Dorcas* arise: and I arose and live as thou seest.—Q. Jesus Christ doth sit at the right hand of the Father, where the world shall be judged by him? A. He, whom thou callest *Naylor*, shall sit at the right hand of the Father, and shall judge the world with equity."

The author of *Rabshakeh's Outrage &c* wishes it to be believed, that the seven persons, who attended Naylor into Bristol, were not Quakers; giving as a reason, because there were then many more than 700 Quakers in and about Bristol, not one of whom attended him, and these seven were publicly disowned. On the other hand it does not appear that they were inhabitants of Bristol, and therefore they could not belong to the congregation at Bristol, but they might have belonged to some other

congregation: their language and manners were those of Quakers; and the two, who were dismissed, *Sam' Cater* and *Rob' Crab*, went to the Quaker's meeting the same day. The writer would have done well if he had mentioned how and when and where they were disowned by the Quakers: but if they were disowned at all, it was not until after their mad behaviour at Bristol. As for *Naylor* himself, there is abundant evidence that he was a Quaker before and after his folly, and a principal one; he is considered as such in all the cotemporary books that I have seen, and was usually called so; his editor, G' W', in 1716, himself a Quaker and well acquainted with him, speaks of him as such, and generally with great approbation: and Naylor himself calls George Fox his *dear brother George:* and if Naylor was a Quaker, the probability is, that his followers were of the same description.

§ 11. The examinations taken before the Magistrates of Bristol were attested by the Mayor, sealed with the city-seal, and sent by letter to Mr. R' A' [Robert Aldworth] their *godly* Town-clerk and Burgess of Parliament: and upon his report the House sent a messenger for Naylor, who with four of his company, were sent off Nov' 10. With them the Common-council sent *Mr. Philip Dorney*, their clerk, and *Mr. Will' Grigge* a member of the Common-council, a tanner, living in St. James's parish, near the Quaker's meeting-house, in Broadmead, author of the book above quoted, the *Quaker's Jesus*. His opponent, the author of *Rabshakeh's Outrage &c*, says that Mr. Grigge would not set out on his journey, until he had five pounds paid to him towards his expences; and in all respects he expresses a very contemptuous opinion of him. These are his words; "without reflecting on the Magistrates of Bristol their wisdom, let me say it; it was not their master-piece to send such a busie pragmatical person as thou art to London, there to make a speech to a Committee of Parliament, which had in it neither head nor taile, nor good sense, nor reason, but for the greatest part composed of fawning, falsehood, and pitiful, lame complements, crying *Sir*, *Gentlemen* and *your Honours*, but speaking nothing of weight or importance, relating to the matter then in debate. Reader, thou must know that this envious"

"person is a great speech-maker in the Common-council of Bristol: and if he had so high an esteem of this which he made in the Painted Chamber, as to judge it polite and learned enough to merit the public view, thou mayest thence easily judge, what sad oratory do serve the turn within the walls of that council." The House of Commons appointed a Committee to examine the whole affair, which sat in the Painted Chamber, and of which "*godly* Mr. Bamfield of Exeter was chairman." Here *James Naylor* and his company were charged with blasphemy in assuming, first, the gesture, words, honour, worship and miracles of our blessed Saviour; and secondly, the names and incommunicable attributes and titles of our Lord. The Committee re-examined all the prisoners, at which time the answers given and the facts proved seem to have been nearly the same as at Bristol; with this additional information on the oath of *Thomas Perkins*, and *Thomas Cole*. Tho' Perkins informeth that "after Nayler's imprisonment at Bristol, Dorcas Erbury fell down at his feet and kissed them; and the same evening one Alice Brooks fell on her knees before the said Nailer, and N' put his hands upon her head and said, *Stand fast &c.* And Tho' Cole informeth, that the *25th* of October, Martha Simmons and Hannah Stranger being called out of Nailer's room into their own lodging, they one after another kneeled before Nailer and laid their heads on his knees, and he laid his hands on their heads, making a groaning noise within himself, and before they rose from their knees, he crossed his hands over their heads." And it appeared to the Committee by the information of John Baynam, Deputy to the Sergeant of the House, to whose custody Nailer and his company were committed, "that the usual posture of J' N' is sitting in a chair, and his company both men and women do sometimes kneel; and when they are weary of kneeling, they sit upon the ground before him, singing these and divers other words to the like purpose; *Holy, holy &c:* and thus they do usually all the day long; but the informer never heard Nailer sing as aforesaid. And he saith, there is great resort to the said Nailer by divers persons, who most of them kneel before him in the manner aforesaid." [However, the note says, that this they did, whether J' N' was absent or present.] "And Martha Simmons in the posture aforesaid sung, *This is the joyful day, behold the King of righteousness*"

"*is come:* and further the informer saith; that he never knew the said N' shew any dislike, either by reproof or otherwise, of that honour or worship, which John Stranger and his wife, Martha Simmons, and Dorcas Erbury and the rest gave him as aforesaid. And a Member of the House being lately at the place, where Nailer is now a prisoner, informs the Committee, that he saw N' and his company in the posture aforesaid, and heard John Stranger and one of the women sing *Holy, holy, holy Lord God,* and *holy, holy to thee, thee, Lord God:* and while John S' sung these words, he did sometimes look upwards and sometimes upon J' N'. Another Member informed us, as upon his own view, to the same purpose. And at Nailer's last examination before the Committee, being Wednesday Dec' 3, "one William Piggot did inform, that N' sitting in a chair, where he is now a prisoner, one Sarah Blackberry came to him, and took him by the hand, and said *Rise up, my love, my dove, my fair one and come away, why sittest thou among the pots?* And presently put her mouth upon his hand, and sunk down upon the ground before him." Being asked what he had finally to offer in his own vindication, he said, "I do abhor that any of that honour, that is due to God, should be given to me as I am a creature. But it pleased the Lord to set me up as a sign of the coming of the righteous one: and what hath been done in my passing through the towns, I was commanded by the power of the Lord to suffer such things to be done to the outward, as a sign: I abhor any honour, as a creature."

§ 12. The trial lasted several days, and the Committee agreed that all the charges were proved. Their report consisting of 15 sheets of paper, was received and redd in the House Dec' 5, and debated 13 separate days; when at last they convicted him of horrid blasphemy, and *nem' cont'* voted him to be *a grand impostor;* and deceiver of the people. Dec' 16, it was proposed, that the punishment of J' N' should be death, and the question being put, "the noes went forth 96, the yeas 82; so it passed in the negative." On the next day, Wednesday 17*th*, the House agreed to the following sentence. "*Resolved*, that J' N' be set on the pillory with his head in the pillory in the Palace-yard, Westminster,"

"during the space of two hours on Thursday next, and shall be whipt by the hangman through the streets from Westminster to the Old Exchange, London; and there likewise be set on the pillory with his head in the pillory for the space of two hours, between the hours of eleven and one on Saturday next, in each place wearing a paper containing an inscription of his crimes; and that at the Old Exchange his tongue be bored through with a hot iron, and that he be there also stigmatized in the forehead with the letter B; and that he be afterwards sent to Bristol, and be conveyed into and through the said city on horseback, bareridged, with his face backward, and there also publickly whipt the next market-day after he comes thither; and that from thence he be committed to prison in Bridewell, London, and there restrained from the society of all people, and there to labour hard, till he shall be released by Parliament; and during that time be debarred the use of pen, ink and paper, and shall have no relief, but what he earns by his daily labours." This inhuman sentence was fully executed on the unhappy maniac. Thursday Dec' 18 he stood in the pillory in Palace-yard, and was from thence whipped to the Old-exchange, receiving 310 lashes, one on crossing each gutter. On this same day several petitions were presented to Parliament, containing complaints against the growth and exorbitances of the people called *Quakers:* one from *Devonshire* and *Exeter;* one from the ministers in *Northumberland*, *Durham* and *Newcastle;* one from the Justices of peace, gentry, ministers of the gospel and others in *Cheshire;* another from the Mayor, Aldermen and ministers of *Chester;* another from divers well-affected persons, gentlemen, ministers and others in *Cornwall;* and another humble remonstrance and petition from the Mayor, Aldermen and Common-council, ministers of the gospel and other chief inhabitants of *Bristol;* in which they complain that "they have lyen long under much reproach and ignominy, occasioned by the increase of a generation of seduced and seducing Quakers, who at first were supported and upheld by some souldiers [Captain Beal and Capt' Watson] then in chief command in the absence of the governor of the garrison." 'They complain of the frequent disturbance which they give to public worship, and of their confused and tumultuous meetings, and of their prophaning the Sabbath by multitudes of their proselytes flocking from'

'all parts of the country round about us on that day. They particularly complain of Naylor, a ringleader and head of that faction; they complain that they have not power to restrain these enormities, and pray the Parliament "to restrain the insolencies of these people; that so, the reproach not only of this city, but of the whole nation and government may be rowled away." All these petitions were referred to a Committee to consider of them, and to collect heads of a Bill for suppressing the mischiefs and inconveniences complained of.

Saturday Dec' 20, J' N' was to have suffered the remaining part of his sentence; but on the morning of that same day a petition was presented to the House, signed by *Joshua Sprigge*, formerly an eminent independent preacher, author of a book quoted above, *T' Z'* and *Jer' White* [Cromwell's Chaplain] *C' H'* representing the wretched condition of the prisoner, and the danger to his life, if he should receive the remainder of his punishment; and praying in the name of many honourable persons, both citizens and others, wholly unconnected with him, for a week's respite; which was granted. Meanwhile many well-affected and respectable persons, of whom Col' Scrope, sometime governor of the castle and fort of Bristol, was the first name, shocked at the inhumanity of the sentence, petitioned Parliament for a remission of the remaining part of the sentence: many of the Members were against admitting the petition; but being put to the vote, it was admitted. The petition was presented Tuesday Dec' 23 at the Bar of the House, by Mr. Joshua Sprigge, abovementioned, accompanied by about one hundred eminent persons in behalf of the whole; Mr. Sprigge made a short speech on presenting, but it was unsuccessful. The petitioners then applied to *his Highness* the Protector; still without effect. On Wednesday Dec' 24, five Presbyterian or Independent Ministers, *Caryl*, *Manton*, *Nie*, *Griffith* and *Rennolds*, went to J' N' in Newgate, and it was said, that they did so by order of the Parliament: but Nayler persisting in his ordinary discourse and usual answers, they left him in wrath.

On Saturday Dec' 27 he suffered the remaining part of his punishment. "About 11 o'clock he was carried in a coach from Newgate to the Black Boy, near the Royal Exchange; in which house he continued till the clock had struck 12 at noon, when by divers on foot with halberts he was"

"guarded to the pillory; where when he came, they presently put his head into the same, and having pinned it down, came up Martha Symmonds, and with her two others, who was said to be Hannah Stranger and Dorcas Erbury; the first seated herself just behind on the right side, the two latter before him, and Robert Rich likewise accompanied him with comfortable words, kissings and stroaking on his face. He having stood till two, the executioner took him out, and having bound his arms with cords to the pillory, and having put a cap over his eyes, he bad him put forth his tongue, which he freely did, and the executioner with a red-hot iron about the bigness of a quill, bored the same, and by order from the Sheriff held it in a small space, to the end the beholders might see and bear witness, that the sentence was thoroughly executed: then having took it out and pulling the cap off that covered his face, he put a handkerchief over his eyes, and putting his left hand to the back part of his head, and taking the red-hot iron letter in his other hand put it to his forehead, till it smoaked: all which time *James* never so much as winced, but bore it with astonishing and heart-melting patience. Being unbound, he took the executioner in his arms, embracing and hugging him; after which *Robert Rich*, through his ardent love, licked the wound on his forehead. And James was conveyed to the Black-boy, and from thence to Newgate." This Robert Rich had been a merchant in London, an enthusiastic follower of Naylor, a perfect maniac, but religious and harmless. After J' N' had been on the pillory some time, "he took a paper out of his pocket, and placed it over his head, whereon was written, IT IS WRITTEN LUKE 23, 38, THIS IS THE KING OF THE JEWS. But presently an officer stept up, and pulled it down, and turned Rob' Rich and the two women off the pillory: but after a while they lifted up Rob' Rich again on the pillory, where he staid till J' N' had undergone his sufferings for that time, and held him by the hand, whilst he was burning, and afterward licked and sucked the fire out of his tongue, and led him by the hand from off the pillory. This was also very remarkable, that notwithstanding there might be many thousands of people, yet they were very quiet, few heard to revile him, or seen to throw any one thing at him. And when he was a burning, all the people both before him and behind him and on both sides of him with one consent stood bareheaded."

§ 13. "Afterwards he was sent by the Sheriffs of London to Bristol; and the Sheriffs of Bristol before that had a warrant under the Speaker's hand to see the sentence executed as far as they were concerned therein. Jan' 16, 1656-7, he arrived at Lawford's-gate, where he slept. Jan' 17, this day J' N' took horse at Lawford's-gate and rode on the horse bare-ridged, with his face to the tail, through the city without Redcliff-gate, and there alighted, and was brought to the middle of Thomas-street, and there stripped, and then tyed to the horse to be whipt from thence back again to the middle of Broad-street. Before his whipping the following order was sent to the Keeper of Newgate. "*Mr. Roch*, cause Naylor to ride in at Lawford's-gate, from thence along Wine-street to the Tolsey; thence down High-street over the bridge, and so out at Redcliff-gate. There let him alight, and bring him into Thomas-street, and cause him to be stripped and there made fast to the cart-horse; and in the market first whipped; from thence to the foot of the bridge, there whipped; thence to the end of the bridge, there whipped; thence to the middle of High-street, there whipped; thence to the Tolzey, there whipt; thence to the middle of Broad-street, there whipped; and then tane [turn] into the Taylor's-hall, there release him from the cart-horse, and let him put on his clothes, and carry him thence to Newgate by Tower-lane the back way." And whereas of custom the bellman goes before and makes proclamation of the offence of the offender, yet here the keeper commanded the bellman to the contrary (as was said); and suffered one Jones [a coppersmith and ugly Quaker] to hold back the beadle's arm, when striking; and in all the way the bell rang but six times; a trait of mercy in the midst of such brutality, which ought to be recorded to the credit of the magistracy of Bristol. All the while he passed along, his dear and worthy friend, Rob' Rich, the maniac above-mentioned, rode bareheaded before him, having a meermaid's head, such was the length of his hair, singing Holy, holy &c. After this the Sheriffs of Bristol sent him up to the governors of Bridewell, London, who had before received order from the Speaker as to that part of the sentence, wherein they were concerned; where he continued till the wise providence of God released him. After his discharge from Bridewell he returned to this city, and in a meeting with some of his friends, he made a public recan-"

"tation of his errors in so affecting a manner, that they were convinced of the sincerity of his repentance. He lived some time afterward in this city in a serious and becoming manner, and died on a journey from hence to Wakefield in Yorkshire, where he was born in 1616."

§ 14. Hobbs in his Behemoth (p' 262) gives the following account of this fanatic. "This year (1656) also it was, that J' Naylor appeared at Bristol, and would be taken for Jesus Christ: he wore his beard forked, and his hair composed to the likeness of that in the *Volto Santon;* and being questioned would sometimes answer *Thou sayst it.* He had also his disciples, that would go by his horse's side to the mid-leg in dirt. Being sent for by the Parliament he was sentenced to stand on the pillory, to have his tongue bored through, and to be marked in the forehead with the letter B for blasphemy, and to remain in Bridewel. Lambert, a great favorite of the army, endeavored to save him, partly because he had been his soldier, and partly to carry favor with the sectaries of the army; for he was now no more in the Protector's favor, but meditating how he might succeed him in his power."

That James Naylor was insane, there can be no reasonable question: the preceding account sufficiently shews of what kind was his insanity, and on what subject. Beside preaching, he also wrote a great number of little books published separately from time to time; a great part of them mere nonsense, of the same kind as that of *Joanna Southcote* in our own time: of that which is intelligible the more part relates to the power and influence of the in-dwelling *Christ* in the hearts of believers, which ought to be the only guide of their conduct. One perpetual subject of his discourse and of his books is the abuse of the clergy and every thing relating to them. The churches he calls *idols-temples, steeple-houses, synagogues of Satan.* He abuses all the clergy, Presbyterian and Independent as much as Popish and Church of England. He sets them all on the same level, calling them tythe-priests, hirelings, deceivers who divined for gain, money-priests, money-preachers, and grossly reviles them for receiving a maintenance from their flocks. This is ridiculous enough: the Presbyterians and Independents had by evil arts driven out the Church of England clergy, and occupied

their places and their incomes; and in three or four years arises this new sect, which with powerful vulgarity of language and effrontery not to be abashed, assaults them with their own weapons, and probably contributed to their overthrow, which soon after took place. The moral virtue of J' N' notwithstanding the spirituality of his language, admits of some doubt. Before he set out on his preaching peregrinations he was a member of an independent congregation *(a church* as they called it) at *Horbery* in Yorkshire, from which he was *cast out:* the minister and some other members of which testified that he was at that time criminally acquainted with one Mris' *Roper;* that he was frequently seen to caress her; and that during the time of her acquaintance with him, she had a child, when her husband had been absent on a voyage forty seven weeks to a day. This and other like things, told with much particularity, were urged to his face and offered to be proved, but he was silent. Several other similar accusations were made against him and his followers; and last of all it "was informed upon oath, certified by three Justices to the committee, that as he passed through *Chew-stoke* in *Somersetshire* in his way to *Bristol,* and staid there one night, he was there in a chamber with three women of his company, leaning *upon* the bed with one of them at night, when the servant of the house left them. And in the morning the servant found J' N' *on* the bed with one of the women, and some of the company wished the servant to make no noise to awake them." The annotator endeavours to remove any ill impression that may arise from this report by observing, that there were four men besides in the room at the same time; and that some of the others were also leaning upon other parts of the bed, there being only one in the room; and that in these circumstances there was no evil in being *on* the bed. He himself, in one of his papers, utterly denies the accusation, 'God is my record.' Another circumstance of the same kind is this. When he was sent back from London to Bristol Jan' 16, he slept at the Lamb inn, without Lawford's gate; and the maid and the tapster Tho' Jefferies and Ruth Harris made oath that they saw a woman at 10 o'clock at night on the farther side of his bed and covered, lying with her arms over the rug: and though they would not swear she was naked and in the bed,

yet the maid did swear, that about five o'clock the next morning, this woman was lying in the same place and manner. The reader must judge for himself. His followers and admirers speak warmly of the saint-like meekness and patience of his character. Certainly his power of endurance was very great on most occasions: but sometimes beside his insolence to the clergy and magistracy, he was far from preserving that tranquility which his high spiritual pretensions seemed to require. In one of his examinations, his friend *George Fox* being mentioned, he answered '*Geo' Fox* is a lyar and a firebrand of hell.' They were probably then at variance. And often when charged with inconsistency in his speech, he would impudently deny his words, and call those lyars, who attested what he said: and his opponents he reviles in the foulest language. His writings are as abusive and uncharitable, as were ever penned. These however were not the offences for which he suffered: he was convicted of blasphemy, and the unexampled severity of his punishment will be a perpetual disgrace to the Parliament who inflicted it, and to those ministers of religion, who were instrumental to it. Very lately they had themselves suffered under a spirit of intolerance, or at least they complained of it: and now being possessed of power, in a most disgraceful manner they seized the first victim they could lay hold of, and practiced the same persecution, which they had reprobated in others. Well might J' N' tell them, *how soon have ye forgot the work of the Bishops, who are now found in the same!* Archbishop *Laud* persecuted the Puritans and cut off Prynne's ears: the Puritans persecuted the Quakers and bored Naylor's tongue with a red-hot iron: let us hope that this abominable spirit has quitted our land for ever.

His recantation and return to a better mind, mentioned above § 13 are very doubtful. A little book of 6 pages was published in 1659, signed with his name, with this title, *James Naylor's recantation, penned and directed by himself to all the people of the Lord, gathered and scattered, and may most fitly serve as an antidote against the infectious poyson of damnable heresies, although couched under the most specious vails of pretended sanctity.* In it he laments the mischiefs that have been done by the *Ranters:* he seems to confess that he had been insane in these words: "and this the envious one hath done in the night of my tryall"

"and hour of darknesse and temptation, taking advantage of my sufferings, in the day when my judgement was taken away and led captive under the power of darknesse, which all along had sought my life &c:" but nothing like a *recantation* of his former blasphemous notions and appellations appears in the book, notwithstanding the word *recantation* in the title-page. He himself speaks of a printed paper, called *James Naylor's Recantation*, which he denies to be of his writing; there seem therefore to have been two papers with that title. However, his editor in 1716 G' W' (perhaps *George Whitehead)* speaks decisively of his recantation in these words: "it was well known, that the said James Naylor, (through deep sorrow, contrition and humiliation) made humble acknowledgement of the hurt and loss he had fallen under, and offence he had given to truth and his brethren &c of our [the Quaker's] society; and that it was the great mercy of God through Jesus Christ to restore him, as is more fully intimated in some of his writings." His cause was vindicated likewise in a cheap little book, quoted by Will' Grigge; who adds, "and that these book may spread in the nation, there are store at Bristol, sold by *Nicholas Jorden*, a perfect Quaker, if common drunkenness and perfection may stand together; and that at three farthings apeece." After his release, and when he had in some degree recovered his understanding, he continued his travelling and his preaching. His editor G' W' in 1716 says, "that he walked in much brotherly love and simplicity among us [the Quakers] until his end came: and near his departure, he professed his great care for the lambs of Christ's fold (according as was intimated to me by a dear friend and brother) and ended his days like an innocent lamb in peace and quietness, and was buried by friends in Huntingdonshire where he died, near *Thomas Parnell's*, who lives at *King's Rippon*."

§ 15. I claim the reader's pardon for detaining him so long with the folly of James Naylor and his followers: but Bristol being the place, where he made his principal appearance, and where after his release he much abode, it seemed necessary in the *Memoirs of Bristol* to give a particular account of him. This city seems to have been at that time a

very hot-bed of religious dissention. The reader has probably not yet forgotten Major Kem's *rabble of opinions*, XXVIII § 140. Quakerism particularly prevailed here. One of our Calendars has the following article: "an heresie arose by the people called Quakers, to which many did cleave, and chiefly in the city of Bristol." "Truly, Sir, (said Will' Grigge, to the Committee of Parliament on Naylor's case) it is very sad to us, that we are the head-quarters of this generation of Quakers, that hath brought forth such an impostor." Beside the Quakers, the leading sects were the Presbyterians, the Anabaptists, and the Independents; and they were in violent hostility to each other: as for the Church of England, it was so intirely subdued, as apparently to be forgotten; it is not even mentioned in any of these fanatic books and pamphlets lately quoted. The Presbyterians had gained the supremacy; most of the churches were occupied by their ministers; theirs was in fact the established church. This Mr. William Grigge, the tanner, just mentioned, was a zealous Presbyterian, although he was so far moderate in his opinions, that he approved of Archbishop *Usher's* scheme of limited episcopacy: he was a leading man in the parish, very intimate with Mr. Farmer, the minister, a great divine, and who printed his divinity also, for a great part of his book is a tedious sermon. He exclaims with great violence against liberty of conscience, and what he calls "a wicked toleration," which Cromwell had recommended and granted, whereby Bristol was become "the receptacle of blasphemers." He is equally violent against the Anabaptists of Bristol, whom he charges, not without particular examples, with the same adulteries and enormities, as their brethren at Munster. He says that *Dennis Hollister*, then an Anabaptist elder and preacher, afterwards a Quaker, asserted at their meeting that "the Scripture was the greatest blind and plague to men's souls this day in England:" and that another of them said "the Scripture was the cause of all the divisions and distractions in the nation:" that T' C' an Anabaptist preacher at Wells, when preaching for Mr. *Tho' Ewin* (an Anabaptist lecturer in Bristol) and elsewhere, said that "infant-baptism was one of the most soul-ruining mysteries of iniquity that ever came from hell," and that others used the same or grosser language; that *Dennis Hollister* abovementioned, when he quitted the congregation of Anabaptists in Bristol,

and became a Quaker, printed a letter to them, in which he tells them "that they are no church of Christ, neither know the name of Christ, but a synagogue of Satan, and a cage of unclean and hateful spirits, in which lodgeth pride, hypocrisy &c &c." In this same book Mr. *Will' Grigge* gives many instances of persons, who (as he says) were Quakers and Anabaptists, holding the most blasphemous and even atheistical opinions and language, ranting and swearing in a dreadful manner. One offender of this sort, (although it does not appear to what religious community he belonged, certainly not to the Quakers, probably to none,) was brought before the General Sessions holden in Bristol Feb' 17, 1656. Another instance Mr. Grigge gives, wherein 'two Quakers discoursing concerning their principles quarrelled, and *Lewis Harris* killed *Will' Hill;* for which murder he was Aug' 13, 1657, arraigned, and condemned, and executed Aug' 31.' But Mr. Grigge's opponent charges him "with uttering a notorious lye" in relating this affair, for neither of these men was a Quaker; Harris was a well-known and open drunkard &c: and Hill was so far from being a Quaker, that not many months before he was killed, meeting his late master, who was called a Quaker, he openly in St. Maryport-street scoffed at him with words of scorn on that account.

§ 16. The latter part of the story also concerning the letter delivered at the gallows appears to be equally false. "The truth of the thing was this. Harris and a woman who was to suffer with him for the like offence, drawing near their end, it was earnestly desired by some of both their relations, that some certain persons of those called Quakers might come to converse with them; and accordingly three of them came to the prison, but were denied access to them; upon which one of them made her application to one of the then Sheriffs, who most injuriously and contrary to all rules of charity and equity, did refuse to let her come to them." [A marginal note is as follows. "I leave it to *John Harper*, to whose soul I wish much good, in the fear of God to consider, whether it be not the heighth of cruelty to deny dying persons liberty to converse touching the eternal state of their precious souls."] "Wherenpon those three persons writt a letter directed to them both, to mind them of their condition, and exhort them to turn to the Lord &c: in which among"

"other expressions this was one, viz; "we have sought many wayes to come at you, but have been hindered by the wickednesse of those, who have not learned to do as they would be done by, and now waiting under our burdens, have liberty of the Lord to write thiese few lines to you both as unto one, being in one bond of iniquity and so under one judgement." By which it's evident to all, whose eyes malice hath not stopped, that these people, being Quakers were so far from esteeming the execution of these murderers *persecution*, that they write to them in expresse terms, as to evil doers, and such as for their evil deeds were under one and the same *just* sentence. Well; Harris carryeth this letter with him to the place of execution, and being upon the tree he casteth it among the people, desiring it might be handed to Ralph Farmer (that bloodthirsty priest) who opened and looked on it, and so tore it in peeces; telling the people he had received a lying and scandalous paper signed by some Quakers &c. Whereupon a young man, *Edward Erbery*, standing by called to him and said; *Ralph Farmer*, thou hadst done well to have read it to the people, that they might have judged, wherein the lying and slanders did appear, or else it will stand upon thy head, as a witness against thee. So that he spake never a word concerning *persecuting to the death &c.*" Mr. Grigge most unfortunately accuses these sectaries of being Sabbath-breakers also: whereupon his opponent retorts, calling him "a most brazen-faced hypocrite. Let me ask thee, Will', (says he) was not thy own hedge hung with cloaths upon the second day of May last past, being the first day of the week?" At the latter part of his book Mr. Grigge laments that there should be any "toleration given to these ranting opinions;" he praises the Parliament for passing that "honourable sentence against Naylor, death itself being his desert;" he conjures them to put a restraint on all soul-infecting persons," and to compel people to attend the Presbyterian Ordinances, although unwillingly. These opinions and this language are disgraceful to the author and his party; and his opponent, the author of *Rabshakeh's outrage reproved* abovementioned, justly exposes them to shame, and disproves some of his assertions and facts. This latter appears to be a cool, sensible and learned writer, a Quaker, and a firm friend to liberty of conscience and toleration, which he maintains with sufficient strength of argument. He

asserts, and Mr. Grigge's own words prove it, that the whole object of himself and his Master Ralph Farmer, minister of St. James, and their whole party was to bring the whole nation in subjection to their "lordly Presbytery;" that they vigorously prosecuted the cause of God in thrusting the Bishops out of their chairs, with full dependence to have got into them theirselves, and did well hope ere this to have had the necks of all dissenters under their feet, and to have made the little finger of Presbytery sit heavier upon the consciences of all sectaries than the bishops' loins. And, reader, remember what I say, especially you that are W' Grigge's fellow-citizens, if ever you should live to see that dismal day come upon England, in which the reins of it's government should be put into the hands of a blood-thirsty Presbytery, I do verily believe it would soon become the saddest theater of persecution and cruelty, that ever the sun did shine on." And in another place he says; "what a dismal slaughter-house and a black *tophet* of burning would England soon become, were the sword once gotten into the hands of an imperious Presbytery? Should that cloudy day ever come upon the nation, I am fully persuaded that the dayes of the *Marian* persecutions being compared therewith, would be as a year of *Jubilee* to a year of hard servitude and bondage." And whereas Mr. Grigge laments "the imprudent neglect and timourousness of some in poor silly Bristol, in not crushing the shell, but rather nourishing the brood, of this serpentine generation of Quakers," his opponent replies "it's little to be doubted, but if thou and thy Master Ralph could have had your wills, we should soon have seen the same work made with the innocent in Bristol as Manasseh [2 Kings 21, 16] made with them in Jerusalem. And though the hand of the Lord hath so limited your rage, that that hath been prevented; yet let me tell thee, that thou needest not wish more to rest upon the citie's score, than already doth. For a large account have they to give to Him that is righteous in judgement, for the innocent blood that hath been shed, and for all the cruelty and oppression, that hath been exercised upon the persons and estates of those that have no helper, but Him, that is higher than the highest."

This view of the religious state of Bristol during the time of the Commonwealth is truly lamentable: it shall be concluded by an account

(as far as imperfect materials can reach) of the several ministers and writers of religion then in the city.

§ 17. Of Mr. Ralph Farmer, minister of St. James, the preceding pages have given some account: he was a high severe Presbyterian. He wrote a book called *the mystery of Ungodliness*, wherein he gives an account of the examination of the first Quakers before the Mayor and Aldermen, and says that they could not prove from Scripture what they asserted. He was most violent against the Quakers.

When the city was surrendered to Fairfax and Cromwell the Ordinance of Parliament, which had been made at the beginning of that year was then put in force; whereby the service of the Church of England was abolished here, as in other places; the use of it was made penal; the Directory was set up in it's stead; and those clergymen who refused to conform to it, were forced to resign their benefices; who were generally succeeded by low mechanic persons without education, who had a fluency of speech, with which they could express their hatred to the church. They were not all Presbyterians; many were Independents, some were Baptists, and about 1653 some turned Quakers and Ranters.

The rector of Christ-church was Mr. Richard Standfast, a very respectable divine, whose name has already occurred XXVIII § 89 at the execution of Mr. Yeomans. He was turned out; and one Ewens, (*a*) a taylor, an Anabaptist, mentioned above § 15 was put in his place.

The vicarage of St. Philip was given to one (*b*) *Hancock*, who had been butler to *Sir John Horner*, whose merits with the rebel party in Bristol and Somersetshire no doubt made his recommendation efficacious with the Common-council. Hancock and Ewens were dispossessed in 1661, and have the honour of being placed among the ejected Nonconformists by the author of the Abridgement.

About 1656 there was in Bristol *a godly minister*, as Mr. Grigge calls him, that is a puritanic preacher, named *Constant Jesup*. After he had continued here some time "he was put by his ministry, as to Bristol, to the great grief of all that feared the Lord in it; whereby the city quite"

(*a*) (*b*) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, part I, 98.

"lost him." On the other hand, the author of *Rabshakeh &c* says that the "city had no reason at all to be grieved at his removal, unlesse it be upon this consideration, that a worse is gotten into his place;" 'that Mr. Ralph Farmer was a zealous promoter of his removal; and that *Matthew Hazard* and *Nathaniel Ingelo* spoke in approbation of his removal:' and these two were, as I suppose, *godly* ministers.

The author of *Rabshakeh*, p' 26, mentions one *John Paul*. Speaking to Mr. Grigge he calls him *thy priest John Paul;* so that he was probably one of Mr. Grigge's Presbyterian associates; but I find nothing further of him.

Mr. Thomas Speed was not a minister, but a merchant of Bristol and a Quaker; and Mr. Grigge admits that he was a scholar. He wrote *a brief and plain Reply unto certain papers received from Will' Thomas, called a Minister of the Gospel at* Ubley *in* Somersetshire: to which book he prefixed an *epistle to all the public teachers in the nation*, in which he stiles them *ministers of Antichrist*. Mr. Thomas, who is represented as a very pious and useful minister in his parish and neighbourhood wrote solid and sober answers to Mr. Speed's epistle and his book.

The vicar of St. Nicholas was Mr. Richard Towgood, afterwards Dean of Bristol. The author of the *Quaker's Jesus* above-mentioned, who it must be remembered was a moderate Presbyterian, calls him an able and godly divine, and quotes the following sentence from a sermon of his, which he heard him deliver: "if there be any other way to heaven than purity, then burn thy bible, and renounce thy baptism." This short passage is alone sufficient to prove that Mr. Towgood's doctrine differed in essential points from the puritanic notions prevalent in that age.

§ 18. In Dec' 1654 or 55 came an order for demolishing the castle of Bristol, which was the general fate of those old fortresses, the Parliament judging very reasonably, that they were more likely to be employed against the liberties of the subject than in their defence. "The work however was not done effectually until the month of May following," which

was (as one MS says) May 1656; and then "the castle began to be demolished;" and the way into the city, which after passing Lawford's-gate and the Old-market, turned to the right along the Castle-ditch "and the Wear, and so under Newgate, was now left off for the most part by reason of a way made directly from Lawford's-gate through the castle into St. Peter's-street, to the great ease and convenience of those that came into the city that way. A new bridge was made over the castle-ditch, and afterwards a gate was erected at the bridge. Houses likewise began to be builded, to continue the street through the castle to St. Peter's." 'In August following there came an order for demolishing the Royal-fort and disbanding the garrison'. In 1654 the Fort was garrisoned; for the Quakers held meetings thereabout, which were attended by thousands, by many Cavaliers and officers of the garrison, so that it's safety was in danger, as (*c*) the Magistrates said. This order probably comprehended the demolition of all the other forts, which had been erected during the late civil war.

§ 19. "In (*d*) 1655 a frigate was built and launched in Bristol, carrying about 30 guns: and in 1656 another was built by Mr. Bayly, called *the Nantwich*, carrying 44 guns."

§ 20. "In the month of June 1657, (*e*) Richard Cromwell, son of the Lord Protector, came to Bristol, and was very honourably entertained by the Mayor and his brethren." Oliver was inaugurated June 26, 1657, at which ceremony Richard was present: if therefore the preceding sentence be correct, he was sent by his father before or after that ceremony on a progress, for the purpose of making himself popular. But there may possibly be an error in this place: for Henry the Protector's second son went to Ireland in June 1658, and our Chronicler may have mistaken one brother for the other.

§ 21. "Dec' 8, 1657. (*f*) This day was received a letter from the Lord Protector as follows. *To our trusty and well-beloved the Mayor,*"

(*c*) The cry of blood, p' 12. (*d*) (*e*) MS' Cal'.

(*f*) Copied from Barrett, p' 691, who probably received it from the Council-house.

"*Aldermen and Common-council of the city of Bristol.* Oliver P. Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Remembering well the late expressions of love, that I have had from you, I cannot omit any opportunity to express my care of you. I do hear on all hands that the cavalier party are designing to put us into blood. We are, I hope, taking the best care we can by the blessing of God to obviate this danger: but our intelligence on all hands being, that they have a design on your city, we could not but warn you thereof, and give you authority (as we do hereby) to put yourselves into the best posture you can for your own defence, by raising your militia by virtue of the commission formerly sent you, and putting them in a readiness for the purpose aforesaid: letting you also know, that for your better encouragement herein you shall have a troop of horse sent you to quarter in or near your town. We desire you to let us hear from time to time what occurs touching the malignant party; and so we bid you farewell. Given at Whitehall this second of December 1657." In pursuance of this command the city was put into a posture of defence by raising the militia.

§ 22. On the death of Oliver Cromwell, who died Sept' 3, 1658, when various attempts were made to set up strange forms of government, and the State fell into such confusion, that it was evident nothing but the restoration of royalty could restore peace and order, Bristol was no indifferent spectator of the troubles, but took it's part in promoting his Majesty's return. The following paper (*g*) gives honorable testimony of this loyal spirit.

"*Vera Copia.*

"These are to certify all those whom it shall or may concerne, that we are credibly informed, and many of us of our own knowledge doe know that Richard Ellsworth, of the city of Bristol, merchant, in September 1645, so farre adventured his person in loyalty to his Martyred Majestie (of never dieing memory) and defence of the said city, against the then Parliament's forces, as that in the then stormeinge thereof he was sorely wounded to the hazard of his life, he being then a commission officer. That ever since he hath continued his loyalty to his lawfull Prince and Soveraigne, notwithstanding all the late vicissitudes and changes of governments and governours, rejecting and refusing both offices under and all charges, covenants and engagements unto the said governours and governments."

(*g*) It was copied from the Br' Mus', Lansdowne MSS 255, fo' 65, and presented to these Memoirs by my learned and indefatigable friend, Benj' H' Bright, Esq'.

"That when the late Committee of Safety treasonously usurped the Supreme Authority of this kingdome, he in December last, in the yeare 1659, invited the Apprentices of the saied city to petition the Mayor thereof to associate with the adjacent counties, and the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Councel of London, for and towards reprieval from that slavery they were subjected unto by the tyranny of those usurpers, which by it's discovery ere it came to the birth proving abortive, he in January followinge stirred up the said Apprentices to rise in opposition to the then Rump Parliament, under the pretences contained in their letter and declaration by him drawen upp for and sent to the Apprentices of London, committing the same to the press for publicke view, to encourage and quicken the said Apprentices and all others to rise also att the same time and contribute their utmost assistance towards the accomplishment of the great worke of his Majesties most desired restoration to his just rights and prerogative, which said risinge at that time gave the lifte to the then turneinge scale of State affairs."

"That when the secluded Members were readmitted to sit in Parliament, he did then also encourage and quicken the said Apprentices of Bristol to petition the then House of Commons for his Majesties restoration as aforesaid. And to the end God Almighty might hasten his Royall Majesties returne to his Crowne and Kingdomes, he in February following drew upp a narrative to persuade his Majesties loyall subjects to be fervent and frequent in effectual prayers at the throne of God's grace on his behalf, and sent the same to London for publicke view."

"That in the March followinge, he advised his Grace the Duke of Albemarle of an intended risinge of the officers of the then army in and about London, to obstruct the settleinge of the militia and sitting of the New Parliament, for the which he had his Grace's thanks, as per his letter of the 28*th* of March 1660, now last past."

["Concerning this branch of this Certificate, I do certifie that it is true.—*Albemarle.*"]

"All which appears by the severall petitions and papers aforesaid which we have seen, and therefore beinge fully satisfied of the truth thereof, and that the said Richard Ellsworth hath thereby given very signall testimony of his affections to his Majesties interest, government and service on severall occasions to him presentinge, we have hereunto subscribed our names, anno 1660, &c."

"HENRY CRESWICK, Mayor.
"RICHARD GREGSON, Sherrife.
"ROB' POYNTZ.
"NATHER, late Lieut' Coll'.
"WILLIAM COLSTON, Dep' Lieut'.
"RI' MARCH, JOHN LOCK, Aldermen.
"ALLEX' JAMES.
"WALTER SANDY, Alderman."

§ 23. In the beginning of the year 1660, when the nation was thoroughly sick of political experiments, and the Rump-Parliament by it's ineffectual attempt to carry on the government was exposing itself to hatred and derision, the populace of Bristol appear to have joined in the general sentiment, taking advantage of the present anarchy. "Upon the (*h*) 2*d* of Feb' 1660 (which was the very time when General Monk entered London) the apprentices of the city of Bristol did rise and cryed up for *a free Parliament:* and they kept the city a whole week, and then went into the Marsh and laid down their arms, by reason that a troop of horse came to the city to suppress them. And afterwards articles were"

(*h*) MS' Cal'.

"made between the Mayor and apprentices for quietness; yet he sent three or four of the ringleaders to prison." The latter part of the same article shews how weary was the nation, particularly the youth, of the solemnity which the late puritanic government had introduced. "And this year the day before Shrove-tuesday, the belman by the Mayor's order cryed about the city, that cocks should not be squailed at, nor doggs tossed; but the belman had his bell cut from off his back for so doing. And the next day being Shrove-tuesday, the apprentices willing to obey the Mayor's orders did not squail at cocks or toss doggs; but they squailed at geese and hens, and tossed bitches and cats; and they squailed a goose before the Mayor [Tyson]'s door in Nicholas-street; which caused Sheriff Parker to come, thinking to drive them away, but could not; having his head broken for his labour."

End of Chapter XXIX.

CHAPTER XXX.

CHARLES II.

1. *The King's Accession.*—2. *A new Barge.*—3. *Common-councilmen removed.*—4. *King visits Bristol.*—5. *Duke of Ormond passes through Bristol.*—6. *Many Fires.*—7. *Large Ship built here.*—8. *Custom-house built; men impressed.*—9. *A new Charter.*—10. *The Plague in London.*—11. *Various mischances.*—12. *Sir William Penn buried in Bristol.*—13. *A Fire.*—14. *A large Ship built here.*—15. *Violence of Parties.*—16. *Great Rains.*—17. *Queen Katharine comes to Bristol.*—18. *A Corn-mill built on the River.*—19. *Nobility visit Bristol.*—20. *A Riot here.*—21. *Queen's second visit.*—22. *Ship burnt.*—23. *The Mayor put out of his places.*—23. *b. A Comet.*—24. *Election of M' P'. Sir Robert Atkyns chosen.*—25. *Strange divisions in the Common-council.*—26. *One Party indicts the other.*—27. *Sir Robert Atkyns's defence.*—28. *The King seizes the Charter of Bristol, &c, and grants another.*—29. *A remarkably long Frost.*—30. *King's decease.*

§ 1. CHARLES II was proclaimed in London May 8, 1660: and it must have been within very few days afterward, that "he (*a*) was proclaimed in Bristol by Francis Gleed, one of the Sheriffs, the Mayor and Aldermen being then present in their scarlet robes."

§ 2. "This (*b*) year, 1661, a new barge was built to pass up and downe the river, to bee used by the Mair, Aldermen or Counsell."

§ 3. The Parliament in 1661 had passed *the Corporation Act*, for the purpose of excluding disaffected persons from municipal offices. During the year 1662 Commissioners appointed by Parliament were

(*a*) MS' Cal'. (*b*) Robert Ricart.

employed in visiting Corporations, and they had unlimited authority granted to them to turn out of office all members, who were suspected in the slightest degree of being unfriendly to High-monarchical principles. These Commissioners certainly came to Bristol, and the following extract from a MS' Cal' shews what they did. "1662. Mr. Nathanael Coale, Mayor, new-modelled the Common-council, turning out all that he supposed to be any ways disaffected to the King, and which did adhere to the rump Parliament."

§ 4. "Saturday, (*c*) Sept' 5, 1663, King Charles II, with his Queen Katharine came from Bath to Bristol. And with them came James, Duke of York and his Duchess, the Duke of Monmouth, Prince Rupert, and a greate traine of nobility. They came in by way of Lawford's gate, where the Mayor, Sir Robert Cann, and the Aldermen riding in their scarlet robes, and all the Councell of the city and all the companies in their order attended: and when the Maior kneeling down to reverence his Majesty had delivered the sword and ensignes of his authority to the King and had received them again, Sir Robert Attkins, the Recorder, made an oration; which ended, the Maior rodd in before the King bareheaded, carrying the sword, the trained soldiers guarding the way; and in that order they conducted the King and all his traine to the house of Sir Richard Rogers, commonly called *the great house* at the Bridge-end, where they were splendidly entertained at a dinner. After dinner the King made four knights; viz, Mr. John Knight of Temple-street, then a burgess of Parliament for Bristoll, and shortly after sworne Maior; Mr. Henry Creswick; Mr. William Cann, son of Sir Rob' Cann, the Maior; and Mr. Robert Attkins, the Recorder's son:" [but other MSS mention Robert Cann, the Mayor, as the fourth, instead of Mr. Atkins.] "And the next week following Mr. Robert Yeamans, then Sherriffe, attending his Majesty at Bath, did likewise receive the honour of knighthood. When his Majestie came to Bristoll, all the streets from Lawford's-gate to the bridge, as the Old-markett, through the Castle into Wine-streete, and the Bridge, were all sanded: and about 150 peeces of ordnance in the Marsh gave three vollies, one when his Majestie came to the"

(*c*) MS' Cal'.

"Bridge-end; another when he had dined, and the third at his departure. After dinner the King rode in his coach with his Queen to Bath again. His Majesty and the Queene (to use the Bath) lay at Bath about a moneth, and then by the way of Oxford returned to London."

"On (*d*) Nov' 1, 1663, the new Speedwell was cast away in launching at Gib Taylor, and four men and boys were drowned in her. Also in the month of Dec' last year, the old Speedwell broke her moorings at the Limekilns and turned over on one side by a great gust of wind, and two men were drowned."

§ 5. "James, (*e*) Duke of Ormond, lord Lieutenant of Ireland, came to Bristol with his Duchess Aug' 17, 1664, and lay at Sir Henry Creswick's house in Small-street four days: and so departed to Milford haven, and from thence to Ireland." Mr. Carte's account of this journey is as follows. "The Duke of Ormond set out for Ireland in August 1665. He staid a few days at Bristol to make some provision for the peace of that city, then divided into factions, and ready to break out into tumults: and having put matters into the best state he could, to prevent the disturbances which were threatened, he proceeded by Glocester and Hereford to Milford haven, where he embarked for Ireland, and landed at Duncannon-fort (of which he was governor) on the third of Sept' 1665."

§ 6. "Several (*f*) houses in the city took fire this year (1664); viz, the Tolzey: the Pelican stables in St. Thomas-street: a barber's shop in Tucker-street: and a wash-house in the Castle: but they did but little damage. And Cutler's mill was burned down to the ground on a Saturday night."

§ 7. "The (*g*) ship St. Patrick was built and launched at Gib Taylor, in the year 1665, being one of the King's ships of 52 guns: at which sight was the Mayor, Aldermen and Council, and about 20,000 people."

§ 8. "In this (*h*) same year, 1665, the Custom-house on the Back was built and finished. Near 600 men were impressed in Bristol for"

(*d*) (*e*) (*f*) (*g*) (*h*) MS Calendars.

"the King's service against the French, the Dutch, and the Danes. And about 100 men entered themselves footmen under the command of the Lord Herbert, Earl of Worcester."

§ 9. April 22, 1664, the King granted a Charter confirming all the preceding; and ordering moreover that the Mayor and all other officers of the Corporation shall take *the oath of allegiance* and the *oath of supremacy*, before they enter on their office.

§ 10. "In the (*i*) years 1664, 65, and 66 the city of London was most grievously visited with the pestilence, the contagion whereof spread as far as Bristoll. It began at Bedminster, where it raged much; and so likewise at Barton-regis; yea it came within Lawford's-gate. Some houses in Halliers-lane and Redcliffe-street were infected, and some other places, as at the Mermaide on the Back: and when it was believed it would overspread the whole city, as it had don at London, it pleased God of his wonderfull mercy to restraine it; soe that it went no further."

§ 11. "In the (*k*) month of May 1667 several mischances happened in Bristol, as followeth. A child was drowned in a tan-pit. Five people were drowned on the Back and Key. And a cobler brake his neck down a pair of stairs over against the back-pipe. A woman was executed on St. Michael's Hill in Sept' 1667, for the murder of her own child."

§ 12. "At (*l*) the latter end of Sept' 1669, Sir William Penn, one of his Majesty's Generalls at sea, was brought dead from London to Bristol, and put into the Guildhall, where he lay in state, until the third of October: and then being guarded on each side of the way with the trained bands, was buried at Redcliffe church."

§ 13. "On (*m*) the 24*th* Oct' 1669, about 11 or 12 o'clock at night, the sugar-house in Redcliff-street took fire, and was burned down to the ground: the loss sustained thereby was valued at upwards of £1000."

(*i*) (*k*) (*l*) (*m*) MS Calendars.

§ 14. "On (*n*) July 29, 1668, was launched at Bristol a stout frigate of 1100 tons [*al'* of 70 guns] called *the Edgar*, built by Mr. Bayly near the Gibb. The Mayor and his brethren were present."

§ 15. The spirit of party which was kindled in the late civil war still continued to burn in the city. "In (*o*) the year 1669 Sir John Knight, who was Mayor in 1663-4, and one of the Parliament-men for the city, informed his Majesty, that the Mayor and most of the Councell were fanatics. Whereupon Sir Robert Yeamans [either during his Mayoralty or soon after] was sent for up to London, and was committed prisoner to the Tower. And then the next Mayor, John Knight, merchant, was sent for up and examined. But it was soon found to the contrary; and the informer was forced to fall on his knees to his Majestie and crave pardon. Sir Rob' Yeamans returned the 21*st* of Feb' and was honourably brought into Bristol with 220 horse: and Mr. John Knight, the then Mayor, returned the 20*th* of April, and was honourably bro't in with 235 horse: but the said informer, Sir John Knight, came to Lawford's-gate, and privately passed over the water to his own house in Temple-street." This Sir J' Knight there will be occasion to mention again: he appears to have been of the high or tory party; but the great object of his vast ambition was to be principal man in the Common-council, and to that object every thing gave way: he was busy, clamorous, insolent and abusive.

§ 16. "In (*p*) the month of Jan' 1672-3 there fell such a rain, that on the 17*th* day the meadows about the city were overflowed four feet and a half upright: it drowned abundance of cattle, carried away a great deal of hay, and did much damage to the corn. And this year, 1673, wheat was very scarce and dear, so that we had supplies from foreign parts."

§ 17. "Queen (*q*) Katharine came to Bristol July 11, 1674, and was honourably entertained at Sir Henry Creswick's. The effigy of King Charles II was removed on the leads nearer the Council-house"

(*n*) (*o*) (*p*) (*q*) MS Calendars.

"by the persuasion of the Duchess of Cleveland, who came with the Queen: it standing and being before (as she said) like a porter or a watchman."

§18. "This (*r*) year, 1673, about the beginning of June, there was built a water-mill upon a lighter, to grind corn at Gib Taylor, by Thomas Jayne, house-carpenter; which mill went every tide upon the ebb, and did grind two bushels an hour. But it was pulled to pieces at St. James's tide following."

§19. "On (*s*) the 11*th* of Sept' 1674, the Countesse of Castlemaine rode into this cittie in her coach in pompe, attended by Sir John Churchhill of Churchill, togeather with Sir Thomas Bridgis of Cainsham, and their ladies, with their retinue of servants; and rode by the Tolzey and downe Broade-street, and so along the Key, where the great guns fired as she passed by. She alighted at Alderman Olive's, at the three Tuns in Wine-street, and was there entertained at the cost and chardges of the said Sir John Churchill."

§20. "About (*t*) 60 carpenters made a tumult in Bristol some day in 1679: and that day Mr. Rowe and Mr. Diley were sent prisoners to London, for seditious words against the government."

§21. "July 20*th*, 1677, Queen Katharine came from Bath to Bristol, guarded by the Earl of Ossory and his troop; and was received by the Mayor and Aldermen in their scarlet, who did ride two by two in theire foote cloathes on horsebacke, accompanied with the rest of the Councell and chiefe of the cittie unto Lawford's-gate, where the Town clarke very gravely uttered a learned oration unto her Majestie. And then after the Mayor with all the Majestrates tooke horse againe; the last of the Councell did ride foremost, and soe in order till they came to the Mayor, who did ride bareheaded before the coach where the Queene was. And all the way as they came from Lawford's-gate to Smale-street"

(*r*) (*s*) (*t*) MS Calendars.

"all the trained soldiers of the cittie made her Majestie a guard. And after the Major and Councell had conducted her Majestie to her lodging, which was at Sir H' Creswicke's house in Smale-street, all the trayned soldiers gave a volley of shott, and presently after the great guns fired. And after a most noble and honourable treat given by the Mayor and Councell to her Grace and all the Nobles and guard that attended her, she rode in her coach to the Hott-well, being attended by the said Earl of Ossory and other Nobles, togeather with Sir John Knight of this cittie, being then Parliament-man, and burgiss for this cittie of Bristoll, and her guard; and there did stay a little time, and dranke some of the Hott-well water: [but one MS says she went to the Hot-well before dinner.] Presently after she returned to her court in Smale-street; where after a little repose she took her leave, and returned the same day to Bath." Some MSS date this visit July 11, 1677; which appears to be an error arising from the Queen's former visit in 1674.

§ 22. "July (*u*) 11, 1677, the same evening on which the Queen was here, a ship called *the Friendship* was by accident burned at the graving-place near the Marsh."

§ 23. "Joseph (*v*) Creswick, merchant, elected Mayor Sept' 1679, being *ex officio* one of the Deputy-Lieutenants, and by commission one of the Captains of the Trained-bands of the city, had his commission taken from him, and his Deputation revoked for his following the advice of his father-in-law, Sir John Knight, the old Ratt."

§ 23. *b*. "In the year 1682 appeared in the West a wonderful comet, or blazing star, which continued to be seen many weeks. It rose in the West and set in the East; it's brush or tail at first was of so prodigious length, that it extended almost from the horizon to the mid-heaven; but it grew shorter and shorter, till it wholly disappeared." Our old Chronicles frequently record this vulgar error, of a comet rising and setting contrary to the motion of other heavenly bodies. It is unaccountable how or whence such a notion could arise, and when arisen, how it could continue.

(*u*) (*v*) MS Calendars.

§ 24. The King dissolved the Parliament Jan' 18, and summoned a new one to meet at Oxford March 21, 1680-1. The candidates were Sir Richard Hart, then Mayor, and Sir Thomas Earle: against them stood Sir Robert Atkins K' B' who was Recorder, and Sir John Knight. Sir R' Hart was a violent tory; Sir Thomas Earle was, as I believe, a moderate whig: Sir John Knight was a high-party man: the Recorder was usually considered to be of the low party: the tories, and those who liked him not, called him a disaffected man; an imputation which he strongly repelled. "I (*w*) am no enemy," said he, "to the government I live under: if any think otherwise of me, I care not, because I cannot govern another man's thoughts." He professed himself to be of no party: "I never would join (said he) with any party." The poll lasted six days, and Sir R' Hart and Sir Th' Earle were elected: Sir Rob' Atkins quitted the town, before the poll was closed; he seems to have been indifferent to the event; he said that he was invited, and that he sought it not, and was not fond of being chosen.

§ 25. The animosity occasioned by this election produced a very singular occurrence. On the death of Sir John Lloyd, an alderman, the Mayor, Sir Rich' Hart, from party motives refused to call a meeting of the survivors for the purpose of electing a successor. The Common-council-man, who stood next in succession was Mr. Tho' Day, and the majority wished to elect him; for though the government was most miserably divided, yet in this business there was nothing of faction, and the different parties were not engaged. But the Mayor wished to pass him by; and for this purpose he intended to defer the election of an alderman until, by the absence of some of his opponents, particularly of Sir Rob' Atkins, who he was assured could not stay long in Bristol, he might find an opportunity when his own friends should be a majority. Three several times did the Recorder propose to him to hold a meeting for the election, and as often did the Mayor either refuse, or go away without returning an answer. Whereupon the Recorder, being senior alderman, and who was then in Bristol attending on the poll, together

(*w*) Almost every thing which relates to this election and the dispute which followed it is taken chiefly from the Modern Reports, Vol' III, p' 3, and generally in the same words.

with five more aldermen Sir John Knight, John Lawford, Joseph Creswick, &c, after having given due notice of their intention and requested the Mayor's presence, proceeded to an election March 8, 1680-1, and chose Mr. Tho' Day. It was by no means a party business; one of the six was a zealous man in the Mayor's own way; yet not supposing either party to be concerned in the affair, he joined in the election and voted as the rest did: and Sir Robt' Cann, an intimate friend of the Mayor's, being lame of the gout, sent an excuse, but would approve of their choice. They were unanimous in favour of Mr. Day; no other person was so much as named; and Mr. Day was not only next in course but was every way qualified; he had a great estate, worth three or four of some of the aldermen and no tang of a fanatic, "he had, (says Sir R' Atkins,) but one great fault; he gave his vote at the election to Parliament for myself and Sir John Knight, against Mr. Mayor and Sir T' Earl."

The Mayor incensed at this proceeding procured the Recorder and the three aldermen first mentioned above to be indicted for a conspiracy and riot at the Quarter Sessions Oct' 4, 33 Car' II [1681.] Although there were six and all unanimous in their choice, yet they politicly indicted only four of them, and left two out; because it would have been too gross and palpable if six justices of peace had been indicted before a lesser number of their brother Justices. And this indictment was found before the Mayor, their fellow-justice and four more at the most: so that five, who are the lesser number, exercise their authority over six, as much justices as themselves.

The substance of this extraordinary indictment, drawn up, as usual, in Latin, is as follows. That by the Charter of Hen' VII, 1499, it is provided that if any person shall make debates or discord concerning the election of a Mayor or any other officer, they shall be punished in proportion to their offence. That by the Charter of Queen Eliz' the Recorder and the rest of the Aldermen are of the privy council [*de privato concilio*] of the Mayor, whenever the Mayor shall call them together; and that they have no right to meet together or transact any business belonging to that council, unless by the summons and in the presence of the Mayor. But that these four Aldermen conspired together to elect a new Alderman; and in pursuance of their wicked conspiracy they entered"

"by force of arms into the Tolzey; and in the Council-chamber with other Aldermen riotously did assemble, and without the knowledge of the other Aldermen held a privy council of Aldermen, and chose Tho' Day for an Alderman in the place of Sir John Lloyd, without any summons to meet sent by the said Rich' Hart then Mayor, in his absence and against his will."

§ 26. This strange indictment was tried at the assizes at Bristol by *Nisi prius*, and the Defendants were found *guilty*. "And thereupon Sir Rob' Atkins one of the Defendants, in Michaelmas Term 34 Car' II, 1682," [having then lately before this case been one of the judges of the Common Pleas, but then discharged of his place after eight years sitting there secure], "came into the Court of King's Bench, and in arrest of judgement argued his own case, not as Counsel, nor at the bar, but in the court in his cloak having a chair set for him by the order of the Lord Chief Justice.

§ 27. He begins by making several legal objections to the indictment; such as this, that it does not alledge that there is any Corporation at all at Bristol, without which the court could not judicially take any notice of it. But he rests his defence chiefly on this; that the Mayor is not so great a personage, as this indictment supposes; that he is among the Aldermen only the *first among his* equals; and that if he will not do his duty by calling them together for an election, the majority are justifiable in assembling for that purpose without him. Several passages in this report shew the extreme violence of the contending factions. 'In the case of the swearing of an Alderman, by the express words of the charter, "it cannot be done, but before the Mayor and Recorder, both. This Sir Rich' Hart was duly chosen an Alderman long ago, but not sworn until the last goal-delivery, when we were going to try the felons. I being present they thought that sufficient to satisfy the charter, and in a tumultuous manner with a hideous noise, they cried out to swear him: and this was not the usual place neither for it. I opposed the swearing of him in and I will justify it, that he was utterly unfit to be sworn, by something that happened, since his being elected an Alderman: they"

would not hear me, but resolved to proceed to swear him, because I was present with the Mayor. Thereupon I withdrew; and in my absence" they went on to swear him, and he now acts as an Alderman and as a Justice of the Peace under this colour." His conclusion is remarkable, "I have been Recorder of Bristol these one and twenty years, longer, I think, than any man can be remembered. I have sworn all the aldermen that are now upon the bench in my time, and many more who are now dead. I can say it without vanity: till the time of this unhappy election of members to the Oxford Parliament, which I sought not, I had the good will of all sides, even of this Mr. Mayor, who was Sir Rich' Hart: for I never would join with any party; but did all I could when I came amongst them, to join them together and unite them: for ever since they grew rich and full of trade and knighthood, too much sail and too little ballast, they have been miserably divided. And unless this Court, to whom I think it properly belongs upon complaint in such cases, will examine their disorders and command peace and order to be observed in our proceedings, I cannot safely attend there any more, nor hold any goal-delivery." Whereupon the Court arrested the judgement.

The original report I should suppose well worthy of a lawyer's perusal. It is also reported in Sir Bartholomew Shower, Vol' 2, p' 248; from whence I am informed by my learned friend W' B' Elwyn Esq', that after Sir Robert Atkyns had first moved and argued in arrest of judgement, there was an adjournment; and the ground, on which the Court ultimately agreed the indictment to be vicious, was "the want of a recital of the Letters patent." Shower ends with observing that Sir R' Atkyns resigned his recordership [before the year expired] on Lord C' J' Pemberton's, and his brother's persuasion, *which was all that the city of Bristol aimed at by their indictment.* Modern Reports state only, that he *resigned by the persuasion of his friends.* Shower says that Pemberton C' J' must by his advice have thought the conduct of the Recorder *rather* irregular, and that he would probably have been left to his verdict, but for the advantage which he had from the art of quibbling. From the foregoing facts it appears probable that Sir Richard Hart and the tories had obtained a temporary superiority in the Common-council.

§ 28. King Charles II being resolved, as far as he was able, to govern the kingdom, as an Absolute Monarch, among several expedients practised for this purpose, seized on the Charters of most of the Corporations of England, that thus he might bring the election of all the municipal magistrates and common-council-men and members of Parliament within the power of the King. Early in the year 1682-3 he began with the city of London, and prosecuted that Corporation for certain supposed offences. The cause was argued in the Court of King's Bench; and the Judges, who were at that time wholly devoted to the Crown, gave sentence that the charter and liberties of the Corporation were forfeited. Whereupon the King sent proposals to the Common-council, offering to restore the charter of the city on certain conditions, which were calculated to throw the election of city-officers into the King's power. The Common-council were frightened into submission, and voluntarily surrendered their charter before the judgement of the court was recorded. In like manner and about the same time the King proceeded with Bristol. On Monday Feb' 12, 1682-3, (*x*) Sir Robert Sawyer, Attorney-general brought a writ of *quo warranto* into the Court of King's-bench against the Mayor, Burgesses and Commonalty of Bristol, setting forth some irregularities, of which (as he says) they have been guilty, and calling on them to answer before the court, *by what warrant* they claim to be a Corporation, after having thus broken their charter. The Common-council after (*y*) much debating agreed to surrender their charter, so far as related to the election of officers, and throw themselves on the King's mercy. The instrument of resignation was dated Nov' 9, 1683; but the Corporation was in the King's power before Michaelmas; for (*z*) the Mayor Ralph Oliffe, and the Sheriffs Driver and Arundel were particularly nominated by his Majesty: and on the death of Mr. Oliffe, which happened on the very next day after he was sworn in, the city continued without a Mayor until about the 30*th* of October, when by his Majesty's special command Will' Clutterbuck was chosen. How it happened, that the Corporation was in the King's hands before the surrender, we are not informed; probably judgement was given against it, but not recorded,

(*x*) See the printed Charters, p' 238 &c. (*y*) MS Cal'. (*z*) MS Cal'.

as in London; and then the members of the Common-council, knowing or suspecting that penalties would be inflicted on some of them, were frightened into a surrender. However that may be, the King kept the liberties of the city in his hands until June 2, 1684, when he granted another charter, in which he reserves to the crown the right of removing any member of the Common-council or other officer of the Corporation. And this attack on the corporations continued during the remainder of this reign.

§ 29. "In (*a*) the winter of 1683-4 was the great frost, which lasted about three months, or (as one MS says) "from the beginning of Dec' to the *5th* of February; and was so extream, that ships could not pass in and out of the Kay by reason of the many and mighty heaps of ice and mud congealed together, resembling a ruined street, part of the walls being left standing."

§ 30. King Charles II died Feb' 6, 1684-5.

(*a*) MS' Cal'.

End of Chapter XXX.

CHAPTER XXXI.

JAMES II.

1. King's Proclamation. Great rejoicing.—2. Duke of Monmouth's rebellion—3. His military progress.—4. His retreat, defeat & death.—5. Frequent Dinners.—6. The bloody Assize.—7. Jefferies's violence against the Mayor &c.—8. His cruelty toward the Prisoners. —9. The King visits Bristol.—10. Accident from gunpowder. Large Fishes. King and Queen entertained in Bristol—11. The King favors Popery: Pope's Nuncio dines in Bristol.—12. Attack on the Corporation.—13. High Tide.—14. Rejoicings for the birth of a Prince.— 15. The King alarmed, restores the Charters.—16. The Proclamation. —17. The ancient form of the Corporation restored.—18. The Prince of Orange lands; Bristol declares in his favour.—19. The King abdicates the Government. Election of Members of Parliament. Prince and Princess of Orange proclaimed King and Queen of England.

§ 1. JAMES, Duke of York, succeeded his brother the late King, and "was proclaimed in Bristol by Giles Merrick, the Sheriff, the trumpets sounding; and every place in Bristol, where he was proclaimed was hung with scarlet. He was proclaimed by the name of James II on Sunday 18 Feb' 1684-5, and was by order again proclaimed on Monday following. April 23, he and his Queen Mary were crowned at Westminster with very great splendor; and the day was kept in Bristol with all signs of joy and gladness. All shops were shut up; the Mayor and the Council and the companies in right order went to the College; 52 great guns were three times fired, beside many guns in many ships at the Key. The conduits ran with wine very plentifully, and the evening ended with bonefires &c. The bells all over the city rang for joy, even the tavern bells."

(*a*) MS Calendars.

§ 2. "June 11, 1685, the Duke of Monmouth, natural son of Charles II, landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, in rebellion against the King. His popularity, which was very great, particularly in the West of England, and the extream dissatisfaction which the arbitrary government of the late and present kings had produced among all ranks of men, particularly among the whigs and dissenters, caused great numbers of the neighbouring counties to flock to his standard: tradition has reported of several villages, in Somersetshire, not many miles from Bristol, that the whole active population joined him, armed with pitchforks, scythes fastened on strait handles and the like, leaving none at home but old men, women and children. Having thus speedily raised an army of peasantry, for none of the gentry joined him, he marched into the heart of Somersetshire; from Bridgewater he went on towards Bristol. His army, or at least a part of it "came (*b*) as near as Keynsham, and some of them appeared very near the city, when the ship *Abraham and Mary* was on fire at the kay." But the Duke of Beaufort, who was Lord Lieutenant (*c*) of the city drew up 21 companies of foot in Redcliffe mead, and held the city to its allegiance in a military manner, keeping his soldiers always in readiness, and arresting many who were disaffected to the government, and suspected of being friends to the Duke of Monmouth. So far as Bristol is concerned, the following extracts will give a true account of the Duke of Monmouth's proceedings. "Having (*d*) received this additional countenance and gained this additional strength at Bridgewater, he passed on to Glastonbury, and thence to Wells," where he was again proclaimed: and here he came to a resolution of great importance, which was to march over Mendip hills to Bristol. Wade and Roe, both Bristol men, and both proscribed on account of the Rye conspiracy, had given him repeated assurances that the majority of the inhabitants were in his interest and at his devotion; and that the militia, who kept garrison there under the Duke of Beaufort, would make no resistance. These were powerful inducements, and the Duke was so far governed by them, that he marched as far as Kainsham, a little village within 3 or 4 miles of Bristol, with a purpose as was generally believed to make an attempt on that place the next morning. But while his men were reposing themselves in full security, a party of"

(*b*) MS Cal' (*c*) Barrett, 694. (*d*) Ralph's Hist' of England.

"horse commanded by Col' Oglethorpe, fell in with them, before they were perceived, and were themselves surprized with an unexpected resistance: for as the Monmouth men were not aware of any resistance, so these took the Monmouth men for friends. A slight skirmish followed, in which Oglethorpe being overpowered with numbers, was forced to retire. But it does not appear, that there was any pursuit, or that the Royalists thought of returning to the charge, which on the Duke's side is matter of astonishment, for his horse was superior in number to these: and though the latter were within reach of a body of foot, the odds were still on his side, and he could scarce hope to conduct a war against the crown on any better principle than that of engaging it piece-meal. What was still worse and more unaccountable, this little adventure deterred him from pushing his design on Bristol; for it seems these parties in his way were regular forces, who had been sent on purpose to assist in the defence of Bristol; and he had so high a notion of discipline, that he scarce thought it possible for irregulars to make their party good against them: and hence by a strange fatality, every argument that was made use of to shew the vast consequence of so mighty an acquisition, only served to make him despair of succeeding in it. In vain did Wade and Roe redouble their importunities, and offer to lead him into the town by ways which the enemy had no knowledge of: he foresaw difficulties, which seemed insurmountable, and therefore gave over the enterprize when in sight of the place, and when (according to Oldmixon) a conspiracy was actually formed in the city to receive him, as appeared by their setting fire to a ship in the river on a false alarm of his approach, to draw the militia that way, while his friends admitted him. But this traditionary story has been told differently by some of the inhabitants of that place; for according to them, the Duke of Beaufort, justly apprehending that while he endeavoured to oppose the enemy without, there would be a sedition within, gave notice that the very moment the citizens took any such disloyal step, he would fire the town about their ears. They add that this menace was carried to the Duke of Monmouth at the instant the ship was fired in the river; upon which taking it for certain that the experiment was already making on those who were deemed most devoted to his cause, and being touched with a quicker sense of"

"compassion than is consistent with the purposes of ambition and the trade of war, he said 'God forbid that I should be accessary to the ruin of my friends, or that for any consideration I should subject so great a city to the double calamity of sword and fire;' and gave immediate orders for his troops to face about and take the road to Bath. Those who were most anxious for his Grace's success, expressed the most concern and uneasiness, that he should thus desist from the only enterprize, which according to the common course of things could have smoothed his way to the throne. Bristol abounded with riches, arms and stores of all sorts: and had the Duke got possession of it, he would thereby have been enabled to arm and pay a much greater force than the King had as yet to oppose him: for the whole of his Majesty's regular forces did not exceed 7000. But, *say they*, God saw it not fit for us, and over-ruled our consultations to our own ruin; for this was the top of our prosperity; and yet all the while, not a gentleman more than went over with us, came to our assistance." A shorter account of this affair is as follows: "He (*e*) marched within two miles of Bristol, where a consult being held, he was advised not to enter that city, but to retreat back to Bridgewater: which false step began to dishearten his party, and to hinder his recruits; whereas, if he had entered Bristol, there being no force to oppose him but the train-bands, and the generality of them for him, not only in their hearts, but in open discourses and public healths, he might have furnished himself with men, arms, and money, and thence marched into Glocestershire, among the clothiers, where great numbers even of the best estates and degrees waited to join him. During *(f)* this rebellion, while the soldiers were in Bristol, and near about the same time that the ship was on fire at the Kay, the backward stables of the White Lyon in Broad-street were all sett on fire, and therein were burned to death two of the Duke of Beaufort's best saddle horses. It was supposed to have been done by the malice and envy of the fanatics, of whom a great many were sent prisoners from Bristol to Gloucester, and there secured till the rebellion was over: and about sixty were sent to Gloster in a vessel, who were taken on board at Rownham, and sent away prisoners to and from Newgate without any Mittimus, or being taken before any Justice of the Peace."

(*e*) Kennet's History. (*f*) MS Cal'.

§ 3. Another of our Calendars contains so many particulars, that it must not be omitted.

"June 10, 1685, James Duke of Monmouth landed at Lyme, and with him, as said, 150 or 200 men [another MS says, only eighty men]; he also brought some arms &c. He drew up his men in the market-place, set up his standard, and presently put forth a declaration. The Mayor not being able to suppress him went to Exon, and gave an account to the Duke of Albemarle, who was there, coming thither the Sunday before, being sent in haste by the King." Upon this news brought to Exon by the Mayor of Lyme, the gates were shut for some time: this was Friday morning. The same news came Friday to Taunton, Bridgewater, Bristol &c; upon which the militia here were ordered to watch, two companies each night, one at Guildhall, the other in St. Thomas-street. June 16, the Duke of Beaufort came to Bristol, being sent by the King to take care of the city; and on the next day several Dissenters had their houses searched for arms; and several persons were sent for up to the Guildhall and ordered to be kept in custody, fearing that they might be aiding to Monmouth. Next day more persons were taken up and sent to the Marshalsea, and more looked after. Also there came two troops of horse and five companies of foot out of Gloucestershire to Lawford's-gate, and staid there some time."

"On the 20*th* came in hither six companies of foot, and a troop of horse, who with those before drew up in the Marsh of Bristol, being in all 19 companies of foot and four troops of horse, whither the Duke of Beaufort came and viewed them and went to his lodgings at Sir William Hayman's the present Mayor. Next day the horse marched hence to Bedminster, Busselton, Long Ashton, Keynsham and Whitchurch."

"June 23 Lord Feversham came hither with about 250 of the King's horse-guards, being all stout able men, extremely well mounted, and as finely accoutred in all points, making a pleasant sight when altogether: and next day early they marched to Bath, on advice that the Duke of Monmouth had left Wells and was gone that way."

"June 24 the Duke of Beaufort caused 21 companies of foot to draw up in Redcliff mead, and six companies in the Lamb (*g*) ground: and"

(*g*) This word is not quite legible in the MS.

"this day appeared a troop of horse volunteers of this city and near it: and the same day came three companies of foot from Gloucester and four companies from Wales. But a sad accident happened this evening, viz, a ship at the Kay took fire, (which way, unknown) which put the city in great consternation: but by God's blessing it was soon quenched, doing no other damage; for it happened to be high water at the Kay, by which means the other ships sailed off."

"On the 25*th* we had an alarm that the Duke of Monmouth was near Bristol, which caused a great stir. And this day a seaman discharging a piece that was loaded, although to him unknown, shot a woman on the Kay. A Welsh soldier was sent to prison for saying, he would fight for Monmouth. Another was taken who was said to be one of Monmouth's men: and another, said to be a spy."

§ 4. "On the 26*th* a party of the King's horse about 25 men went to Keinsham, Monmouth's men being there: it happened to be a small skirmish, in which 14 or 15 men were said to be killed: the Lord Newbrough was shot in the belly and brought hither, but likely to recover. Monmouth drew off from Keinsham; and although he had all the fair encouragement, that could be, to go forward into the country, yet contrary to all probable reason he turned back, and marched his army to Philip's Norton, where the King's party and they had another skirmish: of the former more were killed than was publicly owned; and some of the latter also."

"On the 30*th* the persons secured in the Marshalsea were now taken thence and sent to Glocester goal, being about 60 men; for whom their friends made great lamentation. And a man was taken, who had brought letters (as was said) from Thomas Tyler, who was sometime a mercer here: the man was committed and Tyler's mother and sisters."

"July 2*nd* the Duke of Beaufort's eldest son came here, and news came that Monmouth was gone from Wells to Bridgewater, which was so: and his going back partly ruined him; for many seeing it went from him; they also saw plainly that the Duke had such counsellors, as would bring him to ruin."

"The King set forth a proclamation, that all who were gone after"

"Monmouth should be pardoned, provided they left him in four days, and came and surrendered themselves to a Justice of the peace, and took a certificate: in which proclamation some were excepted. And on the 4*th* instant, a drum was beat to enlist soldiers under the Duke of Beaufort."

"July 6, 1685, we had news, that the Duke of Monmouth with his men were routed and fled. The manner was thus. The night before, being Sabboth-day night, Monmouth's men marched out of Bridgewater about 12 or 1 o'clock, designing (as was said) to surprize the King's army, which lay at Sedgemoor, in which action were many men killed on both sides. The fight lasted a pretty while, at last every one began to look for himself: in the fight and in the pursuit, it was said that the King's party killed near 2000 men. The news came, while the greatest part of the militia here were in Redcliff mead; upon which they marched back again, and the bells rang, and great rejoicings were made; several horses were brought hither, and some men committed to goal. On the 7*th* came hither seven companies of militia of Herefordshire: but the day before (as above) the Duke of Beaufort reviewed the militia, which were 42 or 43 companies of foot, and 6 or 7 troops of horse. On the 8th we had news that Monmouth was taken: we had great rejoicings at this; but the stable at the White Lion taking fire spoiled the mirth; the Duke of Beaufort had two horses burnt in it; but by God's providence it went not much further, and on the next morning the Duke of Beaufort went for London."

"July 9*th* all the soldiers here were drawn out to Durdham Down, being about 46 or 48 companies of foot, and 3 or 4 troops of horse."

"July 10*th* a rumour came that the King was dead, and that Monmouth was proclaimed King in London; for which several were taken up here."

"July 11*th* most of the militia here were sent home; and many of Monmouth's men were taken and hanged in several places in the country."

"July 15*th* James Duke of Monmouth was beheaded in London."

§ 5. "Sept. 3, Arthur second son to the Duke of Beaufort came hither, and dined at Guildhall with the loyal young apprentices, &c."

"with whom dined the Mayor, at which they made great rejoicings. These frequent dinners, &c. were made that the Court might get whom they pleased to serve them, as they were willing: and though some did any thing that way, yet others would not, but saw through these doings."

§6. "Sept' 4, 1685, began at Dorchester the famous *bloody assize*, rightly so called, being managed chiefly by Sir George Jefferies, Lord Chief Justice, with three or four others, sent from London for this purpose. At Dorchester about 400 were condemned, and about 70 were hanged, drawn and quartered, their quarters being set up in all public roads and cross ways, which made travelling for some time unpleasant in Dorset, Somerset, and Devon shires. From Dorsetshire they went to Exeter, where they did the same as at Dorchester. From thence Jefferies went to Taunton, where above 400 persons were condemned, many executed, and many begged their lives, that they might be sent to the Leeward Islands. From Taunton they came to Bristol on Monday Sept' 21, and lodged at the Town Clerk's house in the Marsh. After he had been there and refreshed himself, Jefferies went to the Tolzey, and thence to the Guildhall, where the commissions were opened, and the jury sworn, being 41 men. Here he made a long speech, about rebellion; of the death of King Charles I.; of the exile of the late and present Kings; of his Majesty's goodness and clemency after coming to the throne, by making an Act of Oblivion, &c.; how the Duke of Monmouth had been raised by the late King; of *Mr. Debauchery*, how unfit he was to reform religion; of his illegitimacy, former treason and late rebellion. Then he came to the city business, telling the Grand Jury that they ought to bring all defections before him; and told the Justices of the differences among them; told the Clergy of the heats among them, and that they ought by their preaching and lives to promote peace, with much more. On the 23*rd* the assizes ended, and Sir George Jefferies and Baron Wright went out of the Guildhall, took coach, and went directly to Wells;" [but another MS says, that he first went to Wells, where he condemned 370 persons in one sentence, to be hanged, drawn and quartered: and from Wells that he came to Bristol.]

§ 7. "At these assizes in Bristol Jefferies had a great feud with Sir W' Hayman, the Mayor, and also with Sir Rob' Cann and Alderman Lawford: he made the Mayor come off the bench to the bar, and made them all three give caution, that they would appear at the King's Bench next term." Another MS gives "the words of Sir George Jefferyes, Lord Chiefe Justice of England, which he spake to the Mayor of Bristol, Sir Will' Hayman, Sept' 22, 1685, as follow. *Sir, Mr. Mayor, you I meane, Kidnapper, and an old Justice of the Peace on the bench* (meaning Alderman John Lawford) *I doe not knowe him, an old knave: he goes to the taverne, and for a pint of sack he will bind people servants to the Indies at the taverne. A kidnapping knave! I will have his ears off, before I goe forth of towne. Well, read that paper;* giving it to John Romsey, then Towne-clerke, and commanding that it should be read aloud, that all might heare: the said paper was read accordingly. One was for picking of a pockett, for which the now Mayor would have sent him to Jamayca &c. *Kidnapper*, (speaking to the Mayor) *you, I mean, Sir, doe you see the keeper of Newgate! If it were not in respect of the sword, which is over your head, I would send you to Newgate, you kidnapping knave. You are worse than the pick-pockett who stands there*, meaning at the barre: *I hope you are men of worth, I will make you pay sufficiently for it;* and presently he fined the Mayor £1000. The Lord Chief Justice speaking againe to the Mayor a little before he arose off the bench, ordered him to the barr, whither he went accordingly: and and as he stood there like a prisoner, the Lord Chief Justice asked him, whether *he was guilty or not guilty;* to which the Mayor pleaded *not guilty*. Then he made him give security untill the afternoone, and in the afternoone the Mayor was turned over prisoner to both his Sheriffs. Furthermore he said to the Mayor, *had it not bin in respect to the city, I would have arraigned him, and would have hanged him, before I did forth of this city, and would have seene it done myselfe: a kidnapping knave!*" The other Calendars mention the affair, but not so particularly. On the whole of this extraordinary transaction it may be observed on the one hand, that the Magistrates of Bristol at that time, did probably sometimes strain the law or terrify petty offenders with the prospect of severe

punishment, that they might by these means send over persons to work on their estates in the infant colony of Jamaica; otherwise it is scarcely to be supposed that the Chief Justice would have thought of so strange an accusation: and on the other hand, Jefferies's conduct and language are so outrageous, as to induce a suspicion of intoxication, to which he was much addicted, or perhaps of insanity. Roger North, in his *life of lord Keeper Guildford*, first published this story: his account does not contain all which is above-mentioned, but it contains many other curious circumstances; (*h*) which however I forbear to transcribe, because the book is common. I am informed by one who has considerable knowledge of the Antiquities of Bristol, that certain documents still preserved in the Chamber of this city will prove the falsity of the charge of kidnapping prisoners, preferred by Judge Jefferies against Sir W' Hayman and others.

§ 8. At these assizes, six (*i*) men were condemned for high treason, whereof three were reprieved. "On the (*k*) 28 of September several persons were whipped, three or four for words, the others for disorder last Shrove Tuesday. From Wells we had an account of great numbers being condemned for rebellion with Monmouth, of whom many were soon executed, some bought their lives, and many were transported, which caused great cryings at Wells, and was a sad and dismal spectacle to behold, with what cruelty and rigour Jefferies did handle them, making them confess guilty and then condemn them. Nov. 6 at Bedminster were executed three men for rebellion, one a shoemaker of Bristol, called *Tippett*, who behaved himself well to the last, saying that *he did no more than go to see the army*. The other two were extremely sick. They were all drawn, hanged and quartered."—Col' Charles Trelawney's regiment was quartered here this winter, brother to the Bishop of Bristol.

§ 9. "Aug' 18, 1686, Col' Kirk's regiment came hither from Henlow, containing 11 companies. They were quartered here all the winter; and committed great disorders, beating some and stabbing others."

(*h*) See the Index, art' *Jefferies*.

(*i*) Barrett, p' 694.

(*k*) MS Cal'.

"On Wednesday the 25*th* of August 1686, King James came hither, accompanied by George, Prince of Denmark, the Dukes of Beaufort, Somerset and Grafton, Lord Peterborough and many other Nobles and great persons of this realm." It might have been at this time, that the King turned out of the direct road from Bath and paid a visit to Hanham Court. Mr. Creswick the owner of that house in 1817 shewed a spot of ground where once stood a tree, under which his grandfather entertained King James II; as he was informed by Hugh Brain, who lately died at the age of 102, whose father was then present. "The King was received at Lawford's-gate by the Mayor and Aldermen with the usual ceremonies, and conducted to Sir Will' Hayman's house in Small-street, where he was honourably entertained at the charge of the city. Next day the King went on horseback into the Marsh, and reviewed the soldiers, who had pitched their tents. From thence he went along the Key up St. Michael's-hill, and rode along the hill to Prior's-hill; thence down to the Barton, into St. James's, up Newgate, and so to his lodgings. He touched several for the Evil. After dinner he went to Redcliffe-gate, and thence to Portshead point, attended by several Nobles. And in the evening Mr. Will' Merrick, one of the Sheriffs, was knighted, and also Mr. Charles Winter, High-sheriff for the county of Gloucester. Next morning early the King went to Bridgewater, and to King's Sedgemoor, to view the place where his army overthrew the Duke of Monmouth."

§ 10. "Oct' 14*th* being kept for the King's birth-day, a grenadier was firing some cannon. While he was reloading one of them, the piece not being well sponged took fire and exploded, and the man lost both his hands."

"In Nov' 1686, a young grampus was brought hither about 6 yards long: also in the same month a fish, said to be a whale, was left by the tide at Burnham in Somersetshire, being (as was said) 12 yards long."

"In the summer of 1687 the King and Queen came to Bath; and the King went thence to West-Chester through Glocester, Worcester &c, and came back by Oxford, where he was received very splendidly, and so to Bath again. While they were there, they were invited by the Magistrates to Bristol, where they were received with the accustomed"

"ceremonies, and had a splendid entertainment provided for them and their retinue, at Mr. Lane's great house on St. Augustine's Back. They returned to Bath the same evening." This was probably September 12, although one Calendar dates it May 12.

§ 11. The King's design to restore the Romish religion in England was now carried on with so little reserve, that he determined on having at his Court a regular Resident from the Pope. A Nuntio accordingly *in pontificalibus* attended by Monks and various ecclesiastics in their proper dresses, made a splendid entrance into Windsor July 3*rd*, attended by the Lord Chancellor's coach, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Treasurer, the Bishops of Durham and Chester &c. And some time "this (*l*) year the Pope's Nuntio came to Bristol, and dined at the three Tons tavern in Corn-street."

§ 12. No difficulties or dangers could divert the King from his settled purpose to introduce Popery and despotism into England. For this purpose, beside other means, the attack on the Corporations was continued or renewed. It was mentioned above, XXX § 28, that in the new charter granted to this city, a power was reserved to the crown of displacing any officer of the corporation. The King was persuaded to exert this power at this time; to remove many of the common-council, "who would not consent to abolish the penal laws," and to substitute others, although one of the MSS says that the persons substituted were of different opinions. The (*m*) contriver and manager of the whole plot was Nathaniel Wade, barrister at law, a crafty and intriguing man, who arrived from London Feb' 2, 1687-8, bringing with him the *Corporation purge*, as it was ludicrously called. Feb' 4 he delivered to the Mayor a Special Commission under the Privy Seal, whereby the Mayor and Sheriffs (having been in office only four months) six Aldermen, the Town-clerk, and eighteen Common-councilmen were displaced. The Order of Council was as follows: "*At* (*n*) *the Court at* Whitehall, *Jan*' 13, 1687. *By the King's most excellent Majesty and the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy-council.* Whereas by the Charter"

(*l*)(*m*) MS Calendars. (*n*) Copied from the old translation of the Charters.

"granted to the city of Bristol, a power is reserved to his Majesty, by his Order in Council to remove from their employments any officers in the said city, his Majesty in Council is pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered that Richard Lane, *Mayor*,—William Swymmer, John Hickes, Sir William Clutterbuck, Abraham Saunders, John Coombes, and Tho' Easton, *Aldermen*,—Samuel Wallis and John Sandford, *Sheriffs*,—John Romsey, *Town-clerk*,—Edmund Arundell, Nathaniel Driver, Giles Merrick, James Twyford, George Hart, John Olliffe, Robert Dowding, John Bradway, Henry Coombes, Marmaduke Bowdler, John Hollister, James Pope, John Yeamans, Richard Gibbons, John Seward, John Whiting, Geo' Morgan, and Edward Tocknell, *late Sheriffs*, *Common-councilmen*, be, and they are hereby removed and displaced from their aforesaid offices in the said city of Bristol."

"WILLIAM BRIDGEMAN."

"Mr. Wade then produced a second Order, whereby the vacant places were filled up."

"*To our trusty and well-beloved the Aldermen and Corporation of our city of Bristol.*"

"JAMES, Rex. Trusty and well-beloved we greet you well. Whereas we have by our Order in Council thought fit to remove Richard Lane from being Mayor of that our city of Bristol [&c, the preceding removals are repeated] We have thought fit hereby to will and require you forthwith to elect and admit our trusty and well-beloved Thomas Day to be *Mayor*,—Michael Pope, mercer, Walter Stephens, William Jackson, William Brown, Humphry Crosley and Thomas Scrope to be *Aldermen*,—Thomas Saunders and John Hine to be *Sheriffs*,—Nathaniel Wade to be *Town-clerk*,—Henry Gibbs, William Donning, George White, Michael Pope, Joseph Jackson, Alex' Dolman, Peter Saunders, James Thomas, William Burges, William Whitehead, William Weaver, Thomas Saunders, John Grant, John Cary, John Curtis, Nathaniel Day and Joseph Burges to be *Common-council-men* of our said city, in the room of the persons above-mentioned, without administering unto them any oath or oaths, but the usual oath for the execution of their respective places, with which we are pleased to dispense in this behalf: and for so doing this shall be your warrant. And so we bid you farewell."

"Given at our Court at Whitehall the 14*th* day of Jan' 1687-8, in the third year of our reign." "By his Majesty's command,

"SUNDERLAND, P."

The following observations may be made on the preceding transaction. The contriver of all this mischief, Nathaniel Wade, was rewarded with the office of Town-clerk, although he had been actively engaged in Monmouth's rebellion; such was the perversity of the King's character and counsels. There are also some strange errors in these appointments, although they appear in an official form. Eighteen Common-council-men were removed, but only 17 are substituted; and Tho' Saunders, *Sheriff*, is again set down as *Common-council-man*, which reduces the number to 16. The MS Cal' make up the number 18 by adding Will' Burgess, *draper*, (the former being Wm' Burgess, *grocer)* and John Duddlestone. Our Calendars also set down Henry Gibbs, as one of the new Aldermen, making seven of them, and omitting his name among the Common-council-men. These variations however are of little moment: the principal fact is, that these removals took place on Feb' 4*th*, "and (*o*) accordingly most of the new Members attended the Mayor to College on Feb' 6*th*, which was kept as the day of the King's accession to the throne."

§ 13. "March 22 (*p*) a very high tide came up, which did great damage to the merchants' cellars: a boat came to the entrance of Baldwin-street; and in the country it drowned many cattle."

§ 14. "Jan' 29 a day of thanksgiving was kept here and in other places, for that the Queen was with child, and a form of prayer was made on purpose for it. Our Mayor went to the College, and there were many cannons fired, and much joy expressed. It was kept in London on the 15*th* day. And in June came news that the Queen was delivered of a son at St. James's, and he was called *the Prince of Wales*. We expressed a little joy here for it; but the 17*th* was appointed a day of rejoicing for it in London, and that day fortnight throughout the nation. Several great men were dispatched to Rome, France, Holland &c to give notice of this happy news: although at the same time many disbelieved this matter, and thought it only a trick to devolve the Crown to a Popish successor."

(*o*) (*p*) MS Cal'.

§ 15. The King's imprudence and misgovernment still continued in so great a degree, that the whole nation wished him to be restrained or removed; and numbers of the principal persons of the kingdom, Nobles and Commoners, joined in inviting the Prince of Orange to come over, and regulate the government. The Prince prepared for the enterprize, and the rumour of his preparations at last alarmed King James, and he began to think of some alteration of his conduct. Beside many other retrograde steps and tokens of amendment, he restored to their original situation all the corporations, whose charters had been seized during the late and present reigns. The Proclamation was as follows.

§ 16. "JAMES *Rex*. Whereas (*p*) we are informed that several deeds of surrender, which have been lately made by several Corporations and Bodies Corporate, of and in our cities and towns within our kingdom of England, and dominion of Wales, of their charters, franchises, and privileges, are not yet recorded or enrolled; and that upon the proceedings and rules for judgement, which have lately been had upon the *Quo Warranto's*, or informations in nature of a *Quo Warranto*, judgements are not yet entered upon record; whereupon, notwithstanding new charters have been granted in the reign of our late dear brother, and in our reign, which said deeds (being not enrolled or recorded) do not amount unto, or in law make any surrender of the charters, franchises, or liberties therein mentioned; and such of the said corporations, or bodies politick, against which rules for judgement have been made in the life-time of our late dear brother, or since, in our Court of King's Bench (but no judgements entered upon record) are not discorporate or dissolved; and that it is in our power to leave such corporations in the same estate and condition they were in, and to discharge all further proceedings and effects, that may be, of such rules for judgement, and deeds of surrender: WE do hereby publish and declare, that upon due search and examination made, we have satisfaction, that the deeds of surrender made by the corporations, and bodies politick, of the said cities and towns, except the corporations following, that is to say Thetford, Nottingham, Bridgewater, Ludlow, Bewdley, Beverley, Tewkesbury, Exeter, Doncaster, Colchester, Winchester, Launceston, Liskard, Plimton, Tregoney, Plymouth, Dunwich, St. Ives, Fowy, East Lowe, Camelford, West Lowe, Tintegall, Penryn, Truro, Bodmin, Hadleigh, Lestwithiel, and Saltash, are not enrolled or recorded in any of our Courts; and that although the rules for judgements have passed upon information in nature of a *Quo Warranto*, against the Corporations, and bodies politick, of several cities and towns in our said kingdom and dominions, yet no judgements have been, or are entered upon record upon any such informations, except against the city of London, Chester, Calne, St. Ives, Pool, York, Thaxted, Kanghour, and Malmesbury: and we of our mere grace, and favour, being resolved to restore, and put all our cities, towns, and boroughs in England and Wales, and also our town of Berwick upon Tweed, into the same state and condition they were, and was, in our late dear brother's reign, before any deed of surrender was made of their charters or franchises, or proceedings against them, or the corporations, or bodies politick, in or of the said cities, towns, or boroughs, upon any *Quo Warranto* or informations in the nature of a *Quo Warranto*, had: We do hereby, therefore, publish, declare, direct and require, that"

(*p*) Copied exactly from the old Translation of the Charters.

"the said corporations, and bodies politick and corporate, of all the said cities, towns, and boroughs, whose deeds of surrender are not enrolled, nor judgements entered against them, as aforesaid, and the Mayors, Baillifs, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Common-council-men, Assistants, Recorders, Town-Clerks, Magistrates, Ministers, Officers, Freemen, and all and every other the members of, or in every of them respectively, upon the publication of this our proclamation, take on them, and proceed to act as a corporation, or body politick, and where places are vacant by death, or otherwise, to make elections, constitute, and fill up the same, (notwithstanding the usual days and times of elections, by the ancient charters and constitutions, shall happen to be past,) and to do, execute, and perform, all and every matter and thing, as they lawfully might, and ought to have done, if no such deeds of surrender, rules for judgements, or other proceedings, upon any such *Quo Warranto*, or informations, had been had or made. And for the better effecting our said intention, we have by order, made by us in Council, and under our sign manual; and we do also, by this our proclamation, made with the advice of our said Council, discharge, remove, and dismiss, all and every person and persons, of and from all offices and places of Mayors, Baillifs, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Council-men, Assistants, Recorder, Town-Clerk, and all and every office and place, which they or any of them, have or claim only by charter, patent, or grant, from our dear brother, or from our self, since the dates of the respective deeds of surrender, or rules for judgement, except such corporations, whose deeds of surrender are enrolled, or against whom judgement is entered; and that all and every such person and persons, deliver up into the hands and custody of the said persons hereby appointed, and intended to act and execute the said offices and places, all and every the charters, records, books, evidences, and matters, concerning the said respective corporations."

"And we do hereby further publish and declare, that we have caused all and every the said deeds of surrender, which can be found, to be delivered and put into the hands of our Attorney-general, to be by him cancelled and returned to the corporations, and bodies politick, of the respective cities and towns, whom they concern; and have also given to our said Attorney authority, and do hereby warrant and command him, not only to (*q*) proceed or enter judgement upon the said *Quo Warranto's*, or informations in nature of a *Quo Warranto*, or any of them, but to enter upon the respective records, *Noli Prosequi's*, and legal discharges thereof. And we do hereby publish and declare our further grace and favour to the said city, corporations, and boroughs, at any time hereafter, by any further act, to grant, confirm, or restore, unto them, all their charters, liberties, franchises, and privileges, that at the respective times of such deeds of surrender, or rules for judgement, made or given, they held, or enjoyed. And in order to the perfecting our said gracious intentions, we do hereby likewise publish and declare our Royal will and pleasure, as for and concerning the restoring to such of our cities, corporations, and boroughs, within our said kingdom and dominion, which have made deeds of surrender, or have had judgement given against them, (which surrenders and judgements are entered of record,) that our Chancellor, Attorney-general, and Solicitor-general, without fees to any office or officers whatsoever, upon application to them made, shall, and they are hereby required to prepare and pass charters, instruments, grants, and letters patents, for the incorporating, re-granting, confirming, and restoring, to all and every the said cities, corporations, and boroughs, their respective charters, liberties, rights, franchises, and privileges, and for restoring the respective Mayors, Bailiffs, Recorders, Sheriffs, Town-Clerks, Aldermen, Common-council-men, Assistants, Officers, Magistrates, Ministers, and Freemen, as were of such cities, corporations, or boroughs, at the time of such deeds of surrender, or judgements respectively given, or had; and for the putting them into the same state, condition, and plight, they were in at the times of such deeds of surrender, or judgements made or given. And whereas divers boroughs, that were not heretofore corpora-"

(*q*) *Read* not only not to proceed.

"tions, have since the year 1679, had charters of incorporation granted and passed unto them, we hereby further express and declare our royal pleasure, to determine and annul the said last mentioned charters and corporations; and to that end, we have, in pursuance to the power reserved in the said charters, by our order in Council and under our sign manual, removed and discharged; and we do also, by this our proclamation, made with the advice of our said Council, remove and discharge all and every person, of or in the said last mentioned corporations, of and from all offices, and places of Mayors, Bailiffs, Recorders, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Common-council-men, Assistants, and of and from all and every other office and place, from which we have power reserved by the said charters respectively to remove or discharge them. And we do hereby promise and declare, that we will do, and consent to all such acts, matters, and things, as shall be necessary to render these our gracious intentions and purposes effectual, it being our gracious intention to call a Parliament as soon as the general disturbance of our kingdom, by the intended invasion, will admit thereof."

"Given at our Court at Whitehall the 17*th* day of October, 1688, in the fourth year of our reign.

"GOD SAVE THE KING."

"This proclamation was printed by Charles Bill, Henry Hills, and Thomas Newcomb, 1688."

§ 17. "On (*r*) Oct' 22 the Duke of Beaufort arrived in Bristol," [and probably brought with him instructions, how the foregoing proclamation was to be carried into effect, for] "next day the Common-council met, to act by their old charter, which was now to be restored; and those members, who were lately turned out, were to be reinstated and the new members removed. At this meeting the Mayor was re-elected; but the Sheriffs, who had been in office not quite a month, were removed; and the other alterations were made. The Duke of Beaufort continued here still and one company of militia watched from time to time, and the discourse concerning the Prince of Orange still continued."

§ 18. The King's concessions were unfortunately for him too late. On Nov' 4 and 5, 1688, William Prince of Orange, with the approbation of almost the whole kingdom, landed at Torbay with a Dutch army of about 14000 men and immediately marched to Exeter. A very aged woman told the author of these Memoirs when a boy, that she well remembered, that the event was made known in Bristol by half-penny papers cried about the streets, as is usual at the present time. After a continuance in Exeter of about ten days, he advanced to Sherborne to meet the King's army; at which time the possession of Bristol was of

(*r*) MS' Calendars.

great importance; for if any serious opposition had been made, it was supposed that he meant to retire thither. We are told (*s*) that his design was to have secured Bristol and Glocester, that so the whole West might have been in his hands, if there had been any appearance of a stand to be made against him by the King and his army. For this purpose Charles Earl of Shrewsbury, who came over with the Prince, and Sir John Guise, who had received a commission from him for raising a regiment, were sent to secure this important place. The Duke of Beaufort commanded here, as was mentioned above; but finding the inclination of the citizens to be wholly adverse to his cause, he hastily retired, and the city declared for the Prince. One of our Calendars is as follows. "A regiment of foot marched into Bristol Dec' 1*st* commanded by Sir John Guise, and with them a troop of Dutch and a troop of English dragoons: they stayed here three or four days, and then went to Gloucester. The Duke of Beaufort, hearing of their coming, went hence some small time before, not staying to dine. Soon after came hither Lord Delamere with six troops of horse being most of them on their own account. He declared for the Prince of Orange and the Protestant religion, which was now very low: and the nobility and gentry in many places entered into an association for the defence of their religion and the established laws &c."

§ 19. King James finally quitted England on December 31, 1688, leaving his kingdom without any government; whereupon the Prince of Orange summoned a Convention in the nature of a Parliament. "Jan' 11, 1689, (*t*) began an election in this city for two persons to be sent to the Convention: and Sir Richard Hart and Sir John Knight were elected." The Convention met Jan' 22, 1689, and resolved, that King James had abdicated the throne: and on February 13 the kingdom was transferred to William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange.

(*s*) Burnet, Vol' 1, p' 793, apud Ralph's Hist' Vol' 2, p' 1050. (*t*) MS Cal'.

End of Chapter XXXI.

CHAPTER XXXII.

KING WILLIAM AND QUEEN MARY.

1. *Proclamation.*—2. *War in Ireland: Bristol the passage to and from Ireland.*—3. *War with France. Lord Lieutenant in Bristol.*—4. *Earthquakes.*—5. *Riotous Soldiers.*—6. *King William gains the battle of the Boyne; returns to England and passes through Bristol.*—7. *A new Parliament.*—8. *Sir John Knight haranguing against the naturalization Bill.*—9. *An Eagle.*—10. *The Queen's decease.*—11. *Murderers executed.*—12. *Great Re-Coinage.*—13. *Great Flood.*—14. *Peace of Ryswic proclaimed.*—15. *Price of Corn &c.*—16. *Houses built of Brick.*—17. *The Mayor at Redcliffe Church.*—18. *Distemper among Horses.*—19. *Queen's Square built.*—20. *Decease of King William.*

§ 1. "KING (*a*) William and Queen Mary were proclaimed in Bristol Feb' 18, 1688-9, with the usual solemnity."

§ 2. The Protestants in Ireland were at that time in a lamentable condition. The Earl of Tyrconnel being Lord Lieutenant, a Papist with a Popish army declaring in favour of King James, "had (*b*) disarmed the Protestants and mightily oppressed them; which caused great numbers to come to England fearing a massacre. On March 19*th* three vessels arrived in Bristol from thence, and brought much people with them, who said that King James was come to Ireland, being brought thither by 25 French men of war." He landed at Kinsale on March 12, and with a French and Irish army marched against the Protestants in the North, who stood on their defence; at which time happened the memorable siege of Londonderry. King William began to send troops to Ireland against King James and the Papists: "April 27 (*c*) came to Bristol two regiments of new raised soldiers to go to Ireland. Nevertheless it was the"

(*a*) (*b*) (*c*) MS' Cal'.

middle of August before the main army under Duke Schomberg passed over into Ireland, and this year very little progress was made in the war; for the army dwindled away, and great numbers died, being mostly raw soldiers, and ill provided with necessaries."

§ 3. Hostilities began between the French and English on May 2 by an engagement between the two fleets in Bantry Bay. "Thursday before (*d*) Michaelmas day came hither the Earl of Marshfield our Lord Lieutenant; after which we had the militia officers."

§ 4. "At (*e*) midnight March 3--4 an earthquake was felt in Bristol and several other places. And another likewise on Oct' *7th* following."

§ 5. "Col' Foukes's (*f*) regiment marched here April 10*th* to be shipped for Ireland. Being drawn up in the College Green, the grenadiers refused to take up their arms, until they had their pay: on which they had three shillings each. But not being yet content, nor taking up their arms, the Colonel and Mayor cut two or three of them, and were going to hang one; on which one after another they took up their arms. Col' Talmarsh's regiment went at the same time."

§ 6. In June 1690 King William landed in Ireland, and on July 1*st* was fought the battle of the Boyne, whereby the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland was secured, and the hopes of popery and despotism overthrown. King James immediately quitted the kingdom and retired into France, while King William continued the war in Ireland with tolerable success. He was however obliged to leave that kingdom before the war was concluded; and embarking at Waterford "with (*g*) George Prince of Denmark and others, he arrived Sept' 6*th* in Kingroad, and landing [no doubt at Shirehampton ferry] he went to Kingweston, the house of Sir Robert Southwell, [ancestor in the fourth degree of the present Lord De Clifford, who was Secretary of State for Ireland, and had been attendant on the King during the campaign, and probably returned with with him.] There he lay that night, and next day went thence in the"

(*d*) (*e*) (*f*) (*g*) MS Calendars.

"Duke of Beaufort's coach, and passed through Bristol, being received by the Mayor, Aldermen &c, according to the accustomed manner at Frome-gate: [for it must be remembered that at that time the only way into the city from Durdham Down was down St. Michael's-hill and Stipe-street.] The Mayor &c walked before him in their scarlet gowns bare-headed all through the city to Lawford's-gate, where they took leave of him, his Majesty being then going to Badminton to the Duke of Beaufort's: so that he made no stay in this city, not so much as to alight from his coach." It is traditionally reported that in going to Badminton he passed through Pucklechurch, and that a part of the churchyard wall was taken down in order to widen the road by which he was to pass.

§ 7. The Convention Parl' was dissolved by the King's Proclamation, Feb' 6, 1690-1, and a New Parl' summoned to meet March 20. It is plain that the High or Tory party prevailed in the city at that time; for Sir Richard Hart, Knt. and Sir John Knight, Knt. were re-elected Burgesses of Parl': and the majority of persons elected throughout the kingdom were of the same description.

§ 8. A Bill was this year brought into the House of Commons for a general naturalization of all foreign Protestants. This Bill was much promoted by the ministry and the court party, and vehemently opposed by the tories, who argued that (*h*) the real design "of the bill was to make such an accession to the dissenters, as would render them an equal match in the body politic for those of the church of England; to create a greater dependence on the crown: in a word, to supply a foreign head with foreign members" The arguments on both sides may be seen in the author just quoted; the matter is mentioned here because Sir John Knight, Member for Bristol, had a considerable share in the debate. In (*i*) a speech upon this subject he exaggerated the bad consequences that would attend such a bill, with all the wit and violence of satire: it was printed and dispersed through the kingdom, and raised such a flame among the people, as had not appeared since the Revolution. They exclaimed that all offices would be conferred upon Dutchmen, who

(*h*) Smollett's Contin' Parl' History, vol. 5. p' 850. (*i*) Smollett's Continuat'

would become *Lord-danes*, and prescribe the modes of religion and government; and they extolled Sir John Knight as the preserver of the nation. The courtiers incensed at the progress of this clamour, complained in the house of the speech which had been printed, and Sir John was threatened with expulsion and imprisonment. He therefore thought proper to disown the paper, which was burned in Palace-yard, by the hands of the common hangman. This sacrifice served only to encrease the popular disturbance, which rose to such a height of violence, that the court party began to tremble: and the bill was dropped for the present.

§ 9. "In (*k*) November 1693 or 1694 an eagle was shot in Sir John Smith's park at Long Ashton by the keeper."

§ 10. Queen Mary died Dec' 28, 1694, of the small-pox with the universal regret of the nation. She was not buried until March *5th* following, at which time "the (*l*) high-cross was hung with mourning from top to bottom, and all the great bells in this city tolled three distinct hours, from 9 to 10, from 2 to 3, and from 4 to 5 o'clock."

§ 11. "At (*m*) the assizes in August 1695, two colliers were hanged for a murder committed by them a year ago on a stranger behind St. James's church going up the hill."

§ 12. This year, 1696, began the great recoinage of silver money. The state of the silver coin for many years past had been miserably bad, being so reduced in size by clipping, that some of it was only half it's value, "sixteen (*n*) shillings of it being weighed against one of King Charles's milled crowns, and found wanting:" and the guinea commonly passed for 30 and 31 shillings, although the legal value was 21 *s* and 6 *d*. "In (*o*) June last year a great discovery was made here in Bristol of clippers and coiners of money; and some were committed to Newgate and some were sent to Gloucester. One Mrs. Scarlett in particular was condemned at the last August assizes to be burned for this offence, but was reprieved, and afterwards made her escape." These disorders in the

(*k*) (*l*) (*m*) (*n*) (*o*) MS Calendars.

coin occupied much of the attention of Parliament, for they produced very ill effects on all money transactions with foreign countries, particularly in the payment of the troops abroad, and produced serious discontents at home, much aggravated by the friends of the late King, who hated the present government. It was at last determined to recoin all the silver money, and that the work might proceed the faster, mints were set up in Chester, York, Norwich, Bristol and Exeter; beside those in London. "For this purpose the sugar-house behind St. Peter's church [now the Hospital for the Poor] was fitted up, and on the 12*th* of Sept' 1696, they began to coin, and then the old coin was not allowed to pass, unless the greater part of the letters were legible, except sixpences which were allowed to pass, if not clipt in the innermost ring. The mint allowed 5 *s*, 8*d*, per ounce paid in new coin for old money and for plate, great quantities of which latter were brought in. The work went on briskly: our mint coined £2000 some weeks, and other mints after the same rate; so that new money came about sooner than was expected, and the guinea soon became current at 22 *s*. They coined here during 1696 and 1697, and then left off, having coined 450,000 £; all which money has the letter B under the head: and then the house was purchased by the Guardians of the Poor, therein to employ the poor and youth of this city in spinning and weaving cotton;" but the house is commonly called *the Mint* to this day. "In order to defray the expence of this coinage, a tax was laid on windows."

§ 13. "In (*q*) the month of July were uncommon rains, which continued without ceasing from Thursday the 9*th* in the afternoon, until Sunday morning, causing so great a fresh in the rivers here, that great quantities of hay were carried down and lost."

§ 14. "After (*r*) almost 9 years cruel and bloody war with France, a happy and honourable peace was concluded at Ryswick, on the 10*th* of Sept' 1697, which was proclaimed in London Oct' 19*th*, and in Bristol on the 29*th*, by the Sheriffs, at five distinct places; viz, at the High Cross,"

(*q*) (*r*) MS Calendars.

"St. Peter's Cross, Temple Cross, St. Thomas Pipe, and the Kay Pipe. They were accompanied to each place by the Mayor and Common Council, together with the Deputy Lieutenants, Militia, Constables, &c.; and at each proclamation were several vollies of small shot fired by the militia, who were answered by the cannon in the Marsh and on the Kay, there mounted for that purpose, with great acclamations, ringing of bells, waits playing, drums beating, trumpets sounding, colours flying, and conduits running with wine. There were few of our churches, if any, which had not on their towers and steeples some signal colours or flags; as also had the ships and the house tops of several of the citizens; and the evening was concluded with bonfires and an *almost* universal illumination." From this last expression it is plain that the peace was not approved of by all in this city; and one of the Calendars mentioning an event in the last summer, which seemed likely to retard the peace, adds (*s*) "which many people here did hope; but blessed be God, it fell out otherwise, although against their wills." And when news of the peace arrived here on Sept' 16*th*, the same Calendar adds, "of which we had great joy and great sorrow."

§ 15. A plentiful harvest in the year 1697. "Early (*t*) in the spring of the year 1698, wheat was at 8*s* and 9*s* per bushel, malt at 4*s*, 6*d*, and oats at 2*s*: but in April it was cheaper; the best wheat was sold at 7*s*." "A very cold and backward season: on the 3*d* of May it hailed and snowed very much all over England."

§ 16. "This (*u*) year, 1698, [or perhaps 1699] a pile of brick building was erected on the Broad-kay, the first brick building in this city."

§ 17. "On (*v*) May 29 the Mayor usually went to College, attended by the companies in their formalities; but this year he went to Redcliffe church, as the late Mayor, Mr. Hine, on the like occasion in his year went to the Temple church. The former was occasioned by some difference."

(*s*) (*t*) MS Calendars. (*u*) Rob' Ricart & alii. (*v*) MS Cal'.

§ 18. "In (*w*) 1699, between March and June was a strange and universal distemper among horses, attended with a running at the nose. Almost all the horses in the land were sick and many died. On this account they were sold very cheap: one farrier bought seven horses, with their saddles, for seven pounds."

§ 19. "This (*x*) year, 1699, Queen's-square began to be built in the Marsh."

§ 20. King William died March 8, 1701-2.

(*w*) (*x*) MS Cal'.

End of Chapter XXXII.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

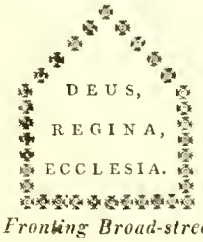
QUEEN ANNE.

1. *The Queen's Proclamation and Coronation.*—2. *War with France and Spain.*—3. *The Queen visits Bristol,*—4. *and Bath.*—5. *Prodigious Storm.*—6. *Singular Tide.*—7. *Severe Winter: Scarcity: Riots.*—8. *Epidemic Disease.*—9. *The Privateers Duke and Duchess.*—10. *A new Charter.*—11. *The Peace of Utrecht.*—12. *Election of M' P'.*—13. *Queen Anne deceased.*

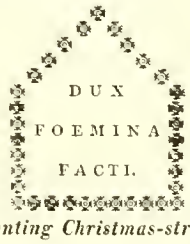
§ 1. ON the same day whereon the late King deceased, Queen Anne was proclaimed in London; and (*a*) on March 12 she was proclaimed in Bristol by the Sheriffs with great solemnity. April 23 she was crowned with the usual ceremonies; and on that same day her coronation was celebrated in this city in a very triumphant and extraordinary manner, as follows. The Mayor and Aldermen in their scarlet gowns with the rest of the Common-council and many of the chief citizens went to the College to hear a sermon; before whom marched the militia bravely armed; after them followed the hospital and mint boys in their blue gowns and coats, with bonnets on their heads, very delightful to behold. Then came the several companies of tradesmen with their proper colours and badges in comely order. Then followed 24 maidens dressed in night-rails and white hoods with fans in their hands, being led by a comely young woman dressed in close white apparel, wearing a wig, hat and feather, carrying in her hand a half-pike, as their captain. Then followed the Mayor and Magistrates as before mentioned, having divers trumpets sounding before them, and the constables of every ward with their staves of office, attending to suppress all disorders which might happen by the extraordinary concourse of people, not only of citizens but of country people round about, who came to be spectators. After the Common-council, at a convenient distance, followed the mint-maids

(*a*) MS Calalendars.

dressed in blue, attended by their overseers: then the hospital-maids, clad in their red apparell with very clean and white linen night-caps, each carrying in her hand a sprig of holly and box gilded. After them followed eight young men in holland shirts, with knots of ribbon on their shoulders, with this inscription, *God save the Queen*, carrying in their hands naked swords, and wearing in their hats coronets of gilded laurel, preceded by two drummers. After them followed 24 damsels in white sarsnet scarfs and hoods, wearing in their dresses and on their bosoms knots of ribbon, white, green and red, each of them with a gilt bow and arrow in her hand. Next to them followed several citizens daughters of chief note, sumptuously apparelled, wearing knotts also of the above-mentioned colours, and branches of laurel in their bosom, with this motto, *God save Queen Anne:* the two last of them supported a crown richly adorned. Then came Madam Mayoress attended by the Magistrates wives very splendidly apparelled, having the city music sweetly playing before them. The battlements of the churches were hung with scarlet cloth, and the towers had flags and streamers, and the crosses were dressed with the same furniture. All the conduits and gates and church porches were adorned with flowers and gilded branches, curiously wrought into a variety of figures, particularly St. Stephen's porch and St. John's gate: over the arch of the former was this motto, *God save Queen Anne*, curiously worked with a variety of small flowers on a bed [*al'* bank] of Camomile: over that were the arms of England neatly framed with the like odoriferous materials, and a crown above worked also with flowers; on each side was a mitre worked in the same manner: the charge of adorning this porch was said to be £30. St. John's gate was curiously adorned with flowers and branches of gilded laurel on both sides: also over the middle of the arch, on both sides the gate, was set a crown of mitres; and underneath each crown hung a table thus



Fronting Broad-street.



Fronting Christmas-street.

The houses in the chief part of the city were splendidly adorned with arras and costly drapery of several devices; and in almost every place the street was decked with branches and gilded sprigs, sweet flowers, crowns and garlands, many of which were valuable. The ships also were not without their signals of joy, having their wast cloths, streamers and auncients displayed. Ringing of bells, discharging of great ordnance with many vollies of small shot were not wanting; and in divers parts of the city wine freely ran for any, that could catch it. And toward the evening of the day appeared in the streets a company of young men in their holland shirts, distinct from the aforesaid former company, carrying also in one hand naked swords, and in the other leading as many young women, apparelled in white waistcoats and red petticoats, wearing their night head dress and large straw hats. Also suddenly came a multitude of the more robust people, bearing aloft the effigy of the Pope, represented by an old man sitting in a chair, having a long beard, and very white strait locks, wearing on his head a triple crown, holding in his right hand a crosier staff, having a scarlet mantle on his shoulders fringed with a seeming white fur, his vestment and breeches being of white linen. Before him were borne divers crosses and implements by his attendants and officers, many of whom wore vizards of ghastly aspect. Likewise was rung by a certain officer a small tinkling bell, to give notice of his approach. And at last to close the solemnity, the night was, as it were, turned into day by the numerous lights in the windows of almost every house, and the great bonfires in the streets, wherein at last the Pope and all his trinkets were consumed.

§2. The late King at the time of his death was preparing for a war with Lewis XIV King of France, whose excessive power and ambition threatened the independence of all other countries. Queen Anne continued the same policy, and war against France and Spain was declared in London May 4, 1702.(*b*) Here in Bristol it was proclaimed May 18 at the High-cross and other usual places by the two Sheriffs in their scarlet gowns, attended by the Mayor and Aldermen in their scarlet gowns also; the drummers of the militia with their drums beating, the

(*b*) MS Calendars.

serjeants with their halberts advanced, the lieutenants, captains and deputy-lieutenants with their naked swords in their hands going before them.

§ 3. On the 28*th* of August 1702, Queen Anne came to Bath; and on Thursday Sept' 1, the Mayor and several Aldermen with the Sheriffs and Town-clerk rode thither to compliment her on her arrival in this part of the kingdom, and to invite her to the city of Bristol: and on the following Thursday, 3*d* Sept', her Majesty accompanied by Prince George came hither, attended by divers of the Nobility, and was met on the road by a great number of the principal citizens on horseback, and received at Lawford's-gate by the Mayor and Aldermen with the accustomed ceremonies. The Mayor alighted off his horse, and made a very loyal speech, expressing the great satisfaction of the city in the honour of her Majesty and his royal Highness's presence. After which he delivered the keys of the city gates to her Majesty, which she immediately returned: and then the sword in like manner. He then mounted his horse and conducted her Majesty through the Old-market, one side of which was guarded by those citizens on horseback, who had met her Majesty, among whom were about 60 [*alii* 100] of such as were or had been commanders of ships, who were distinguished from the rest by knots of red ribbon in their hats, led up by Capt' Price with trumpets: the other side of the Old Market was guarded by a great number of citizens on foot, under the command of Major Wade. There were a great many scaffolds on both sides, which as well as the windows of the houses were filled with persons of the best fashion, as were likewise those of the other streets through which her Majesty passed, all adorned with carpets and tapestry. The city music was placed on the market-house [in the middle of Wine-street]; a triumphal arch was erected at St. Nicholas-gate, adorned with greens and flowers, with a flag on the top. After the sea-captains mentioned above followed 12 coaches belonging to the nobility and gentry, drawn by six horses each. Then came her Majesty, having great part of her guards before her coach, and part of them following it: she was clothed in purple, being her mourning apparel for the late King William: also her coaches and the trappings of her horses were black, and so likewise were those of the nobility, who were with the Queen. In

her coach rode her husband Prince George, and two ladies of honour. Then came 18 ministers of this city, riding bare-headed ; and after them the Common-council in their gowns, followed by the Mayor and Aldermen, who were bravely mounted, having on their scarlet gowns, and all riding bareheaded, the Mayor being hindmost, next to the Queen's coach, carrying in his hand the pearl sword. In this manner was her Majesty conducted to Sir Thomas Day's *great house* at the Bridge-end. Before dinner she was pleased to admit Mrs. Mayoress, and other ladies and gentlewomen to the honor of kissing her hand, and to confer the honour of knighthood on John Hawkins, Esq' Mayor. The Aldermen, Sheriffs, Common-council, and other principal citizens, and gentlemen of the neighbouring country, had also the honor to kiss her hand. While her Majesty, his Royal Highness, and the whole Court were splendidly entertained at dinner, 100 cannon mounted in the Marsh for that purpose, and all the cannon from the ships at the quays were fired, and the bells were ringing all the time. Her Majesty's Guards were dismissed, and sent to the quarters appointed for them, where they were entertained at the city's charge, her Majesty being guarded by the citizens in arms. All the churches and towers were adorned with flags, the ships in the port hung out their flags and pendants, and fired their guns incessantly ; and every one strove to give demonstrations of their joy for her Majesty's presence, and of their duty and loyalty to her. After which her Majesty and the Prince returned in the evening to Bath ; where on the 6*th* a Proclamation was signed for proroguing the Parliament, which was to have met on the 8*th* of Oct', to the 20*th* of the same month.

§ 4. Next (*c*) year also [1703] the Queen and Prince George being at Bath, the Mayor, Aldermen and Town Clerk of this city waited on her Majesty there, when she was pleased to confer the honour of Knighthood on Mr. Lewis, the Mayor.

§ 5. On Midsummer day, 1703, a very great storm of hail and rain fell in this city, the like to which had not happened within memory. In the night between Friday and Saturday, the 26*th* and 27*th* of November,

(*c*) MS Calendars.

"1703 (*c*) there arose such a furious tempest from W to S W, as was never before known in this kingdom by any persons living: the effects of which proved an extraordinary damage to this nation both by sea and land. Abundance of boats and merchant ships were destroyed, and many of the great ships of our royal navy were lost, some stranded and others greatly damaged, and about 1000 men belonging to them perished. On land trees were torn up by the roots, and chimneys were overturned, and divers persons by their fall lost their lives, particularly the Lord Bishop Kidder and his Lady were both killed in their palace at Wells, as they lay in bed. Great was the damage this city sustained in ships, churches and houses, particularly the College and St. Stephen's church; the last of which had three of its pinnacles blown down, which fell to the ground through the roof of the body of the church, carrying the clock with them, and broke the brass eagle and candlestick, and great part of the windows. It blew in two great windows of the College church, the one over the door at the south [north] aile, the other at the west end of the middle aile: it threw down the jack of the clock-house, and did other damage. It ripped off the lead of St. Philip's, and wrapped it up like a piece of folded cloth, and did much damage to other churches in Bristol, untiling houses, and blowing down chimneys and windows, so that there was scarcely a house in the town which did not suffer some damage, and it blew down most of the trees in and about the city. But much greater damage was suffered here by the inundation of the sea water, which was brought up the river by the violence of the wind, in vast quantity; and meeting the fresh water, which was more than usual, by reason of the late rains, it suddenly swelled to that height, that the streets, shops, and cellars in the low parts were overflowed thereby, in fact half the city was under water. It rose at the bridge about two feet, and a boat might have sailed in Temple-street from one end to the other, the water running in at Countess-slip and also at Temple-gate. At the end of Baldwin-street nearest to the Back it was two feet high; and a vessel of 50 tons was brought up on the Quay wall. The loss to the city was computed at £100,000, the warehouses and cellars being unusually"

(*c*) MS Calendars.

"full; for it happened most unfortunately, that there was never known so great a quantity of sugar, tobacco, &c. accumulated in the city, as at this time. Great loss was also sustained by those who lived on the banks of the Severn and the Channel: for the sea broke down the banks, and overflowed all the low lands; 2,000 sheep were supposed to have been drowned, but the black cattle for the most part saved themselves: the inhabitants took refuge in the upper rooms of their houses, where some remained for a week, and some upon trees, from whence they were brought off by boats sent from the city in waggons. There was one girl who had got on the house top; the house was entirely washed away, and her father and mother was drowned with others, who were in it. She was carried by the water a great distance from thence, and took hold on the limb of a tree, and there continued, till she was fetched off. Almost every house in that neighbourhood [Henbury] was stripped of it's covering, and the country did not produce helm sufficient for the repair of the roofs for two years afterwards, and the price of it rose to 20*sh*' a dozen. This tempest extended to Flanders, Holland, and France, doing great damage there also." One MS Calendar says, that the new moon happened at 48 *min*' after 3 in the same evening, at which hour the sun was eclipsed: but there may be some error in this account; for I do not find this eclipse in the Tables in *L'art de verifier les dates*, nor in Ferguson's Tables.

This tempest was so extraordinary, that Daniel De Foe, the celebrated author of Robinson Crusoe, made a collection of the several circumstances attending it, as well in London as in other parts of England, and by sea as well as by land, which he published in 8*vo*. It is a curious history, and some few particulars are here copied. "It had blown exceedingly hard for about fourteen days past; and so hard that we thought it terrible weather; several stacks of chimneys were blown down, and several ships were lost, and the tiles in many places were blown off from the houses; and the nearer it came to the fatal 26*th* Nov' the tempestuousness of the weather increased. - - - - It did not blow so hard till 12 o'clock at night, but that most families went to bed, though many of them not without some concern at the terrible wind which then blew; but about one, or at least by two o'clock, it is supposed few people that"

" were capable of any sense of danger, were so hardy as to lie in bed, and the fury of the tempest increased to such a degree, that most people expected the fall of their houses. - - - - At this rate it held blowing till Wednesday, about one o'clock in the afternoon, which was that day seven-night on which it began ; so that it might be called one continued storm from Wednesday noon to Wednesday noon ; in all which time there was not one interval of time in which a sailor would not have acknowledged that it blew a storm ; and in that time two such terrible nights as I have described."

The account from Berkeley is, that the sea wall was beaten down, and the materials forced far from the shore, and the tide let in above a mile into the parish ; and that " 26 sheets of lead hanging all together were blown off from the middle aile of our church, and carried over the north aile, which is a very large one, without touching it, and into the church-yard ten yards distant from the church ; and they were taken up, all joined together as they were on the roof: the sheets weighed each three hundred and a half one with another."

" The damages done by the tide on the banks of the Severn amount to above £200,000, 15,000 sheep drowned in one level, and multitudes of cattle on all the sides: and the covering the lands with salt water is a damage, which cannot well be estimated. The high tide at Bristol spoiled or dammified 1500 hogsheads of sugars and tobaccoes, beside great quantities of other goods. Gloucestershire too, that borders on Severn, hath suffered deeply on the forest of Dean side, but nothing in comparison of the other shore, from about Harlingham, down to the mouth of Bristol River Avon: particularly from Aust Cliffe to the river's mouth (about 8 miles) all that flat, called *the Marsh*, was drowned. They lost many sheep and cattle. About 70 seamen were drowned out of the Canterbury storeship, and other ships that were stranded or wrecked. The Arundel man of war, Suffolk and Canterbury storeships, a French prize, and a Dane, were driven ashore and damnified ; but the Arundel and the Danish ship are got off, the rest remain on ground. The Richard and John of about 500 tons, newly come into Kingroad from Virginia, was staved. The Shoram rode it out in Kingroad ; but I suppose you"

" may have a more perfect account of these things from Bristol. But one thing yet is to be remembered. One *Nelmes* of that country, as I hear his name, was carried away with his wife and four children, and house and all, and were all lost, save one girl, who caught hold of a bough, and was preserved. There was another unfortunate accident yet in these parts. One Mr. Churchman, who keeps the inns at Betesley [Beachly], a passage over the Severn, and had a share in the passing-boats, seeing a single man tossed in a wood-buss off in the river, prevailed with some belonging to the customs to carry himself and one of his sons and two servants aboard the boat, which they did, and the officers desired Mr. Churchman to take out the man and come ashore with them in their pinnace. But he willing to save the boat as well as the man tarried aboard, and some time after hoisting sail, the boat overset, and they were all drowned, *viz*, the man in the boat, Mr. Churchman, his son and two servants, and much lamented, especially Mr. Churchman and his son, who were persons very useful in their neighbourhood. This happened on Saturday about 11 of the clock."

Further account from Bristol. " On Saturday 27*th* Nov' last, between the hours of one and two in the morning arose a most prodigious storm of wind, which continued with very little intermission for the space of six hours, in which time it very much shattered the buildings, public and private, by uncovering the houses, throwing down the chimneys, breaking the glass windows, overthrowing the pinnacles and battlements of the churches, and blowing off the leads." The churches in particular felt the fury of the storm. St. Stephen's tower had three pinnacles blown off, which beat down the greatest part of the church. The Cathedral is likewise very much defaced, two of its windows and several battlements being blown away, and indeed most churches in the city felt its force more or less: it also blew down numbess of great trees in the Marsh, College-green, St. James's church-yard, and other places in the city. And in the country it blew down and scattered abundance of hay and corn mows, besides almost levelling many orchards and groves of stout trees. But the greatest damage done to the city was the violent overflowing of the tide occasioned by the force of the wind, which flowed an extraordinary height, and did abundance of damage to the merchant's"

"cellars. It broke in with great fury over the Marsh country, forcing down the banks or sea walls, drowning abundance of sheep and other cattle, washing some houses clear away, and breaking down part of others, in which many persons lost their lives. It likewise drove most of the ships in Kingroad a considerable way upon the land, some being much shattered, and one large vessel broke all in pieces, and near all the men lost, besides several lost out of other vessels. To conclude, the damage sustained by this city alone in merchandize, houses, &c. is computed to £100,000, beside the great loss in the country, of cattle, corn, &c. which has utterly ruined many farmers, whose substance consisted in their stock aforesaid. - - - - The damages in the city of Gloucester they compute at £12,000. Above 15,000 sheep are drowned in the levels on the side of the Severn, and the sea-walls will cost, as these accounts tell us, £5000 to repair. All the country lies under water for 20 or 30 miles together on both sides, and the tide rose three feet higher than the tops of the banks. At Bristol they tell us that the tide filled their cellars, spoiled 1000 hogsheads of sugar, 1500 hogsheads of tobacco; and the damage they reckon at £100,000. Above 80 people were drowned in the marshes and river, several whole families perishing together. The harbour at Plymouth, the castle at Pendennis, the cathedral at Gloucester, the great church at Berkeley, the church of St. Stephen at Bristol, the churches of Blandford, Bridgewater, Cambridge, and generally the churches all over England have had a great share of the damage."

"In Kingroad at Bristol the damage by sea is also very great; the Canterbury store-ship was driven on shore, and twenty-five of her men drowned; the Richard and John, the George, and the Grace are sunk, and the number of people lost is variously reported." And lastly the Eddistone Light-house at Plymouth was blown down in this dreadful storm: at night it was standing, but in the morning all the upper part from the gallery was blown down, and all the people in it perished, and among them Mr. Winstanley, the contriver of it. This storm was considered to be the most violent and destructive that ever passed over Europe; its principal force fell on England, France, Holland, and the Netherlands: on the North and South of those countries it was more moderate.

§ 6. "On (*c*) the 9*th* of Sept' 1707, the moon being 9 days past the full, it was observed that the first tide of flood, which according to it's usual custom should have been at Bristol about 11 o'clock, came in about 8, and flowed about a foot at the Gibb, and then ebbed; and afterwards on the same morning it came in again at it's customary time, viz, about 11, and flowed as usual; so that it flowed and ebbed twice within twelve hours."

§ 7. This (*d*) winter, 1708-9, was very long and severe: and beside many hard frosts there were four considerable falls of snow: and the wind being generally E and NE blew off the snow from the wheat and exposed it to the frost, which injured it greatly and caused our husbandmen to fear a scarcity; and the merchants having exported much to Flanders for the army and to other places, wheat advanced by degrees from about 4*s* a bushel to 8 or 9*s* before the winter was over, and the poor murmured much. On the 21*st* of May 1709 the colliers of Kingswood, about 200 men, came into the city, and being joined by other poor caused a great consternation, and the militia was raised: but having received a promise, that wheat should be sold on Monday next at 6*s* and 8*d* they dispersed. Some of the colliers however staid behind, and for some threatening words were seized and secured in the Council-house: of which the rest being informed they returned, and there was some bustle between them and the militia. Two or three of the mob were wounded; but some of the sash windows of the Council-house, lately made, were broken, through which the colliers made their escape.

§ 8. About the latter end of July 1712, began in this city, and in other parts of the kingdom, an uncommon distemper in the throat, disordering the whole body like a violent cold, which few families escaped. It lasted with those distempered usually only few days, but some died of it. It was generally cured by sweating.

§ 9. "Great Britain being at war with France and Spain, many privateers were fitted out in Bristol. Aug' 2, 1708, two famous ships of"

(*c*) (*d*) MS Calendars.

"this kind, called *the Duke and Duchess*, commanded by Capt' Woodes Rogers, sailed from hence to the Pacific Ocean, and did great damage to the Spanish trade and colonies there, with great profit to the owners, some of whom were of the sect of the Quakers. They took among many a Spanish prize called *the Marquiss*, of which Rogers writes thus. "We found in the Marquiss near 500 bales of Pope's Bulls, 16 reams in a bale: as this took up abundance of room in the ship, we threw most of them overboard to make room for better goods, except what we kept to burn the pitch of our ship's bottoms when we careened them. These bulls are imposed on the people, and sold by the clergy from 3 rials to 50 pieces of eight each, according to the ability of the purchaser." Captain Rogers published an exact journal of the voyage, well written in a plain style, and very interesting. It contains the account of Alexander Selkirk, whom Rogers brought away from Juan Fernandez; whose papers being put into the hands of Daniel de Foe, were by him modelled and drawn out into *Robinson Crusoe*, a novel of which a nation may be proud. This fact was first published in the Gent' Magazine, by Jos' Harford, Esq' of Bristol, who was assured by Mrs. Daniel, an old lady, daughter of Major Wade, sometime Town-clerk of this city, that Dampier himself told her, that to his knowledge Selkirk's papers were sent to De Foe for arrangement and publication, and that from them he formed Robinson Crusoe. Captain William Dampier, who had already been three times in the Pacific Ocean, and twice round the world, accompanied Captain Rogers, as an officer on board the Duke. The whole plan of the voyage was admirably arranged by the owners in Bristol; and Rogers proved himself a brave and prudent man, and an excellent Commander-in-chief. There was also another privateer of some note sailed from Bristol in 1709, called *The Royal Family*; in fitting out which also many quakers were concerned.

§ 10. July 24, 1710, the Queen granted a new Charter to this city, wherein she confirms all former privileges, and renounces the power of removing the Mayor and other officers at the pleasure of the Crown; and grants moreover, that it shall be no longer necessary for the city officers, being duly elected, to receive the royal approbation.

§ 11. The peace of Utrecht was agreed upon and the conditions signed March 30, 1713. Peace was proclaimed in London May 5, and on (*e*) the 19*th* of the same month it was proclaimed in Bristol by the two Sheriffs at the usual places with great rejoicings, such as ringing of bells, bonfires and illuminations.

§ 12. Sept' 7, 1713, the election for Members of Parliament began here. The candidates were Sir William Daines, Col' Joseph Earle, and Thomas Edwards junr'. The High party, as they were called, supported Earle and Edwards; the Low party and Dissenters voted for Earle and Daines; Col' Earle being approved by both parties, as a moderate man, although certainly of the low party. This election was carried on with great violence, so that the ruder sort of people went to blows and broke one anothers heads, behaving themselves very unlike considerate men; so that the election broke up on Tuesday following. Edwards and Earle were returned as Members: but the Calendar from whence this account is taken, being written by one of the low party, asserts that the matter was unfairly determined, and that their party was the more numerous, and that not half of those who had a right, had given their votes. This is the first time that the Calendars mention any thing particular concerning these elections.

§ 13. Queen Anne died Aug' 1, 1714.

(*e*) MS Calendars.

End of Chapter XXXIII.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

GEORGE I.

1. *Accession, and great rejoicing; and afterward a lamentable Riot.*—2. *Proceedings of the Magistrates.*—3. *Special Judges appointed, who enter Bristol.*—4. *The Sermon and Charge.*—5. *Preparations for the Trial.*—6. *The Trials, and Punishments.*—7. *Observations.*—8. *Election of a new Parliament.*—9. *Eclipse of the Sun.*—10. *Bristol and Bath and Somerset strengthened against the Jacobites.* 11. *Long Frost. Aurora Borealis.*—12. *Decease of the Mayor.*—13. *Guineas reduced: uncommon Hail.*—14. *A great Flood.*—15. *Parliament dissolved: a new Election.*—16. *Wood's half-pence.*—17. *Turnpikes first erected.*—18. *Decease of George I.*

§ 1. ON the Queen's decease the Elector of Hanover, George I succeeded to the Crown, according to the provisions of the Act of Settlement. "He (*a*) arrived at Greenwich on Saturday, Sept' 18, with the Prince his son: and the same day, by reason of some reports which we had of their arrival a few days before, we had here in Bristol some rejoicing, as ringing of bells and firing of great ordnance, which was for that purpose halled up on Brandon-hill. But on Tuesday following was a great and general rejoicing here; the shops being shut, and extraordinary illuminations in the evening. Wednesday, Oct' 20, (*b*) being appointed for the day of Coronation, there were again in this city extraordinary rejoicings, and in the evening an illumination: but the conclusion of the day was deplorable. About 6 or 7 o'clock in the evening an"

(*a*) (*b*) MS Calendars.

"unruly mob (*c*) began to assemble, and continued rioting and doing mischief till about midnight, before they could be dispersed. This mob was a tory mob, and the violence which they committed was (of course) as they said in defence of church and state, and the objects of their rage were the Whigs and Dissenters. The spirit of party was at that time very violent throughout the kingdom, and in few places more so than in Bristol. The Tories and High-church-men were the same party, and some who survived were the same men as the Royalists in the reign of Charles I and II: most of these were much dissatisfied with the exclusion of the family of *Stuart* from the throne, and with the succession of the house of Hanover. Their adversaries called them *Jacobites*, as being attached to Prince James; and *Cheverellites*, as friends to the principles of *Cheverell*, as the mob called *Dr. Sacheverell:* and therefore they did not join, or joined unwillingly in the rejoicings on the accession of King George. One may venture at this distance of time to say that this party contained the most respectable part of the citizens; and it is manifest from what followed, that the populace were of the same party. They began to collect a little before night, and mustered to the number of about 500, who testified their ill-humour by breaking the windows of such houses as were illuminated, putting out the bonfires, and crying out *down with the Round-heads, God bless Dr. Sacheverell: Sacheverell and O——; d——n all foreigners.* They first attempted Mr. Gough's Presbyterian Meeting-house in Tucker-street: but were here disappointed; they broke the door but did not go in, a woman in the neighbourhood telling them that there were several persons within, armed with musquets to defend it. The first house, on which they discharged their fury, was Mr. Whiting's, the Under-Sheriff in Temple-street [*alii* Temple-backs], with whom they were offended, because he had prose-"

(*c*) In recording this riot and it's attendant circumstances, I have used not only two or three MS Calendars, but also two contemporary pamphlets.—1. *A full and impartial account of the late Disorders in Bristol; to which is added, the tryal of the Rioters. London,* 1614. The author is a Whig and rather violent.—2. *The trials of the Rioters at Bristol: to which is prefixed an account of the riot. Printed at Bristol by Sam' Farley;* and reprinted at London Dec' 7. This narration is an indifferent performance, but impartial, and seems to have been written by one who wishes to be thought somewhat of a lawyer. Other narrations were also printed, giving an account of the state of parties in Bristol, previously to these riots: but I have not been fortunate enough to find them.

"cuted a notorious rogue, who had been guilty of perjury. The next was the house of Mr. Jeffery, a distiller, a dissenter, belonging to the meeting-house above mentioned, whose windows they shattered to pieces: the same they did to a button-maker, because they fancied that he made the buttons for the coat in which the pretended Dr. Sacheverell was to be burned. But their principal object was the house of Mr. Richard Stephens, a baker, in Tucker-street, a man of good property, a dissenter belonging to the neighbouring meeting-house, one who always distinguished himself in the support of the Whig candidates at elections. His son, Francis Stephens, captain of a West-India ship, between five and six o'clock went with others into Queen's-square, to see the illuminations: while he was absent, the mob came to the house, struck Mrs. Stephens, who was at the door, with a stick, beat the bulk and shop windows, and went away. Soon after they returned, struck down Mr. Stephens, beat out the eye of one Anne Baker, made the apprentice bloody, and again went away. Francis Stephens then came home, and two or three friends with him, and having made a bowl of punch to drink the King's health, they were making merry in the back part of the house, when the rioters came again. Their pretence was that Stephens had in his house an effigy of Dr. Sacheverell, the renowned champion of the Tories, which he intended to burn. Francis Stephens then went to the shop-door, which was broken open, and tried all fair means to induce them to depart, assuring them that he had no effigy of Dr. Sacheverell, and offered his house to be searched; and the constables by the Mayor's order did search it; but nothing of the sort was to be found. Notwithstanding one of the mob with a pole five feet long, and as thick as a man's leg, struck F' Stephens on the breast and knocked him down. Hereupon a sword was brought to him, with which he stabbed a cooper's man who was near the door, and he warned the rioters to withdraw, for that he and his friends would defend the house with fire-arms. The mob still persisting, a gun was three times fired among them, and at last one man was killed; but the mob still persisting Francis Stephens thought it best to make his escape by a back-way, in order to call the Magistrates; and in the mean time the persons who were in company with him went"

"into the bake-house, and put the kneading-trough before the narrow passage which led into the shop, and there defended themselves, till the Magistrates came, against such of the mob as attacked them, while the rabble were rifling the house. They took the till-money, which amounted to near £20, and all the plate they could come at, and drank or wasted all the liquor they found below. On the trial it was sworn, that there was lost out of the house, plate and goods to the value of £68. Next day the rioters differed among themselves and returned all the plate. When the Magistrates arrived, they dispersed the mob with much difficulty and took the names of many. They came indeed again with a resolution to do more mischief: but the Captain with his friends being ready for them at the stair-head, the rioters apprehending that they were armed with blunderbusses once more fled."

"In this affray at Mr. Stephens's, which happened about ten o'clock at night, one person was stabbed with a sword, as mentioned above, but he recovered; one Henry Thomas, a shoemaker and a Quaker, being in the entry and intreating the mob to retire, was thrown down, and trampled on, so that he died the next day; and John Gunning or Gonning, apprentice to Mr. Masters, watchmaker in Corn-street, was shot in the head by Capt' Stephens, as was generally supposed; but one MS says that he was asisting Capt' Stephens; he died within few days; and several gentlemen were hurt, abused and insulted. The rioters had also a design on one of the Sheriffs of the city; but he being forewarned of it prepared a large quantity of wine and other liquors to win them, if possible. This had the desired effect; for when they came to attack him, he bespoke them with all the candour imaginable, and distributed his liquors among them. This bait took them; and he, while they were drinking, made all the haste he could to take an exact list of the rioters. By this artifice this gentleman saved himself and his family, and had an opportunity of doing his country a real piece of service, by securing the names of those notorious rebels to his gracious Majesty King George. After this gentleman's entertainment of the rioters, they proceeded to the Custom-house in Queen-square, where a number of the principal gentlemen and ladies of the city were assembled at a ball in honour of the day. On a sudden a shower of the largest stones was discharged on the company through"

" the windows, which put a stop to their entertainment: and had it not been for their servants and some custom-house officers, who went out against them, more would have ensued; but thereupon the mob fled." Such was the riot, wherein one MS says that three persons lost their lives.

§ 2. Next morning the Magistrates issued their warrants for the apprehension of the rioters, of whom sixteen were taken within few days, who are represented by my author, as beggarly, swearing, drunken, rascally fellows, the scum of the rabble, the rest could not be found; and it was said by some, that the principal persons among them fled from the city: and others said that the greater part of them were country-people, who came into town for the purpose of riot and plunder. On Friday the 22*d* the Mayor, Henry Whitehead Esq', issued a proclamation offering a reward of £50 for the discovery of the person or persons, who killed Henry Thomas; but this was without effect.

§ 3. The Magistrates sent a special messenger to London with an account of these riots: and similar tumults having happened at other places, as Norwich, Taunton-Dean, Canterbury and Reading, the Government thinking probably that such symptoms of dissatisfaction were not to be neglected at the commencement of the reign of a new family, appointed a special commission of *Oyer and terminer* to try the offenders; and accordingly Mr. Justice Powis, Mr. Justice Tracey, and Mr. Baron Price, whose patents as Judges were before confirmed by his Majesty, had that special commission assigned to them: and Mr. Serjeant Cheshire, Mr. Lutwich, one of his Majesty's Counsel at Law, and Mr. Cowper, son of Spencer Cowper Esq' and nephew to the Lord Chancellor, were appointed Counsel for the Crown. On Monday Nov' 22 they set out from London, attended by the Counsel and proper Officers; they were received in the places through which they passed with particular marks of respect; and as they went from Bath to Bristol, where they arrived the Thursday following, the road was crouded, and the hedges lined with spectators. Party-spirit continued high in the city: the tories affected to make light of the riot, and laughed at the importance which their adversaries gave to it by these preparations: and

they talked in a high and insolent tone, threatening what they would do in favour of their companions; and some of them raised money to bribe the witnesses: informations were laid against two of them, Jacob Brittain and Joel Crooker, for bribing his Majesty's witnesses to prevent their giving evidence at the trial of the prisoners; for which they were apprehended and carried before the Mayor, and Sir William Daines, who committed them to Newgate. The whigs on the other hand were really frightened by these various tumults, suspecting that this was part of a regular plan for bringing in the Stuarts; and the rebellion, which broke out next year, shewed that their suspicions were not unreasonable. This spirit shewed itself plainly, when the Judges entered. At a good distance from the city as many as two hundred principal citizens met them on horseback; men of both parties, Whigs and Tories; of the latter, even the *Loyal Society* attended, the most decided tories of the whole number, who certainly at that moment could not be called *loyal* subjects to a new King chosen on whig principles, in opposition to the regular heir. When the cavalcade passed through Temple-gate, it turned to the left along the Borough-walls, avoiding Temple-street on account of the narrowness of Tucker-street. The Tories were foremost, and they turned into St. Thomas-street, which was then the usual way into the city: which the Whigs observing passed on into Redcliff-street, and carried the cavalcade and the Judges in it by that way into the city. By this stratagem the Whigs had the Judges to themselves through the whole of that street; and the Tories being much chagrined, their part of the mob shouted out *down with the Round-heads*, even in the Judges' hearing, as they had done before in other parts of the processions: and it was said, that there were cries of *no Jefferies, no Western Assize.* The concourse of people was so great, that the Judges were an hour passing from the entrance of the city to their lodgings, not three quarters of a mile.

§4. On Friday Mr. *Coopy*, a neighbouring clergyman, preached before the Judges: his text was, *I exhort that prayers be made for all - - - for Kings - - - that under them we may lead peaceable lives.* He spoke concerning the tumult at Ephesus: and shewed that the church of England could never be guilty of such enormities, as were committed under

pretence of her interest: that those who called themselves her sons and practised disobedience to rulers, violence and injustice to their neighbours, who wanted charity and virtue, were not worthy of the name which they usurped, but were rotten members of our pure and peaceable church, which (he said) declares against tumults and riots in her Homilies, Canons and Liturgy. The writer whom I follow in this place, a zealous whig, finding himself (somewhat strangely) in the loyal party, takes the opportunity of catechizing the tories for disloyal behaviour at church; "One would have thought, *says he*, that so pious a discourse would have affected the *malignant* party: but, alas, their religion is all grimace; and these *tory-rory* sons of the church would carry their insolence even to the pulpit, if it offended them with any charitable and loyal doctrine, as they did lately at *Whitechapel*." After the sermon the Judges went to the Hall, where Littleton Powis the senior Judge delivered his charge to the jury, setting forth the unlawfulness and danger of riots. My author says, that some of the tories blushed, and some "turned pale, and some hardened *wretches* of the pretended *Loyal Society* had the impudence to laugh."

§5. The greater part of Friday was spent in challenging the jury. On the next day, the grand jury having found the bills against almost all who were indicted, seven of the rioters were brought to trial, as follows: John Wilmot, taylor, of the parish of St. Mary Redcliffe; Evan Howell, gardener, of the parish of Blackborton, in the county of Oxford: John Bullock, weaver, of the parish of Holy Cross, *alias* Temple; Thomas Ittery, sugar-baker, of the parish of St. James; John Pine, barber, of the parish of St. Philip and Jacob; Gabriel Belcher, sadler, of the parish of St. John; and Joshua [*al'* John] Harding, cordwainer, of the parish of St. Philip and Jacob; were jointly and severally indicted for a riot, as having been present on the King's coronation day in the evening, together with a great multitude of lewd and disorderly persons, at the dwelling-house of Richard Stephens, baker, living in Tucker-street; at which time a burglary and murder was committed in or near the said house, and several persons were bruised and beaten very cruelly; and that the said persons were very active, abetting, asisting and encouraging the disorders and crimes then and

there committed. The Judge having given his charge retired to the Tolsey about ten o'clock at night; and about twelve o'clock he returned to the Guildhall to take the verdict; when and where the jury acquitted the six persons first mentioned of the murder and burglary, but found them guilty of the riot. Joshua Harding for want of sufficient evidence was acquitted. One of these rioters, J' Pine, encouraged his companions not only to assault the baker's house, but to pull it down. He is represented by my author as a very unworthy friend of the church. "This rogue, *says he*, during the blessed times of the *staff*, *purse*, *mitre* and *John Bull's* management, distinguished himself by his insolence to Dissenters of all denominations, except Non-jurors and Papists; of whom however there are but few in Bristol. The villain, when he saw any person go by, who had a serious look, and was going, as he supposed, to a meeting, would follow him to the end of the street, where he used to curse and d—n him, if a man, and talk obscenely if a woman: a special tool this, to secure the interests of the church." During the trial this day "there came upon the bench one H----t, (*d*) who calls himself a merchant, a member of that hopeful club, the *Loyal Society*. He had the impudence to thrust himself forwards to give countenance to his dear friends the prisoners at the bar, among whom he rather deserved to be, than where he was mounted; for this merchant of ours dealt in riots and tumults, as much as in sugar and tobacco. One would think such a spark as he must be a Jacobite, with no other view than in hopes of having a good parcel of whigs fall to his share; and when *Perkin* had made slaves of them, that he might ship them off for the Indies. The man's morals being known, a very loyal worthy gentleman, Col' *E---le* [Earle], told him, *he was one of the ringleaders of the mob, and ought not to be there.* This he had front enough to stand; upon which the Colonel complained of his impudence to the Court, and desired he might be put down. His friends cried out, *he was a Justice of the Peace*, one of *Purse's* making: but his *Justiceship* was obliged to stand down, to the very great mortification of himself and his faction, of whom some were so insolent, that they vilified the jury; for which one of them was ordered to the bar, and obliged to give bail for his appearance to answer for the offence."

(*d*) Probably *Hart*.

§ 6. There was a very material difference of opinion between the Judges and the Jury, which was probably the reason why the business of this first day occupied so much time. It appears to have been intended to indict these men for treason; but the Jury delivered their opinion, that there was no treason in the case, appealing to the Stat' 1 Mary c' 12. The Judges on the other hand agreed, that this rising with intent to pull down houses, was a levying war against the King, and high treason at Common Law, within the declaration of the Stat' 25 Edw' 3: and for this they cited several statutes and cases. It seems, however, by the indictment, that the Jury prevailed. My whig author above mentioned accuses the tories of very mutinous behaviour during the first day of the trials; that they used threatening language, that they brought a number of witnesses to prove an *alibi* with great parade and clamour into the Hall; that their mob of near a thousand ruffian-like fellows crowded about the Hall-door, and when the prisoners were carrying back to Newgate, they attended them, their cry being still *a cheverel, a cheverel, down with the round-heads; down with the murthering dogs* [meaning the constables]; *for those fellows they lead along are honest fellows;* others as they passed along bawled out *round-headed cuckolds, come dig, come dig;* and another of their cries was *hang up the murderer,* meaning Capt' *Stephens*; and that they insulted the Judges as they passed from the hall to their lodgings. The Judges went to the Guild-hall again according to adjournment, on Monday, at 8 o'clock, and remained there till six in the evening. On that day Edward Hughes, cooper, of the parish of St. Maryport, was indicted for the murder of Henry Thomas, cordwainer, of the parish of St. Thomas, and was found *not guilty.* And Francis Painter, a lad, was indicted for felony and burglary; for he was taken in Mr. Stephens's house between ten and eleven o'clock, and two old hats belonging to Mr. Stephens were found on him. He was acquitted of the burglary but found guilty of stealing to the value of 10 *d*, and ordered to be whipped. And then the Court adjourned to Tuesday morning at eight o'clock. On this night a gang of rioters went to the house of Mr. Whitehead, the Mayor, making a noise at his door, and crying out *down with the Roundheads, up with the Cavaliers.* Edward Hughes and Francis Painter, pipe-

maker, of the parish of St. James, were then a second time indicted with Richard Collery, cordwainer, of the parish of St. James, Hugh Berry, perruke-maker, of the parish of All-Saints, and John Jones, a glover, of the parish of St. Thomas, for a riot in the same manner as the first seven above mentioned. The King's Counsel and the Counsel for the prisoners agreed that Edward Hughes and Francis Painter should be found *not guilty*. The evidences for the King against the other three swore, that Hugh Berry was in Mr. Stephens's house with the handle of a warming-pan in his hand, which he had broken off from a warming-pan in the house; and that John Jones and Richard Collery were both in the house with sticks in their hands, beating down the partition there; and that John Jones was there at twelve o'clock at night after all the riot was over, swearing, that all those men who were taken into custody, who (he said) were his men, should be discharged, or else he would know the reason why. These three were found guilty of the riot Tuesday afternoon, and then the Court adjourned.

On Wednesday morning, at half-past seven o'clock, Mr. Francis Stephens, son of Mr. Richard Stephens, was surrendered in Court by his bail, and put himself upon his tryal; two bills of indictment being found against him, one for a trespass in stabbing a cooper's apprentice, the other for the murder of John Gonning above-mentioned, by shooting him in the head with a leaden ball. In fine the Judges informed the Jury that what the prisoner had done was in defence of himself and his father's house, and was justifiable in law; and that if in assaulting a house any person belonging to the house was killed, it was murder in the assailants; but if the persons belonging to the house should kill any of the assailants, the law would justify them therein, whereupon the Jury found him *not guilty* on both indictments. Lastly, William Shewell was tryed, as the others were, for a riot: and it was proved that he was encouraging the mob to pull down Mr. Whiting's house on Temple-backs, riotously crying out *d—n it, down with the house.* He was found guilty of the riot. All those persons who were found guilty of the riot, were fined twenty nobles each, were to be imprisoned three months, and then give security for their good behaviour for twelve months. Peter Downes's bill was found *Ignoramus*, and he was thereupon dis-

charged on payment of his fees; as were Francis, Joshua Harding, and Edward Hughes. Francis Painter was whipped according to his sentence, and discharged on payment of his fees. William Thomas and Samuel Stacy were apprehended above five weeks after the riot: they were not charged positively with it; but were committed on suspicion of assisting and encouraging it: and Christopher Gay was committed to prison for threatening that he would deliver the rioters out of prison and break Newgate open, but he would release them. These three last-mentioned were discharged for want of prosecution. Joel Crooker and Jacob Brittain were bound to appear at Gloucester Assizes for bribing the King's Evidence. The person who spoke scandalous words against the Grand and Petit Juries was to have been tried Dec' 1; but alledging that his witnesses were not ready, and praying that his trial might be put off till next gaol delivery, the same was granted.

§ 7. Such was the issue of these trials: the whig writer, who has been so often quoted, was evidently chagrined that these tory rioters escaped so easily; it is however probable that the government was unwilling to use severity towards any party, and that the Judges had instructions to that effect. The riot itself was after all of no great magnitude; but it merits the particular account here given of it, because it clearly shews the state of parties at that time, particularly in Bristol. In several (*e*) other places also mobs committed great outrages and it was observed that "the same pretences were used as in this city, viz, that Dr. Sacheverell was to be burnt in effigy, to cover their mischievous designs, and in many places they pulled down and defaced the dissenters' meeting-houses." Next summer the rebellion broke out in Scotland and in some parts of England.

§ 8. A new Parliament was summoned, which met March 1714-15. The candidates were Sir William Daines, knt' and Col' Joseph Earle on the whig side; and Thomas Edwards and Philip Freke, Esqrs' of the tory party. "At (*f*) the close of the poll there appeared a majority for the two latter, who were carried about the Cross according to custom;"

(*e*) MS Cal'. (*f*) Barrett 160.

"but in the mean time the Sheriffs returned the two former." One of the Calendars is of the same mind. "This year the Sheriffs Whitehead and Taylor made a false return of members to serve in Parliament for this city. Their villainy was exclaimed against much." What the whigs said in their defence does not appear. Freke and Edwards petitioned, probably to no purpose. This Parliament in April 1716 voted itself Septennial: and that all future Parliaments should be such likewise.

§ 9. "On (*g*) the 22*d* of April was a total eclipse of the Sun. It began a little after 8 in the morning, and ended a little after 10. The total darkness was somewhat more than three minutes. It was a very clear sunshining morning: but during the three minutes of total eclipse several stars appeared."

§ 10. In August 1815 began the rebellion in Scotland; and in many parts of England were shewn strong proofs of attachment to the exiled family of Stuart, and of disaffection to the house of Hanover. The Jacobites (as the friends of the Stuarts were called) "had (*h*) certainly formed a plan to get possession of Bristol, where they had many friends; of which as soon as the government had notice, they ordered the Earl of Berkeley, Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Gloucester and Bristol, to repair hither, where he arrived on the day when the Mayor was sworn into office [*al'* on the day of election]. He brought with him Brigadier-general Stanwix's regiment of foot; and about the beginning of October Col' Chudleigh's regiment of foot marched into Bristol and joined Lumley's regiment of horse and the two battalions of Stanwix and Pococke, which were here already. The Earl of Berkeley with unwearied application and diligence took all necessary measures for the security of the city. On Sunday Oct' 2, the discovery was made of a design to seize the city for the Pretender; whereupon the militia was raised, and the gates were kept shut and guarded and cannon planted at some of them, and the city kept in manner of a garrison for several months. "Many of the citizens, who were thought to be in the interest of the Pretender were sent to the Marshalsea, among whom (*i*) was Mr. Hart, a merchant,"

(*g*) MS Calendars. (*h*) MS Cal', and Tindall's Rapin. (*i*) MS Cal'.

"charged with having collected great quantities of warlike stores for the use of the conspirators. At Bath the Jacobites had formed a large magazine of war for the use of the insurrection, which it was intended should immediately be made in Somersetshire, headed by Sir William Wyndham. Information of all which being obtained, the Lord Windsor's regiment of horse, and Rich's dragoons went to Bath under the command of Major-general Wade, who there seized of the rebels 200 horses, ten chests of fire-arms, a hogshead full of basket-hilted swords, another full of cartouches, 3 pieces of cannon, one mortar, and molds to cast cannon which had been hidden under ground, and Oct' 7, Sir Wm' Wyndham was committed to the Tower." Although they were thus disappointed, yet they conceived another design against this city, being informed about the middle of Jan' 1715-16 that the late Duke of Ormond intended to land in the west of England. Whereupon the government thought fit to reinforce the city with Pococke's regiment of foot, and some other regular troops; and the loyal citizens formed two voluntary troops of horse. Nor were these precautions needless: "for in the night between the 14*th* and 15*th* of Jan' 1715-16 a waggon laden with goods for Bristol fair being by accident set on fire at Hounslow, there was discovered in it great quantities of fire arms and ammunition lying under the goods: whereupon the same were seized by a trooper of the Duke of Argyle's royal regiment of guards."

§ 11. "About the latter end of Nov' began a frost, which continued with small intermissions until about the 8*th* of Feb. It was very severe, and during it's continuance there were several considerable falls of snow. In all the parishes of the city were collections made for the poor, who were incapable of working by reason of the frost: and the Mayor and Common-council gave 100*l* out of the Chamber for their relief."

The appearance of the *Aurora Borealis*, probably after a long intermission, is thus noticed in one of the Calendars: "Tuesday March 6, 1716, in the evening, about seven o'clock, it being dark nights, the moon in her last quarter, appeared in the heavens a light, or as some call it a *Meteor*, chiefly in the North and North-west parts of the sky. It"

" was like the dawning of the morning, from which many bright streams shot forth several ways with a quick motion. It continued most part of the night."

§ 12. June 18, 1718, the Mayor, Mr. John Day, died of an apoplexy, and was buried with great pomp in St. Werburgh's church. A more particular account of which will be given in the catalogue of Mayors.

§ 13. This (*k*) year (1718) guineas were lowered from 21*s* 6*d* to 21*s*. May 25, 1719, in the afternoon it hailed in Bristol for the space of an hour: some of the hailstones were four inches round, and weighed an ounce and a quarter.

§ 14. On the 17*th* and 18*th* of May, 1820, by reason of the great rains which had fallen, the river Froom overflowed it's banks, and Earl's Meads were several feet under water: it rose as high as the wall at the Ducking-stool. Broadmead and Merchant-street were overflowed.

§ 15. This Parliament was dissolved in March 1722, and the new one met in Oct. It was a contested election in Bristol, wherein the whigs prevailed, and Sir Abraham Elton, Bart. and Joseph Earl, Esq. were elected: the tory candidate, William Hart, sen. Esq. petitioned. The Ministry being of the whig party, having Mr. Robert Walpole at their head, had a decided majority in this Parliament.

§ 16. Ireland (*l*) being at this time (1723) in want of a copper coinage, the King granted a patent to Mr. William Wood, to coin halfpence and farthings for the use of that kingdom to the amount of £100,000. Wood was probably a Bristol man, at least he possessed an estate about six miles from Bristol, called Northwood, in the parish of Winterbourn, Gloucestershire, and the money was coined in Bristol to the amount of 59 tons and upwards. When it came to be circulated in Ireland, great clamour was raised against it; it was said, that the Irish

(*k*) MS Calendars. (*l*) Tindal's Rapin.

were not in such want of copper as was pretended; that the coin was not so good as the patent required; that even if it had been so, Mr. Wood's profits would have been enormous, £150 per cent'; and finally that the coining of money was a regal prerogative, never to be trusted to a subject. Every one of these complaints was proved to be unfounded by the report of the Lords of the Privy Council in England: they proved that Ireland was in great want of such coin; that the copper was of the best quality, and heavier than the patent required, far better in all respects, than any copper money ever before coined for Ireland; and that the patent was not privately obtained, but that the Attorney and Solicitor-General had been regularly consulted; and particularly that Sir Isaac Newton, Master of the Mint, had assisted in drawing it up. This undeserved clamour raised against Wood's halfpence was in a great measure owing to the satiric and popular pen of (*m*) Dean Swift.

§ 17. About the latter end of February 1726-7, a petition was sent to Parliament complaining of the badness of the roads about this city, and praying relief, and provision for keeping them in good repair. In consequence of this an Act of Parl' 13 Geo' I, 1727, was obtained, and turnpikes were first erected here about Midsummer, and tolls collected for many days. But the country people shewed a violent hostility to the measure, and great disturbances ensued, and the gates were soon cut down and demolished, chiefly by the colliers, who would not suffer coal to be brought here, whereupon the Mayor had the city supplied from Swansea, which when the colliers perceived, they brought their coals as usual. Soldiers assisted at the gates to take the toll, but the next night, after the soldiers were withdrawn, the gates were all cut down a second time by persons disguised in women's apparel and high-crowned hats.

§ 18 King George I died June 11, 1727.

(*m*) The 10th vol' of his works is chiefly occupied by this subject.

End of Chapter XXXIV.

CHAPTER XXXV.

GEORGE II.

1. *The King's Accession.*—2. *Earthquakes.*—3. *New Parliament: Mr. Scroope.*—4. *Complaint against the Spaniards.*—5. *Princess Amelia visits Bristol.*—6. *Threatening Letters.*—7. *Scarcity.*—8. *The Prince of Orange visits Bristol.*—9. *A violent Storm.*—10. *A contested Election, Coster and Scroope.*—11. *Another, Southwell and Combe.*—12. *Prince and Princess of Wales visit Bristol.*—13. *Convention and then War with Spain.*—14. *Another Election, Elton and Southwell elected.*—15. *Another; Mr. Hoblyn elected.*—16. *Murder of Sir John Dinely Goodere.*—17. *War with France: rich Prizes brought into Bristol.*—18. *Men and Money raised to oppose Prince Charles: Prize brought into Kingroad.*—19. *Election of M' P': the former Members returned.*—20. *Peace of Aix la Chapelle.*—21. *African trade thrown open.*—22. *Turnpikes erected, and cut down: great Riots.*—23. *A Murderer hung.*—24. *Aurora Borealis: Tempest and Earthquakes.*—25. *Naturalization Bill.*—26. *Price of Sugar.*—27. *Naturalization of the Jews.*—28. *Riot of the Colliers.*—29. *New Parliament: Nugent and Beckford elected.*—30. *War with France.* 31. *American Bar-Iron.*—32. *The Belliqueux taken in Kingroad.*—33. *Freedom of the city given to Mr. Pitt, and the Duke of Newcastle.*—34. *Decease of the King.*

§ 1. GEORGE II succeeded to his father; and with his Queen was proclaimed in this city, as usual.

§ 2. July (*a*) 19, between 4 and 5 o'clock in the morning, a smart earthquake was felt here: most people felt it in their beds; in one house

(*a*) MS Cal' and a collection of letters in the Quaker's prophecies quoted above.

the plate was thrown from the chimney piece, but no damage was done here. It was felt nearly in the same manner at Bath, Portsmouth, Gloucester, Worcester, Wendover, and Market-Lavington. At Oxford some of the church bells tolled. At Dartmouth it was rather stronger, and lasted more than a minute; it threw down some coils of rope on a sail-maker, who was at work and hurt his hand. It was nearly the same at Exeter and lasted more than a minute: and westward from Exeter it was much more violent; the bells sounded in many churches, and people were rolled up and down in their beds. At Bridgewater it threw down one chimney. In South-wales it was very violent: at Swansea it threw down several chimneys and did other considerable damage: at Maryham a house was thrown down: at Bunan in Gower the doors, which were locked, flew open, and the inhabitants could scarcely lie in their beds. At Margam it seems to have been strongest: those who were in the fields and heard it coming, which was from the east, could not tell to what they could liken it, but to great guns fired under ground, or to some terrible thunder: the hedges and trees seemed to move from their places; the birds flew from the hedges, as if frightened; the walls of the park and gardens were flung down; the doors, even that of the church, flew open, although they were bolted and locked; the bells rang in the tower; several stacks of chimneys fell, houses were untiled, and windows and shutters were broken: some who were milking in the fields declared, that the earth so trembled, that it threw the milk over the edge of the pail. The first shock was most violent. The river swelled prodigiously, the water changing of a wheyish colour.

§ 3. The Parliament being dissolved by proclamation Aug' 7, 1727, a new Parliament was summoned, which met Jan' 23, 1727-8. John Scroope Esq' and Abraham Elton junior, Esq' were elected, and as it appears without opposition. Mr. Scroope was joint-Secretary of the Treasury, and was afterwards Recorder of this city. The Ministry led by Sir Robert Walpole, first Lord of the Treasury, had a strong majority in this Parliament also. This Mr. Scroope made himself famous in 1728 by endeavoring to shew in the House of Commons, that the revenue appro-

priated for the Civil List did not amount to the sum of 800,000 £ which was settled on the King, and he therefore proposed, that 115,000 £ should be granted to his Majesty, to make good the deficiency. And this proposal was adopted by Parliament, although the statement was controverted, and the motion indignantly opposed by many of the most respectable members of both Houses.

§ 4. Petitions from London, Bristol and Liverpool were sent to Parliament in 1728, complaining of the depredations and cruelties of the Spaniards in the West Indies. It was at this time that Captain Jenkins related at the bar of the House of Commons the cruelties inflicted on him by the Spaniards. Reparation was made next year for these losses by the treaty of Seville; at least Parliament voted that it was so.

§ 5. Her Royal Highness the Princess Amelia, second daughter to King George II and Queen Caroline, being at Bath, paid a visit to this city, May 9, 1728, on the invitation of the Common-council, attended by Lord Glenorchy, Mr. Nash of Bath, and others. She came by water, the new navigation between the two cities being just then compleated, and landed at the slipp [at Comntess-slip. MS'] on Temple-backs, where she was received by the Mayor and Aldermen in their scarlet robes; and after staying a short time at a large house in Tucker-street, nearly opposite to Temple-street, she was conducted to Alderman Peter Day's house in the square, where she was entertained very honourably at the charge of the chamber. In the afternoon she returned to Bath in the same manner.

§ 6. In the latter part of this year (1730) a set of villains made a practice of sending threatening letters to several persons, some thrown into shops, and others dropped in the streets, demanding money, from some eight guineas, from others ten, &c. to be left in certain places which they appointed, and threatening to murder them, burn their houses, or otherwise ruin them, if they did not comply with their demands. And this was commonly practiced in various parts of the kingdom, besides Bristol. The tories attributed the blame to the

ministry, who as whigs were unwilling to enact laws sufficiently coercive. Mr. Clements, ship-builder, and other gentlemen, had such letters sent to them during the winter. Mr. Geo' Packer, living at the yard next to Mr. Clement's dock, below Trinity-street, in the way to the Sea-banks, had several letters of this kind sent to him, to which he paid no attention: and on Saturday, Oct' 10, at the dead of night, his house was burned to the ground. And still after this Mr. Packer had other letters, telling him, that although he had escaped the fire, by which they intended to destroy him, yet they would have his life, if he did not put the money where they ordered. The city was so alarmed by these villainies, that a double watch was appointed until six o'clock in the morning. One Mr. Power, an attorney, lately from Dublin, a person of very gentlemanly appearance, was much suspected of being concerned in these enormities, and was on that suspicion committed to Newgate. On his trial he proved an *alibi* by the evidence of two ladies, in whose company he was sitting till 12 o'clock.

§ 7. During the year 1731 was a very great drought, insomuch that cattle were driven several miles to water; the grass was burnt up all round Bristol, and hay was brought hither from the north and west counties, and sold at £4 per ton.

§ 8. Feb' 21, 1734, William Henry Nassau, Prince of Orange, came to this city, pursuant to an invitation presented to him at Bath by Mr. Pope and Mr. Glisson, the Sheriffs. He came to England in Nov' last, in order to espouse the Princess Royal; but being taken ill, he went to Bath for the recovery of his health. When he visited Bristol, he was met on the road two miles from the city, by the Mayor and Sheriffs, and a vast crowd of people with orange cockades, and conducted to the Council-house, where Wm' Cann, Esq' the Town-clerk, addressed him in a speech, to which the Prince returned a very obliging answer. This ceremony being ended, the whole body attended him to his lodgings at Alderman Peter Day's, in Queen's-square, and from thence to the Merchant's-hall, where a very elegant entertainment was

provided for him. After dinner he went to the Hotwells, where he tasted the water, and on his return, the quay and the rivers &c were shewn to him; and then about 7 o'clock he returned to the Hall, where he supped; and after supper there was a ball, where were assembled at least 500 gentlemen and ladies. His Highness opened the ball by a minuet with Sheriff Pope's lady. He slept that night at Alderman Day's. On the next day he received the compliments of the clergy; and taking his leave of the magistrates, he returned to Bath. Soon after he went to London, and on March 14 he married Ann, Princess Royal of England, our King's eldest daughter.

§ 9. On the 8*th* of Jan' 1734-5, arose in the morning a great wind, not much unequal to that in Nov' 1703, as long as it continued. It blew down four large trees in St. James's Church-yard; it rent the great bar of iron, which supported the weather-cock on St. Nicholas'-steeple; it ripped and folded up the lead of Temple Church as if it had been paper; it blew down many chimneys, untiled many houses; and did great damage to several ships, which lay in Kingroad.

§ 10. In the year 1734 was a violent contest for Members of Parliament. The candidates were the two former members, Sir Abraham Elton, Bart', and John Scroope, Esq': the former was tolerably well assured of his election, but Mr. Scroope had given offence to many of the electors by voting for a bill brought into Parliament in 1732, for laying an Excise on wines and tobacco; and by voting against the repeal of the Act for Septennial Parliaments. These causes raised strong oppositions all over England; and here in Bristol Thomas Coster Esq' was set up against Mr. Scroope. This latter, being Secretary of the Treasury, was supported by the Ministry; and the Ministry being of the whig party, of which party the majority of the Common-council then was, he was also supported by the whole influence of that body. The tories of course threw their influence into the opposite scale; and partly by this and partly by the public disapprobation of his conduct, Mr. Scroope lost his election. The poll began May 15 and continued to the 24*th*, when the numbers finally stood thus. Sir A' Elton 2428.—Mr. Coster 2071.—Mr. Scroope 1866.

On Jan' 28 following two petitions were sent up to the House of Commons; one from the Mayor, Aldermen and Common-council, and the other from the Burgesses and Freeholders, complaining of an undue election, and praying relief &c. Whereupon another petition was sent up by some of Mr. Coster's friends, absolutely denying that they set their names to the petition of and from the burgesses and freeholders praying relief herein. On Feb' 1 following the Speaker of the House of Commons sent down his warrant to Bristol to inspect the city records, charters, court-rolls, public books, writings &c; which w - - (*b*) - - - - pointedfor - - - - - barr of the House of Commons. The House began to hear the petitions on 15*th* April: but on the 22*d* of April 1735, they were all withdrawn. Still however the ministry under Sir Rob' Walpole preserved a majority in the new Parliament, which met Jan' 14, 1734-5.

§ 11. Mr. Coster did not long enjoy his honor: he died Sept' 30, 1739, at his house (*c*) in College-green. He was a sensible worthy man, resident in Bristol; and must have been a great favourite with his party; for they published a very large mezzotinto portrait of him, round which were engraven a minute account of the election and copies of the petitions. He was buried in the Cathedral. In order to fill up the vacancy occasioned by his death, a new election (*d*) began 28*th* Nov' 1739. The candidates were Edward Southwell, Esq' of King's-weston, Secretary of State for Ireland, and Henry Combe Esq'. Mr. Southwell was supported by Mr. Coster's friends; Mr. Combe by the Corporation &c. The poll was kept open for 14 days, at the close of which the numbers were, for Mr. Southwell 2651; for Mr. Combe 2203. There remained upward of 200 neutral votes.

§ 12. His Royal Highness Frederic, Prince of Wales, and Augusta his Princess came hither from Bath 10*th* Nov' 1738, and were met by the Mayor &c, at Temple-gate, where a platform was erected for the Common-council dressed in their scarlet gowns, to salute them on their arrival, and the Recorder delivered a speech to them. All the trading

(*b*) Hiatus in MS. (*c*) (*d*) Barrett, p' 162.

companies, with their flags &c, walked in procession before their coach up High-street and along the Quay to Queen-square to Mr. Combe's house. After he had received the compliments of the clergy, gentlemen &c, he was presented with the freedom of the city, and of the Society of Merchants, each in a gold box; and was then conducted to the Merchants' hall, where an elegant dinner was provided at the city's expence, and a ball at night. They lodged at Mr. Hen' Combe's that night, and returned the next morning at 10 o'clock to Bath.

§ 13. The famous Convention with Spain was concluded Jan' 14, 1738-9; wherein the interests of Great Britain seemed to be so much neglected, that a most violent clamour against the ministry was raised through the whole kingdom. Petitions against it were presented to the House of Commons from London, Bristol, Liverpool and other places. It was at the debate on this Convention, that 400 members took their seats in the House of Commons before 8 o'clock in the morning. The Convention was at last approved by a majority; but it was evident that Sir Robert Walpole's power was declining: for being no longer able to withstand the clamour of the whole nation, war was declared against Spain Oct' 23, 1739 in London, and in Bristol Oct' 29.

§ 14. At the election in the year 1741 Sir Abraham Elton, Bar't, and Mr. Southwell were re-elected without opposition. Parties at this time were more violent perhaps, than ever since the Revolution, and the elections in general more violently contested. Parliament met Dec' 1; and the opposition to the Minister was on the whole so much strengthened by this election, that within few months he retired.

§ 15. Sir Abraham Elton died 19*th* Oct' 1742, and an election to supply the vacancy began 24*th* Nov' 1742; when Robert Hoblyn Esq', who had married the only daughter of our late worthy Member, Thomas Coster Esq', was chosen without opposition. The Mayor, Sir Abraham Elton, son of the late Member, declared himself a candidate, but did not stand a poll.

§16. Jan' 19, 1741, a murder was committed here of the most atrocious kind. *Sir John Dinely Goodere*, a gentleman of a respectable family and fortune in Herefordshire, living at Stapleton, in his house, which stood at the entrance of the village on the right hand, near the modern house of *Isaac Elton* Esq', had a younger brother *Samuel G'*, who was commander of his Majesty's ship *the Ruby* of 50 guns. The two brothers always lived on the worst possible terms, so as to have a perfect hatred for each other: beside which it was generally understood, that both were liable to fits of insanity. The Ruby happened to come into *Kingroad*, and the Captain coming frequently to Bristol conceived the design of carrying off his brother; for what purpose is not certain; for it can scarcely be believed, that his first intentions was to murder him. Accordingly he engaged one of his own sailors, an Irishman, by name *Mahony*, to seize him and take him on board the Ruby, which he did, asisted by several others, in the public streets near the College-green. The circumstance is almost incredible that a gentleman could be carried off from the street of a populous city in broad day-light, notwithstanding the outcry which he made. After hurrying him along by the side of the river a considerable distance, half a mile at least, towards the Hotwells, they put him on board the ship's barge, the Captain being one of the party, and conveyed him on board the Ruby, where early the next morning he was strangled, his brother keeping watch at the door, during the time. I copy *Mahony's* confession, which gives a particular account of the (*e*) transaction; and there is no reason to doubt it's accuracy, the tale was current within the memory of many persons still living. "About the 29*th* of Nov', I, Matthew Mahony, was pressed from a protection on board his Majesty's ship Ruby, then lying in Kingroad, and could not get my wages from the captain of my ship, the Charles, James Mervin, master. On which account I was obliged to importune with the Captain of the man of war to permit me to go ashore, in order to enter a prosecution for my wages, and so to return on board the Ruby. Some time after I came ashore the Captain of the Charles was arrested and sent to Newgate. In the meanwhile the Captain of the man of war, Mr. Goodere, sent for me to his lodgings in Prince-street, and acquainted"

(*e*) The Tryal was printed in folio, and published. See also the *State-trials*.

"me that he wanted to have a man taken that had done him and his family a great deal of injury; at which I asked him upon what account he was to be taken, or who he was? Mr. Goodere answered that he was a great rogue, and was at law with him, and ruining his family; that as he was bred a seaman he would press him, and have him on board. Sometime after he sent for me again, and took me along with him to Mr. Smith's, in the College-green, and repeated the above all the way we went. I staid without the door till the Captain returned. This was about fourteen days before the unhappy affair."

"This day he told me he was going to Bath the Monday following, and I should go along with him, for that his brother was there lying sick, which, he said, was the man he wanted to take; for he was bred a seaman, and was the greatest villain upon earth; that he went by the name of Sir John Dinely, but was not worth twenty shillings. I got ready the Monday following, but did not go, Sir John being to come into town on Tuesday. Accordingly the Captain got three of the Vernon privateer's men with me at the White Hart in College-green, and his barge and yaul's crew, where we watched for Sir John, and at length seeing him come out of Mr. Smith's, we asked the Captain if we should take him then? On which he made answer, no, no, only look well at him, that you may know him again, desiring us to follow him and see where he put up, which we did, but he rode directly out of town."

"Saturday night the Captain came up to town, and sent for me, desiring me and the other men to be in readiness the next morning, and come to him; accordingly we did, when he bid us keep a good look out, for Sir John was to dine at Mr. Berrow's in Peter-street. In the afternoon, I and the privateer's men walked up that way, and in some time we saw Sir John come out of Mr. Berrow's; on which we followed at a distance till he came to College-green, when he went in to Mr. Smith's, and we went into the White Hart, and shortly after the barge crew came in likewise, and in a little time after we saw the Captain go into Mr. Smith's after his brother, and there we watched, by his orders, till his brother came out, and as he came down towards the College-green Coffee-house, we rushed out, and at the bottom of the hill one of the privateer's men stept up to him, and told him a gentleman wanted"

"to speak to him, a little ways off. With that he walked freely a little, and seeing nobody he thought could have any business with him, did not care to go farther, on which we forced him along; and the Captain coming up, ordered us to make speed, and hasten him along."

"As we were hurrying him along, he cried out Murder! Murder! Is there nobody will relieve me? We then made a great noise to drown his cries; and if any one enquired who he was, his brother would answer, He's a crazy man, never mind him. With that four men took him up, and forced him into the barge, which lay near the Hotwell. After which Sir John sat down, and seeing somebody ashore he thought took notice of him, cried out, "Pray tell Mr. Jarritt Smith in College Green, Sir John Dinely is gone on board the man of war." On which the barge put off. Then he spoke to his brother, "Sam, *says he*, what is it you mean by this? Where are you carrying me too? You'll dearly suffer for this: 'tis a little hard you should use me so, when I might have thrown you into goal, and let you rot there. I have been too good natured to you." Then Sir John said to the barge's crew, "Gentlemen, this is my youngest brother, a cowardly good for nothing r—l as any in England." Telling him, "if I was to meet you on the high seas with a Spanish man of war of twenty guns, and you with your British fifty gun ship, I would desire no better sport, I would make you besh—t yourself." The Captain replied, "Curst cows have short horns, we must give liberty to a madman to say what he will; and to the best of my knowledge the Captain bid him leave off his noise, and make his peace with God that night." To which he replied, "Sam, you are going to murder me, and your best way is to knock me on the head, and heave me overboard, or get your fellows to do it, and afterwards go ashore and hang yourself; you had as good do it first as last." The Captain in the discourse told him, "he had got him out of the lion's mouth, and would take care of him &c," and so continued jarring till they got him on board the Ruby."

"As soon as he was on board, the Captain ordered the men to carry him into the purser's cabbin; ordered a sentry; and bid the carpenter put some bolts on the outside of the door; he then ordered the servant to bring a bottle of rum and a glass; then he sat down with his brother,"

" and asked him to drink a dram; when Sir John said, " No; for he had drank nothing but water for these two years;" the Captain replied, " you are the better for that," and discoursed with him for about three quarters of an hour, [and at one time Sir John was overheard to say, " Brother Sam, don't kill me like a coward, but loose me, and fight me like a man.] The Captain then went upon deck; and Elisha Cole (whom he had just sent for,) and myself, (Cole being then drunk) went into the boatswain's cabbin with several others, where we drank flip for near two hours."

" About 11 that night, the Captain sent for me to his cabbin, and bid me fetch Cole to him; but he being dead drunk, lying upon a chest, I could get no answer from him; the Captain hereupon went with me to Cole, and took a bottle of rum with him; he took hold of Cole by the arm-pits, stirring and talking to him, but could get no other answer but cursing and swearing upon the chest; so we both returned to the cabbin, where he made me sit down with him, and drink about a pint and a half of rum, and then he opened his mind to me, telling me, his brother was mad, and he must be killed. I made him reply, that as he was the next person of kin, he was the properest person to execute the office; and that as for my part, for this ship full of money, I would not do such a thing. He seemed to be much concerned, and told me if I would not another would, and made me sit down and drink more, still insisting upon the same. I told him it was the only crime that had no redemption in England, and so remarked to him the affair of the Duke of Shrewsbury's brother-in-law; for though his friends were so great, yet he could have no more favour shewn him for his murder than another man, only that he could be hanged at four in the morning; but still he made me drink till I was quite void of my reason; and by his promise of a great deal of money, and what he would do for me, he at length brought me over to his measures; assuring me that there was no man had any thing to do with me but himself; but I told him I was not able to manage it with him. Then he asked me if I knew one Charles White, desiring me to bring him to the cabbin, where he treated him with rum till he was drunk, and promised him the like reward. Then the Captain went down to the purser's cabbin, and took away the sword from the centry, and ordered the centry upon deck. With that he returned to his own"

"cabbin, and bid us come along with him, having his drawn cutlass under his arm, and sent us both into the purser's cabbin, urging us to go on until we laid violent hands on Sir John. I had the rope in my hand, which the Captaine had prepared for the purpose, and Sir John feeling it in the dark, asked me, if I was going to hang him! I made answer no, no, and so gave the rope to White. But when he was destroyed, the Captain handing in a light, felt his pulse, and put his hand about his throat, and said the business is done! Then sending us out he locked the door, taking the key with him, bid us follow him into the cabbin, where we gave him his brother's watch, and money that we took out of his pockets; with that the Captain gave us his own watch, (and kept his brother's) and some of his own money along with Sir John's, and ordered us another bottle of rum, and to go ashore in the yaul, for she was going to town; telling us that he would give us more."

"P. S. Inasmuch as the world are apt to fix the murder of Sir John principally upon us, I Matthew Mahony think it my duty farther to inform the world, that before White came into the cabbin, the Captain said, *If I can get no body to comply with my request*, (to murder him) *I will myself cut his throat*. In short he seemed so fully bent to destroy him, that he once called the carpenter to knock up a staple, that he might hang him thereon *himself:* and had once proposed to stifle him with sulphureous smoak in the purser's cabbin.—And we have further to add, that after the murder was done, the Captain retired to bed, and we went to the other part of the ship; from whence we returned in a little time, when the Captain jumped out of bed, and kissed and embraced us for what we had done, telling us, that when the noise was over, he would get us any post we were capable of undertaking; or, if we settled at home, he would remit money to us at any time."

"We also declare to the world, that the Captain gave us the rope to strangle Sir John with; and that when we attacked him, Charles White seized him by the throat, twisting his stock or neckcloth, and fixing his hand or fist against his throat, till he was dead, whilst I, Matth' Mahony, lay upon his legs and body to prevent his struggling; and afterwards, lest he should not be dead enough, Charles White whipt the cord about his"

"neck, and pulled it tight, to finish our dreadful work. But, yet blessed be God, though we were thus drawn in and deluded by the Captain, we both forgive him and our prosecutors, with all our hearts, as we expect to be forgiven by an offended God, through the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and die in charity with all the world. Signed in the condemned-room, Newgate, the 13*th* day of April 1741, by us

"*Witness* Miles Harry. "*Matthew Mahony, Charles White.*"

It was mentioned above that many persons saw the unfortunate man forcibly carried by his brother on board the barge; this soon became matter of public notoriety, and a report of the murder being spread abroad, application was made to the Mayor for a warrant, which after some unaccountable and unjustifiable delay was granted. In consequence of this, the Water-bailiff with his silver oar was sent into Kingroad, where he arrested Captain Goodere and brought him up to town.

Several particulars of their behaviour after condemnation are here copied from a penny sheet of paper, which was probably hawked about the streets at the time, ornamented with a whole length portrait of the Captain in full dress, hat and feather, full curled wig over his shoulders, cravat, deep laced ruffled cuffs, stiff spreading skirts to the coat, pocket very low, and sword by his side.(*f*) "There seeming to be an innate principle of intrepidity in the Captain, the sentence of death had (in all appearance) but little effect upon him, till within a very few days of his dissolution. The principal of his time he spent in writing petitions, some to friends, others to his superiors, and even to the King himself: but all proved in vain, though the latter was delivered by his unfortunate lady in person. The day after sentence was passed, his said lady came to him full of tears and earnestly exhorted him seriously to repent and prepare for eternity. To which he replied, *in a day or two he would*, and ordered her to get his coffin made, for that he would have it to lie in his room by him; and that it should be the same sort, as those had who were to suffer with him. On the day after a clergyman visited *White*, *Mahony*, and the woman, and prayed with them three only; which the Captain being sensible of, said to one of those who watched over him, *he much admired, that as he was to be hanged with them, he could not pray with them.*"

(*f*) The wooden Print in the following page is an exact fac-simile.

"To which the person replyed, perhaps a dispute might arise between them. The Captain answered, *D—n it, he did not want any dispute, but that he would have the right hand &c.* The next day the Captain asked one of his guard, whether Mr. Dagg was the person, who hanged

them? He was answered No; but that it was a clever young fellow out of Somersetshire, who wore ruffles. At which the Captain said, *d—n it he did not care what he wore, for that he knew the ceremony; which was, that when the cart drew, off they went with a swing, and then, good*"

"*night, Nicholas.* Sometimes he would behave very serious; then in extasie would fly out in great disorder and flutter, blaming the neglect of those he said he had served, who now would not serve him (meaning to get him a reprieve): and said *the usage of his friends towards him was worse* (he thought) *than murder.*"

"On the Saturday before the day of execution, Capt' Goodere offered Mr. Dagg the keeper a thousand guineas in hand, provided he would let him escape, and a thousand more, when he possessed the estate."

"The last night the Captain drank wine and went to bed, as usual; and the morning of the execution breakfasted as hearty as ever. He committed some things to writing; the purport of which is, that he acknowledged the fact for which he died; that he had been a wicked old man, and deserved death: but that he never intended to destroy his brother, till he used him with that provoking language, that he would make him to rot in a goal for hurrying him away as he did."

"Mahony and White behaved decently at intervals, but they were two bold hardened fellows. They took their regular meals to the last night, when White after he was locked down was seen with a great quart of ale in his hand. That night Mahony slept very sound; but White was very fervent and earnest in prayer (after the idol of his appetite was removed) the most part of the night. When they came to Newgate, after sentence was passed, the Captain being first, White lifted up his fist and cursed him very bitterly." The paper here copied gives several other instances of the extreme insensibility and miserable hardiness of these two ruffians: "in short, (it proceeds) the behaviour of them all, except the poor unhappy woman, was surprizing, considering their shocking circumstances; for when the minister's back was turned, White would often say, *come, prayers are dry; bring us a quart of ale.*"

"Wednesday the 15*th* of April 1741, Captain Goodere, White and Mahony, and the woman for killing her bastard child, were conveyed to St. Michael's-hill gallows, the Captain in a mourning coach attended by parson Penrose, and the three latter in a cart, with halters about their necks: and the Captain dropping his handkerchief for a signal, the cart drew away. Mahony is hanged in chains at the river's mouth." The house where Mr. Jarritt Smith then dwelt, and where Sir John Goodere

dined with him, was in College-green, the second house from St. Augustine's churchyard: and the public-house where the wretches met and watched him was on the other side of the way lower down, nearly opposite to the present gate of St. Augustine's churchyard, but somewhat lower down.

This extraordinary outrage very much engaged the public attention. The King's ministers, fearful lest such an atrocious offender should escape by any subterfuge, wrote to Sir Michael Foster, the Recorder, inquiring whether the right, which the city claimed, of trying a criminal under those circumstances was unquestionable: the correspondence may be seen in the *Life of Sir Michael Foster*. The (*g*) report of the tryal may be found in *Foote's Memoirs* (he was a nephew of the Captain); in the *Newgate Calendar*, vol' 3, p' 36, and the most compleat of all in the *State Tryals* by Howell, vol' 17, p' 1003. For his confession see *Charnock's Biographia Navalis*, vol' 4, p' 247, a transcript of which is in the *Bristol Memorialist* by Evans, 1816. After the execution the body of the fratricide was brought by the Under-sheriff, followed by an immense crowd, to the Infirmary, where a receipt was given for it by Messrs. Thornhill and Page, who were in waiting for it. The subject was then placed on a tressle; and Mr. Thornhill taking a scalpel made a crucial incision. In this state it was exposed to the populace until evening, when it was delivered to the friends."

§ 17. April 5, 1744, war was declared in this city against France, which had been declared in London March 31. The French had been aiding the Spaniards against Britain during the whole time of the war. July 12, 1745 [*al'* Sept' 8] the *Duke* and *Prince Frederic*, two London privateers brought into Kingroad two French [*al'* Spanish] prizes, from Peru, named the *Marquis d'Antin*, and the *Louis Erasme*, Capt' P' Lavigne Lunell, laden with silver of the weight and value, as follows:

	C.	*q.*	*lb.*
1093 chests of silver, gross	1573	2	10
Tare at 10 *lb'* per chest [*al'* 10 per cent']	97	2	10
Neat	1476	0	0

(*g*) For the remainder of this account copied for the most part from a MS *History of the Bristol Infirmary*, I am indebted to Richard Smith, Esq' Senior Surgeon of that admirable Institution.

Which at 5*s* 6*d* per oz' amounts to £727,372 16*s*. The chests were all nearly of the same size, and weighed from 150 *lb'* to 200 *lb'*, so that the heavy ones were supposed to contain gold, which would make the value considerably higher than is calculated above. There were also 5 chests of wrought plate, several tons of cocoa, a gold church in miniature, and several other valuable things. This treasure was sent to London in 22 [*al* 45] waggons, escorted by a detachment of foot-soldiers, commanded by two Lieutenants, and the ship's companies properly armed. Such an unusual sight drew together an amazing number of spectators. They were unwilling to continue their voyage to London, probably for fear of the enemies' privateers in the English channel. These two London ships (commonly called the *Family Privateers*,) have been (*h*) erroneously reported as Bristol ships, but the fact was, as mentioned above, the owners were Londoners: and it was reported that when the treasure arrived in London, they "contrived to get all the seamen pressed or kidnapped, and sent to India or the coast of Guinea, whence few of them ever returned: the whole of the prize-money then fell into the hands of the ship owners; but after some time a suit was instituted in Chancery, where it still remains undecided. At the date of these notes (1794) there remained perhaps half a dozen persons, or upwards, the descendants of some of the privateers' crew, either in Pancras-workhouse, or wheeling barrows about the streets of the Metropolis, entitled to very large sums."

§ 18. "In the (*i*) year 1745, when Prince Charles Stuart, with a body of Scottish Highlanders invaded England, and was advanced as far as Derby, the whole nation was thrown into confusion. Numbers of the citizens here in Bristol met at the Merchants'-hall, and there signed a parchment, containing their resolution to stand by King George and the royal family: and on another parchment they subscribed their names to such sums as they intended to contribute towards raising men for the King's service, which at length amounted to £36,450. They gave about £5 per man to enlist, and above 60 were sent to London to be incorpo-"

(*h*) See Gentlem' Mag' Suppl' 1, 1824; where many other circumstances are recorded.

(*i*) Barr' p' 699.

"rated in the King's guards. Monday, Oct' 7, 1745, the *Trial* privateer and her prize, which she had taken bound to Scotland with firelocks and other warlike stores, and having on board £6000 in money, and a number of men, came into Kingroad. Two Irishmen taken on board the prize were sent to London in a coach and six horses on the following Thursday."

§ 19. Parliament was dissolved 18*th* June, 1747, before the regular termination, and a new Parliament was summoned to meet Aug' 13. The candidates were Mr. Southwell and Mr. Hoblyn, the former members: and Mr. Dicker also declared himself a candidate, and a strong opposition was expected: but Mr. Dicker declined the contest two days before the poll was to begin, and left the city, alledging that he would not cause strife and dissention among his neighbours.

§ 20. The peace of Aix-la-chapelle was concluded and signed 7*th* Oct' 1748: but great complaints were made by the merchants, that their interests were not sufficiently secured. The peace, however, was not proclaimed until 6*th* Feb' 1748-9, the proclamation being so long delayed for the sake of preparing illuminations and fireworks, &c. which were very splendid not only in England, but in France and Holland also. On the day above mentioned, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-council-men, in their scarlet gowns, preceeded by their officers, city music, drums, &c, attended by the merchants, and followed by near 50 coaches, performed the usual ceremony. Peace was proclaimed in High-street, where the High Cross formerly stood; next at St. Peter's Cross; next at Temple Cross; next at St. Thomas Pipe; next at King William's Statue in Queen's-square; next at the Quay Pipe; and lastly, before the door of the Exchange. Wine ran at several places among the populace, and the whole was conducted with grandeur, solemnity, and good order.

§ 21. Soon after this, in 1748, or early in 1749, petitions were presented to Parliament from London and Liverpool, and from the Master, Wardens, &c. of the Society of Merchant Adventurers in

Bristol, against the exclusive privileges of the African Company. The affair was dropped for the present, but resumed in 1749-50; when similar petitions being presented from Bristol, Liverpool, and Lancaster, it was settled that the exclusive right should be abolished, and the trade thrown open.

§ 22. In the summer of the year 1749, turnpikes were erected by an Act of Parliament passed for the purpose of repairing the roads ten miles all round the city, which occasioned great murmurings among the country people, who clamoured against the toll as a mighty grievance; especially the colliers at Kingswood. About a fortnight after the erection of the gates, the Ashton pike was destroyed in the night, and soon after the Bitton pike was blown up by gunpowder in the night. The Commissioners offered £100 reward on conviction of any of the offenders, and again set up the gates which had been destroyed. But in some few days the Bitton pike was cut down; and three persons present coming into the city afterwards, were taken and committed to Newgate, which so enraged the Somersetshire men, that they threatened they would come and release the prisoners. And accordingly on the day appointed, Aug' 1, they came in a very great body, 500 or 600, in open day, armed with clubs, pikes, hay-knives, and some guns, displaying ensigns, and drums beating; and three were mounted on horseback as commanders. They first destroyed the Ashton pike, and then proceeded to Bedminster, where they continued in a body till 11 o'clock in the forenoon, and while they were there, intirely pulled down the house of one —— Durbin, an officer of the peace. They then advanced to Redcliffe-hill, and Redcliffe-gate being shut, they went through Pile-street up Totterdown, where they presently destroyed the Brislington and Whitchurch turnpikes, amidst a numerous party of spectators in the fields. The Sheriffs of Bristol went with constables and their own officers to Temple-gate, to protect the city; and when some gentlemen, citizens, who attended them, earnestly requested them to go on, urging that if they proceeded no further, the rioters would return unmolested, the Sheriffs refused to do so, and forbade the constables or their own officers to go beyond the liberties of the city, whereupon Mr. John

Brickdale, junior, with many other citizens, and about 50 sailors, armed with cutlasses, drove the rioters, and took prisoners 27 or 28 of them, who were all committed to Newgate; and on application to the *Duke of Newcastle*, Secretary of State, the Crown prosecuted them. Four of them were tried at Taunton Assizes for pulling down Durbin's house, two of whom were convicted and executed. The others were tried at Salisbury Assizes; but notwithstanding that the fact was notoriously proved against several of them, the jury, being country people, would not find one man of them guilty. The colliers of Kingswood also rose, and destroyed the Gloucestershire pikes and houses, and continued ranging the country for a week or more, extorting money from travellers, and living on free quarter among the farmers. Several trifling particulars of these riots, and of the battles fought at the turnpikes between the country people and the gentry, are still remembered, as related by the actors themselves. Notwithstanding which riots and the demolition of the gates, it appears that turnpike gates have been maintained ever since.

§ 23. August 25, 1749, or more probably 1750, Joseph Abseny was executed for the murder of Mary Wither, at the White Ladies public house, and hung in chains on Durdham Down.

§ 24. About the beginning of the year 1750, there appeared a remarkable *Aurora Borealis*, which seems to have drawn as much attention, as that in 1716. Feb' 1, there happened a prodigious tempest of thunder and lightning, with wind, rain and hail: it fell particularly on this city, overwhelming the inhabitants with consternation. On Feb' 8 London was alarmed by a violent earthquake, which was felt in Bristol also; and again on March 8 another still more violent was felt in London, accompanied with unusal circumstances of terror. That these two events should happen at precisely the interval of a month, was a singularity not unobserved by enthusiasts or knaves, who from thence predicted that a third on April 8 would utterly destroy the city: which prediction, however ridiculous, alarmed the inhabitants of that city to the utmost degree of terror.

§ 25. Early in this year, 1751, a Bill was brought into the House of Commons for naturalizing all foreign Protestants, who should settle in the dominions of Great Britain; which same proposal had occasioned great troubles in 1693. Prudent men were much divided in their opinions on this question; but the common people were universally adverse to it, and for the most part mercantile men. Many petitions on both sides were presented to Parliament; among them was a petition from the merchants and principal inhabitants of Bristol, representing many ill consequences which they supposed would result from such a law. The Bill at last was laid aside.

§ 26. In the spring of the year 1753, petitions were presented to Parliament from the grocers and sugar refiners of London, Westminster and Bristol, complaining of the exorbitant price of sugar, and praying for some regulations whereby the planters of Jamaica might be induced to raise a greater quantity.

§ 27. The intended Bill to naturalize Jews, A' D' 1753, was strongly opposed in this city, by addresses sent to the Members of Parliament from the citizens at large, and the members of the Merchants'-hall.

§ 28. In the month of May 1753, the colliers of Kingswood, Coalpit-heath, and other works rose in a tumultuous manner on account of the exportation of corn, and the high price of bread. After gathering together for several days on Monday May 21, between 1 and 2 o'clock in the afternoon they entered the city through Lawford's-gate in a body of some hundreds without weapons, and with them many women: and they had a captain at their head, a very tall stout man, with a large hat, and a silk handkerchief on a long staff, which served for a flag. They made their way without stopping to the Council-house, and addressed the Mayor and Common-council in a petition, representing the hardships which they and their families endured by the exportation of corn, the dearness of bread &c; and praying to be relieved. They were very civilly received, and relief was promised, as soon as it lay in the power of the Magistrates; and they were told that an alteration would soon be

made in the article of bread. The greater part seemed satisfied with this answer: but many others soon shewing their dislike thereto, the proclamation against riots was redd: after which a gentleman of the Common-council exhorted them to disperse. Soon after part of them divided from the main body and went to the Quay, where they forcibly went on board the Lamb, Capt' John Price, bound for Dublin, laden with wheat and other merchandize; they broke the bar, which secured the main hatch, removed a hogshead full of goods which was on the deck into another ship, and began hoisting up the wheat. The Magistrates hearing of this violence sent a body of constables, headed by a gentleman of the Common-council carrying a drawn sword, to oppose them and to prevent them from carrying off the corn and visiting other vessels. The constables went furiously to work with their long staves and struck down several of the colliers; of whom others had broken heads and were otherwise beaten: some leaped overboard into the mud, and while some made what resistance they were able, others escaped by flight. The constables having thus delivered the vessel were coming off victorious, carrying with them some of the colliers, whom they had taken prisoners: but those who escaped soon informed their companions what had happened: upon which a strong party went down Small-street to rescue the prisoners, at sight of whom the constables let them go and shifted for themselves. The colliers then drove all before them and turned up Broad-street. Here another fray happened and the constables laid about them with their staves manfully, while the colliers pelted them with stones. They also beset the Council-house, dashing the windows to pieces, and wounding several persons in it with stones and brickbats; Counsellor Elton in particular received a wound in his leg. However at length the constables with some asistance got the better of the colliers, who took to their heels, threatening that they would be revenged on the constables, and would return again well provided with arms. Several of them being taken were brought before the Magistrates, who after gentle reproofs and telling them the danger to which they exposed their lives, dismissed them on promise of their good behaviour for the future: only one person, being probably a ringleader, was detained and committed to Bridewell. The disturbances occasioned the Magistrates to give orders for the citizens

to provide themselves with fire-arms, powder and ball, cutlasses &c, the militia to be raised, and a strong guard to be kept at the Guildhall, ready against the colliers' second visit. On Tuesday they still gave out that they would come with vengeance, and all things were prepared to give them a warm reception. Wednesday the city remained in peace, only advice was received, that the colliers were gathering round Kingswood as many as possible to join them, in order to make good their repeated threatenings. Thursday they still took great pains to collect a large body, vowing to give the city a visit that day, and notice was given by several persons of their intention. Whereupon between 5 and 6 o'clock in the evening, the militia well armed and a large number of the most respectable merchants and tradesmen and others, together with the constables armed, marched into the Old-market by beat of drum: but the colliers failing in their resolution, the militia &c returned to their rendezvous. But betwen 9 and 10 o'clock the same evening, another alarm was given by a body of weavers and low-lived persons, who came to Lawford's-gate by beat of drum, with a captain at their head, shouting. The Mayor upon this headed the militia, and marched up to the gate by beat of drum: but this mob making no opposition, the Mayor ordered the gate to be shut, and the militia to their former rendezvous; and the city remained quiet all night. Friday between 10 and 11 o'clock in the forenoon, the Mayor received a letter, giving him notice that the colliers were up in a very great body, joined by weavers, hatters, pedlars and others, and that they intended to be in the city in two hours time, and that they were then at the New-church (then building) about a mile and a half from the city. Immediately on this advice 50 dragoons of the Scotch Greys, who came that morning from Gloucester, the militia, the citizens, and constables were ordered to arms to be ready to receive them. About one o'clock at noon the colliers entered the city by way of Milk-street, and a party of them advanced to Bridewell in order to rescue him of their gang, who was there imprisoned: and as they climbed the gates, one of them, a young man, was shot dead by a musket shot from the prison. Notwithstanding this, they gave three cheers over the dead body, and removed it. They then fell to work on the gates, made a breach in them, dashed the windows to pieces, broke open the prison,

rescued their companion and did other damage. Before they got off, a party of gentlemen came up, and fired upon them; some were killed and many wounded, and some of the gentlemen also were wounded. During this conflict the Mayor, at the head of a party, marched down the Pithay to attack them and to aid those gentlemen, who had so roughly handled them; but they having driven them off, there was little for the Mayor to do. After this sharp bout the colliers dispersed into several parties, some running one way and some another, and some were driven through Castle-street, and some through Broad-street &c, getting off as they could. Some of the gentlemen extending their pursuit too far were knocked down, and much wounded: but happily some of the most resolute citizens made their way through Lawford's-gate down West-street, and brought off Messrs. Brickdale, Knox and Miller: Mr. Davis and others escaped with pistol in hand down the lane leading to St. Philip's-plain, [and one or two gentlemen were actually carried off and kept in a coalpit many days, and not without great difficulty at last released.] During the whole encounter four of the rioters were killed, many wounded, and 29 made prisoners. It was computed that their number was about 2000. This attack of the colliers afforded matter of mirth and conversation for many succeeding years; while the conduct of well-known citizens, and the folly and strange dialect of the assailants were in general remembrance, nor are they yet wholly forgotten. Similar (*k*) disturbances on the same account happened in Yorkshire and at Manchester and several other places in the northern counties: at Leeds eight or nine of the rioters were killed by the soldiers in quelling the tumult. The writer whom I here quote attributes these excesses to the neglect of a whig government, which out of too nice a tenderness for popular liberty had taken no care to restrain the licentious insolence of the vulgar by proper laws and regulations.

§ 29. Parliament was dissolved in 1754, by proclamation, a little while before the regular period of seven years; and Wednesday, April 17, the election of new members began in this city. The numbers were as follow:—Robert Nugent, 2592.—Richard Beckford, 2246.—Sir John

(*k*) Smollet.

Philips, Bar't 2160. Mr. Nugent, afterward Lord Clare, was a government man, and was supported by the whigs. It was a strong opposition and much rancour and animosity were shewn on all sides. Mr. Beckford died early in 1756, and the election of a new M' P' began on March 2. The candidates were Jarritt Smyth Esq', attorney at law, living in Bristol, afterward Sir Jarritt Smyth Bar't; and Thomas Spencer Esq'. The poll closed on the 17*th*, when Mr. Smyth was declared duly elected: but a petition was presented against the return. Mr. Smyth was considered to be of the high party, but a moderate man.

§ 30. Open hostilities began between the fleets of France and England in May 1755, although war was not declared until May 1756. In the year 1757, "fifty-one (*l*) privateers were fitted out here to cruize against the French, in hope of capturing the stores going to their settlements in North America. But many, who hoped to gain fortunes by these adventures, were great losers."

§ 31. A petition was sent to Parliament in 1757 from the Society of Merchant-Venturers, praying that the importation of American bar-iron might be allowed, duty free, into the other ports of Britain, as well as into London. The proposal was much argued, not only in many debates in Parliament, but also in many pamphlets, and several petitions on both sides were presented. In fine the importation was permitted.

§ 32. In the month of Nov' 1758, the *Belliqueux*, a French ship of 64 guns and 417 men, by mistake entered the Bristol channel in a fog, and cast anchor not knowing where she was. News was soon brought to Kingroad, where lay the Antelope of 50 guns; and an officer was dispatched to Captain Saumarez, who happened to be at a ball at the Hotwells. A waiter mounted on the table and demanded aloud '*Is Captain Saumarez in the room?*' '*Here*,' was the answer from among the croud, and a few hours brought him in sight of the enemy. The commander of the Belliqueux at first was inclined to fight, but afterward struck his flag to a vessel inferior to his own in men and guns, and was brought a prize into Kingroad.

(*l*) Barrett, p' 701.

§ 33. In Jan' 1760 (*m*) the Corporation presented the freedom of the city to the Right Hon' William Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle, in two gold boxes.

§ 34. King George II died Oct' 25, 1760. And here I conclude these *Historical Memoirs* of my native city; apprehending, that the further extension of them toward our own times would be *incedere* (*n*) *per ignes suppositos cineri doloso;* that is, it would be done at the risque of giving offence to many, who were either themselves, or their relations, or their predecessors engaged in the transactions to be recorded. For this reason among many, it seems necessary, that some due distance of time should elapse between the events recorded, and the writer who records them: and therefore after thanking my fellow-citizens in particular, for the patronage and encouragement, which they have given to this work, the extent of which I acknowledge with pleasure, as flattering to myself, and as a proof of the literary spirit of the city, I willingly resign to some historian of another century the task of continuing the *historical* memoirs of this city through the long and eventful age of George III, and during the unexampled prosperity of the present Reign.

(*m*) Barrett, p' 701.

(*n*) Hor' Od' 2, 1.

END OF CHAPTER XXXV.

and of

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ADVERTISEMENT.

In the *Prospectus* of the Memoirs of Bristol published Feb' 15, 1821, and in the title-page of that book, a distinction was made between the *Historical* Memoirs and the *Topographical;* and the latter was considered as a work wholly separate from the former, which might be carried on, or not, according to circumstances. By the completion of the Historical Memoirs, my Subscribers and myself being mutually released, it remains to be considered, whether the Topographical division shall be undertaken or not. If *not*, the two Volumes already published may properly be deemed an entire work, and it is presumed, may be placed as such in the library of an Antiquary. On the other hand, it seems to be the prevailing wish of the Subscribers, that the design should be compleated, by adding that Division which they consider to be the more interesting of the two. On my part, I am ready to proceed with the Topographical Memoirs of Bristol, if the same encouragement shall be given to them, which was given to the Historical; I have ample materials before me, and the liberal offer of many more; and the compilation, although laborious, will yet be attended with no small literary gratification to one, whose studies already lead that way, and whose strong local attachments give an importance to the subject, which a stranger does not readily adopt.

The Plan, which I propose, has been already mentioned in the Prospectus; viz, to continue the Chapters thus; XXXVI. The Abbey of St. Augustine.—the Gaunts:—the Carmelites &c.—Church and Parish of St. James.—Of St. John and St. Giles &c.—Clifton &c.—Of the rivers Severn, Avon and Froome.—Of the Schools.—Of the Poor, Hospitals, and Almshouses.—Library and Philosophical Institution, Learning, Arts and Science, Manners, Dialect &c.—List of Mayors &c.—Biography &c &c. And in going over the subjects in this manner there will be an opportunity of taking up any circumstances, which may have escaped notice in the preceding volumes.

To what size or price these Topographical Memoirs shall extend, it would be difficult, perhaps impracticable, at present to determine. In this state therefore I leave the whole proposal to the reader's consideration for some months; meanwhile proceeding with the work, and endeavouring to ascertain the public opinion on the subject.

February 1, 1825.

[J. M. Gutch, Printer, 15, Small-street, Bristol.]

On account of several errors and omissions, the Reader is requested to cancel the former list, given at the end of the *second Part*, and to substitute the following amended

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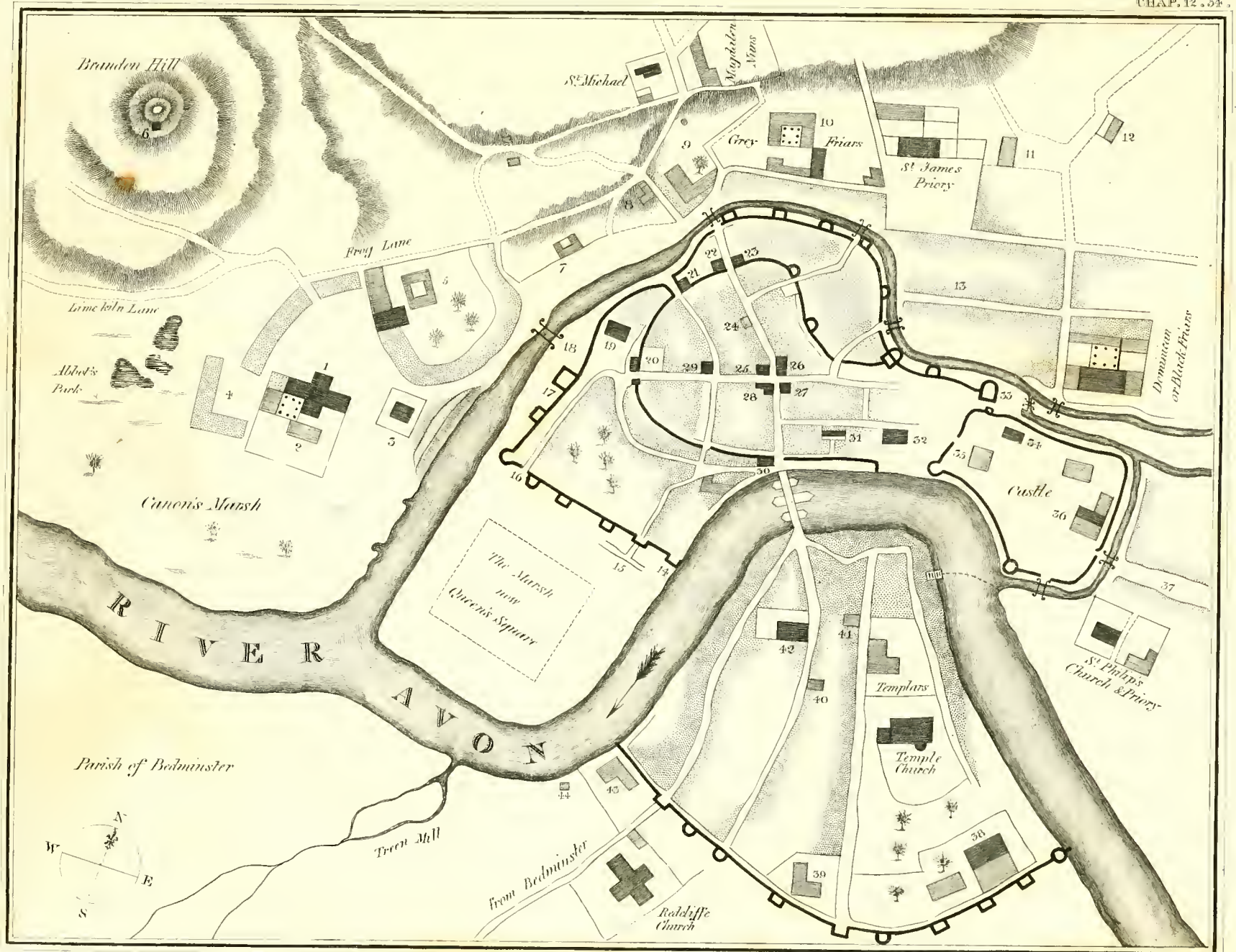

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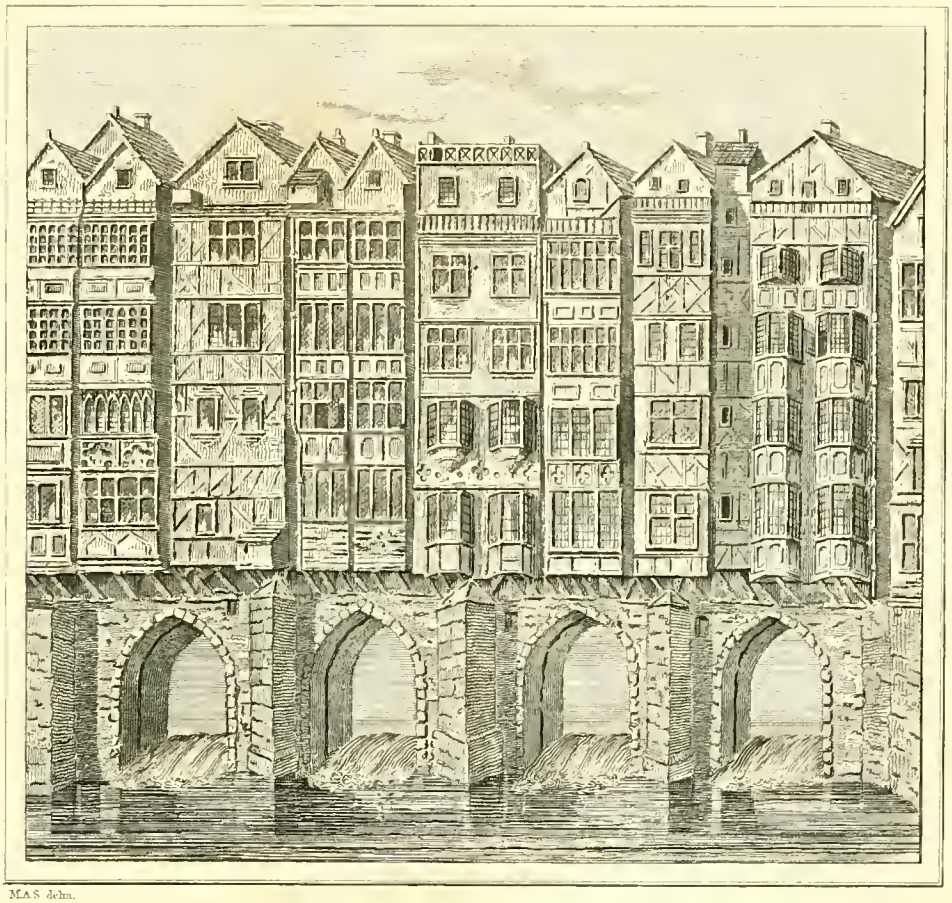

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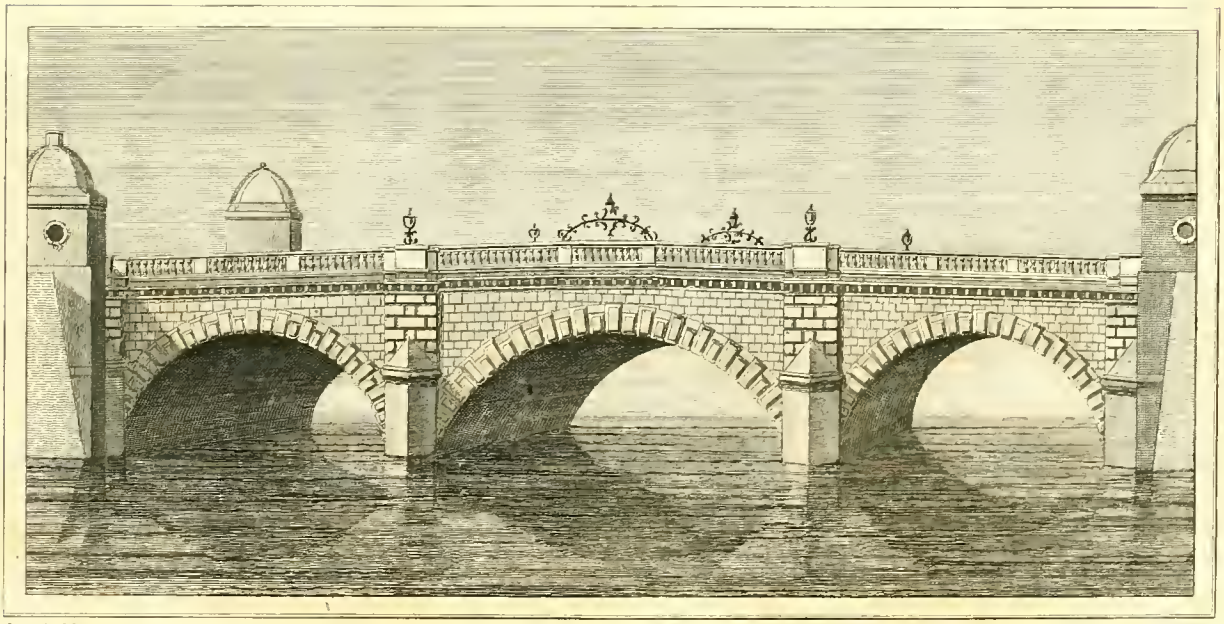

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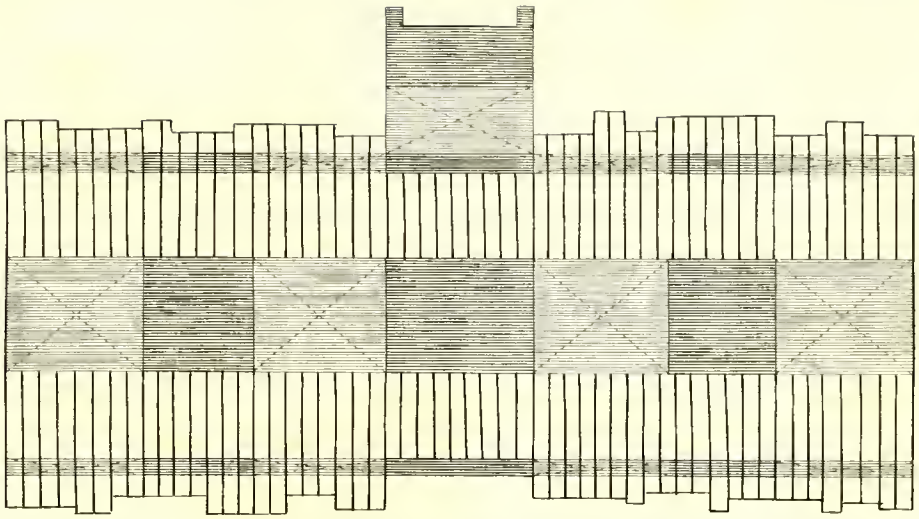

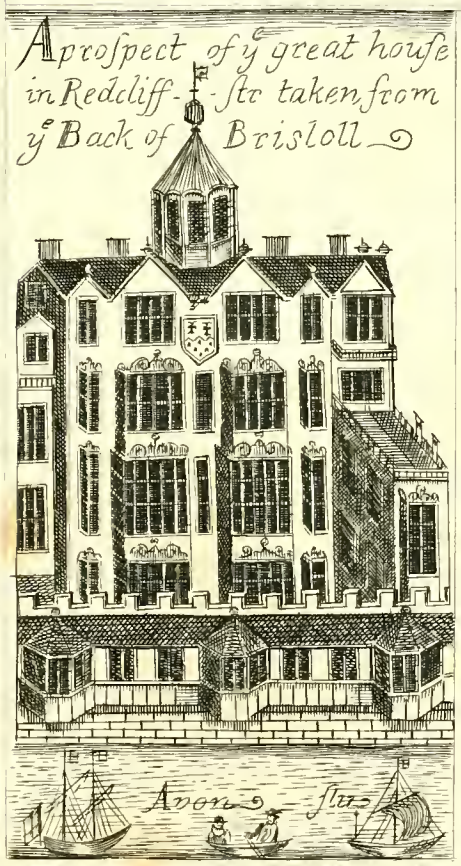

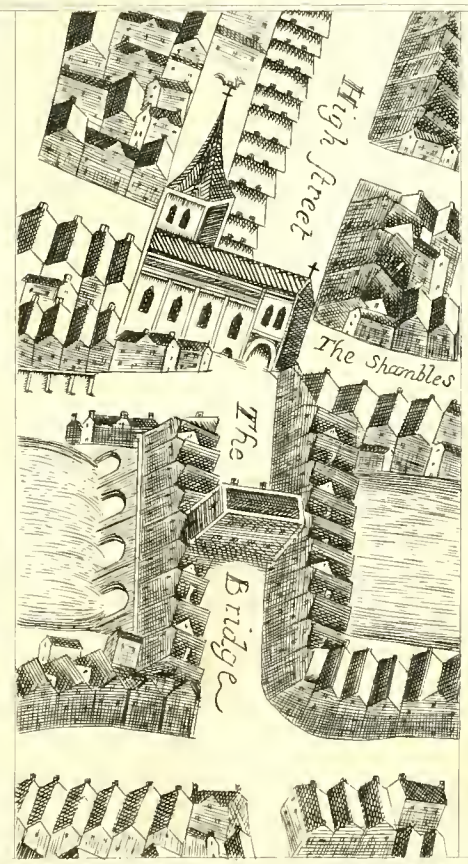

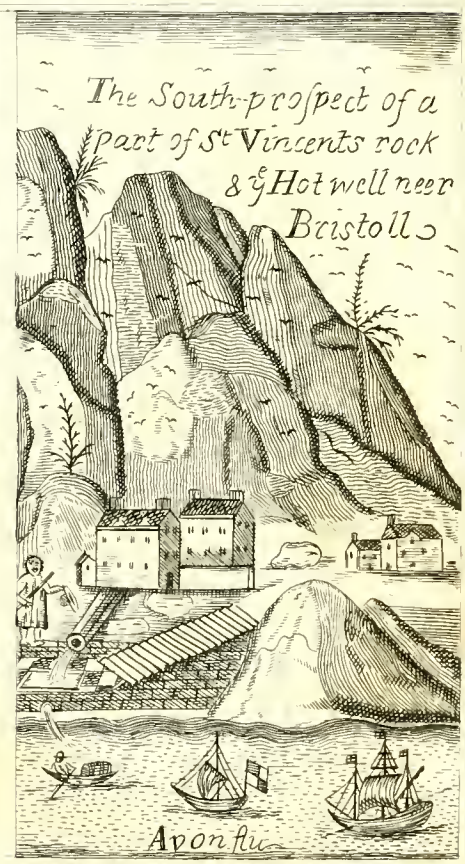

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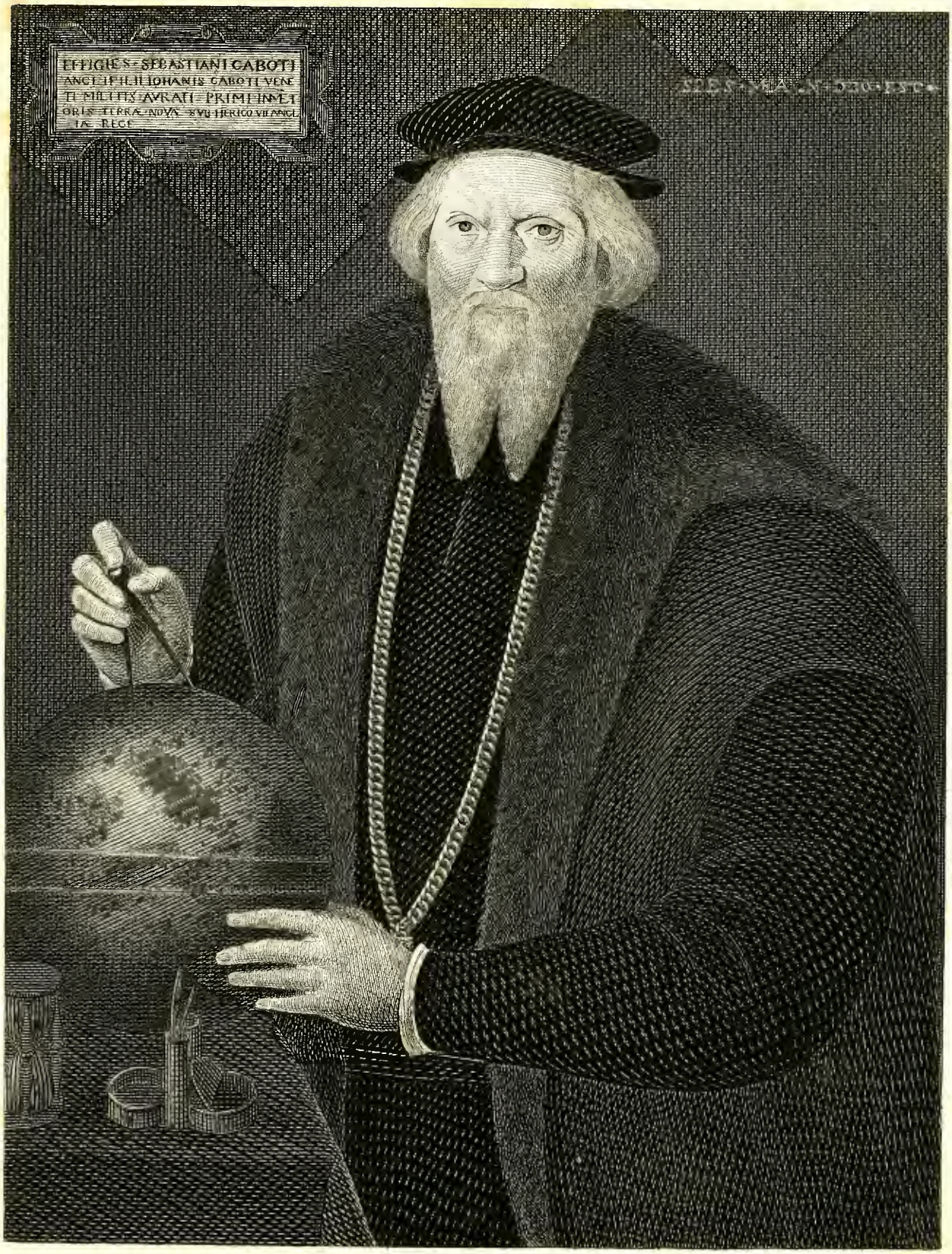
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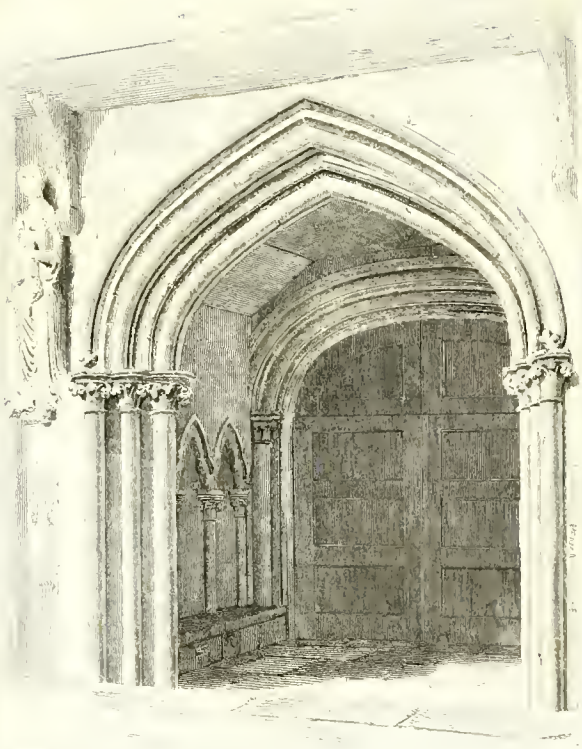

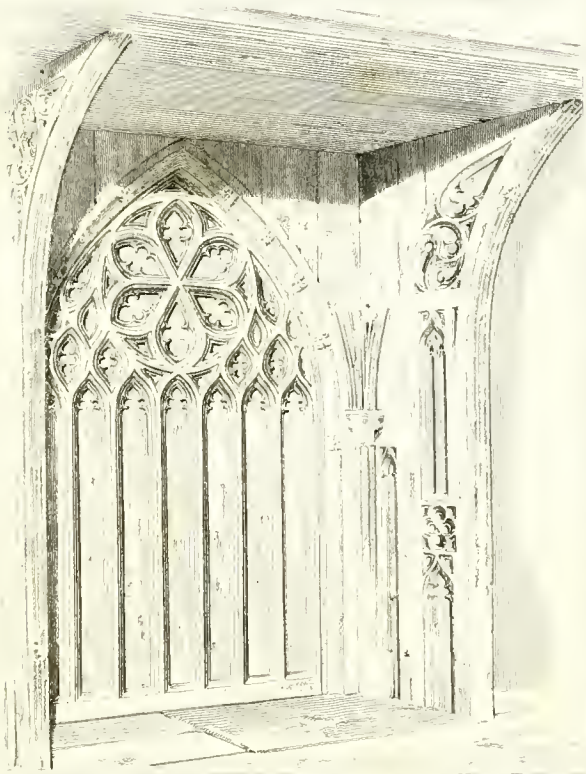

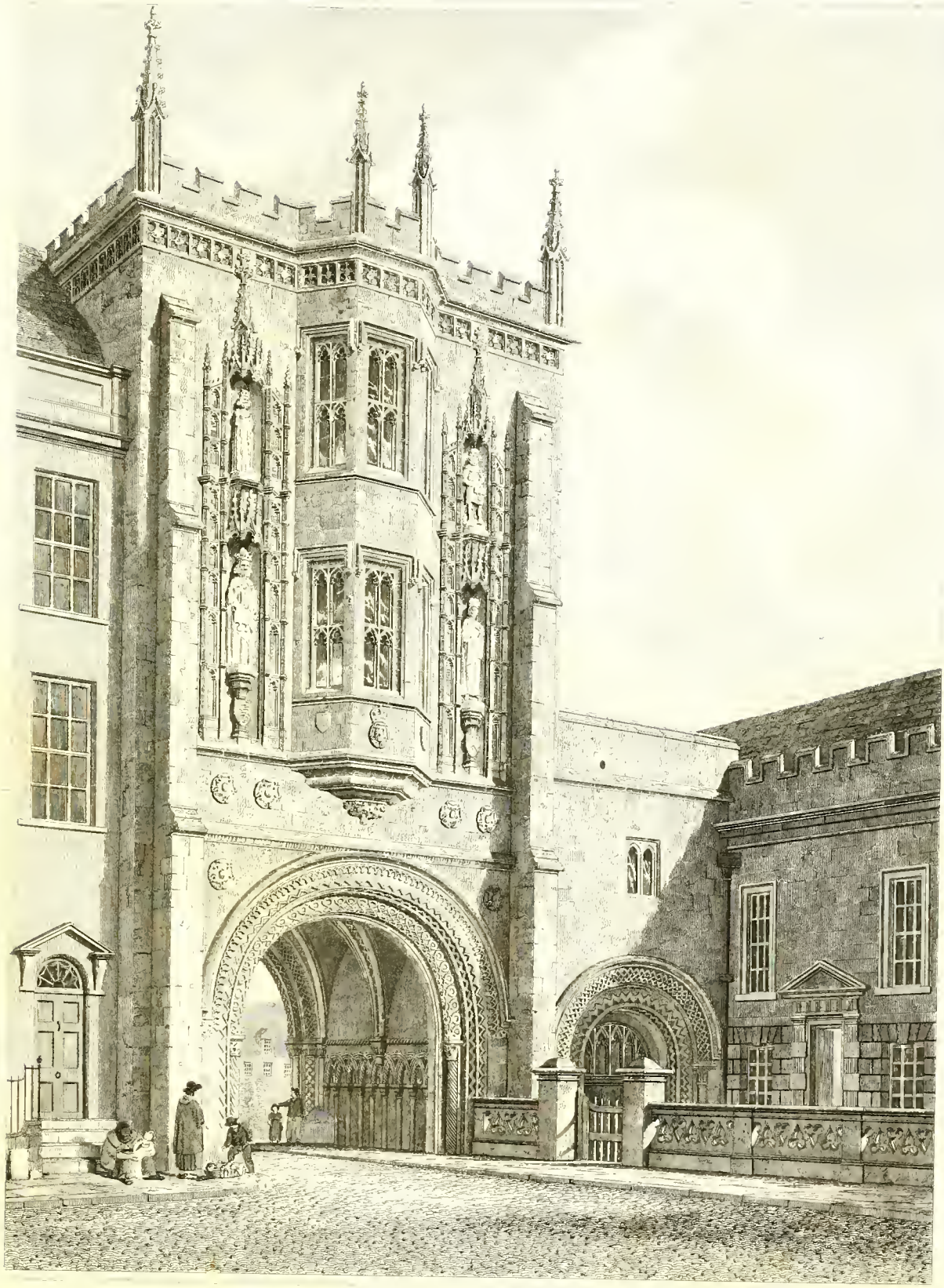

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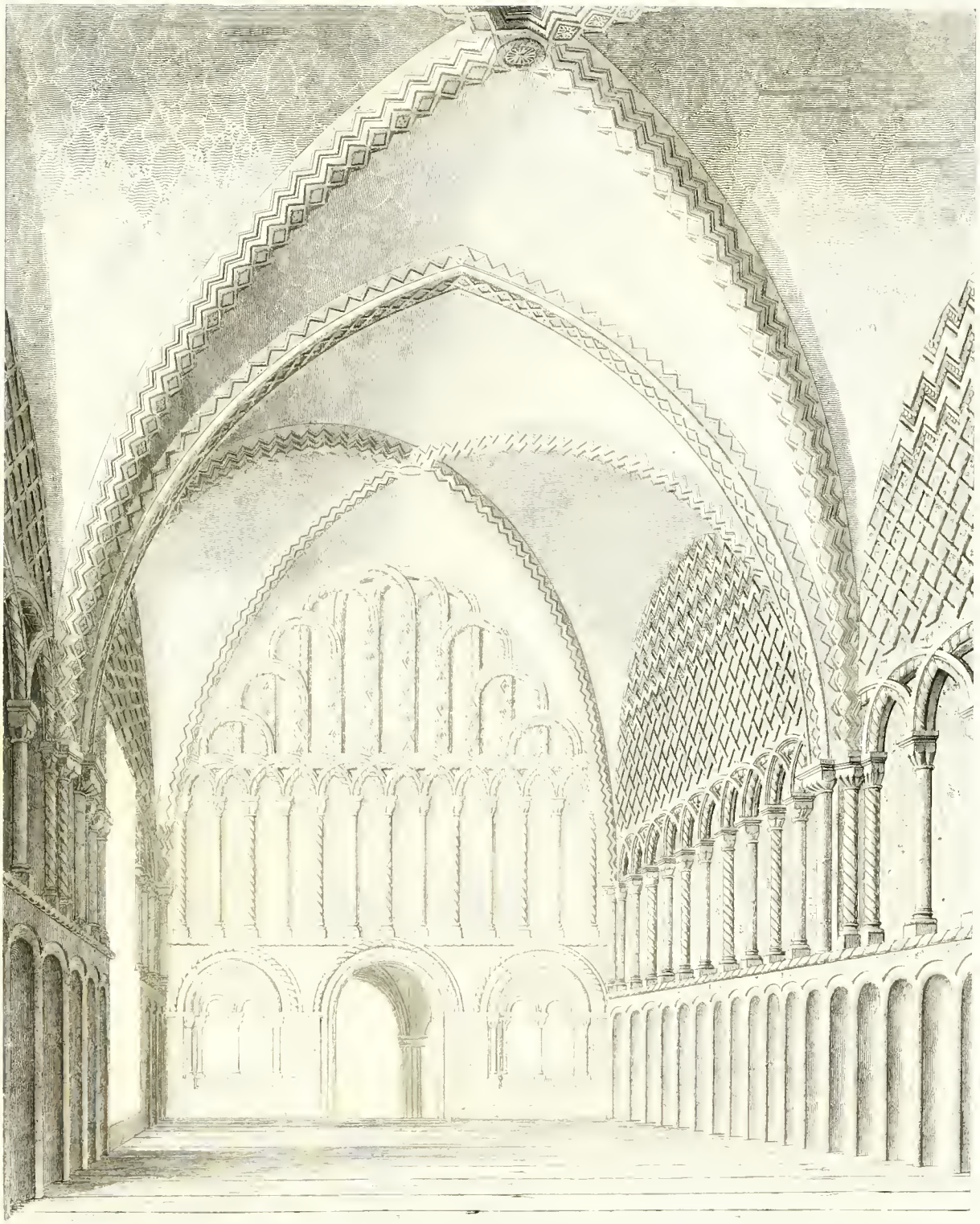
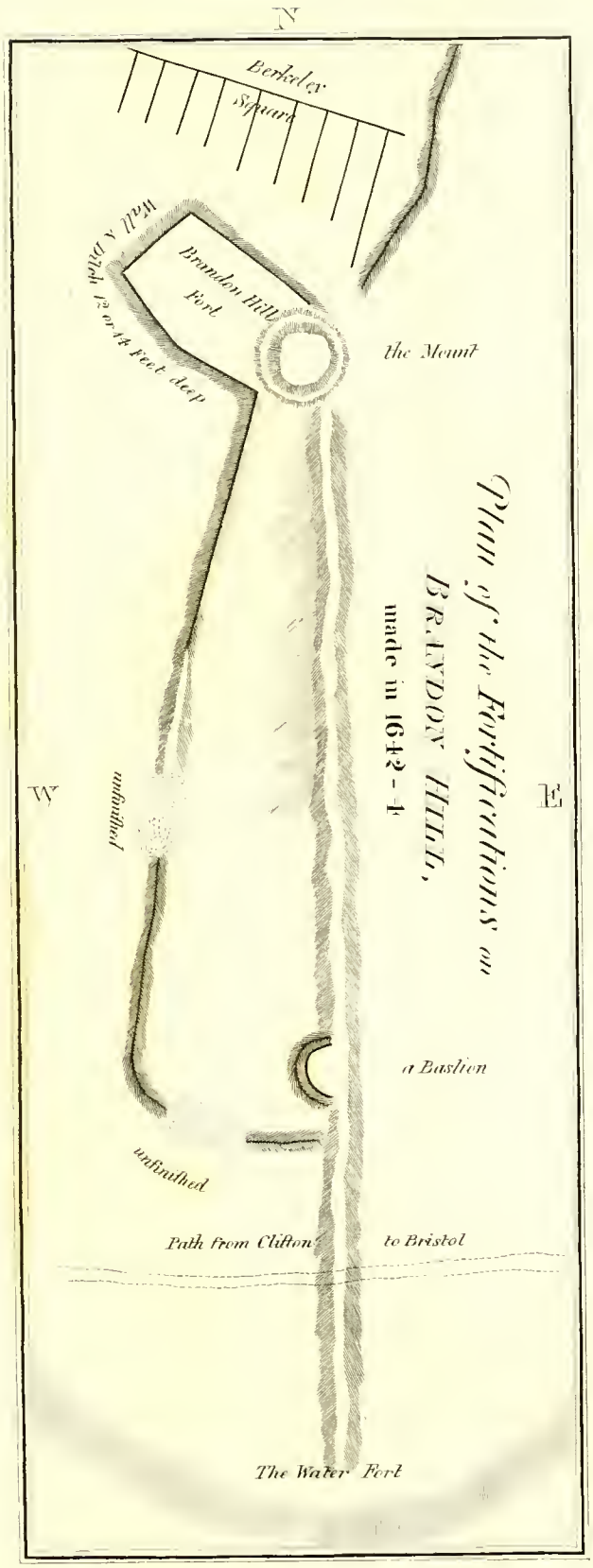
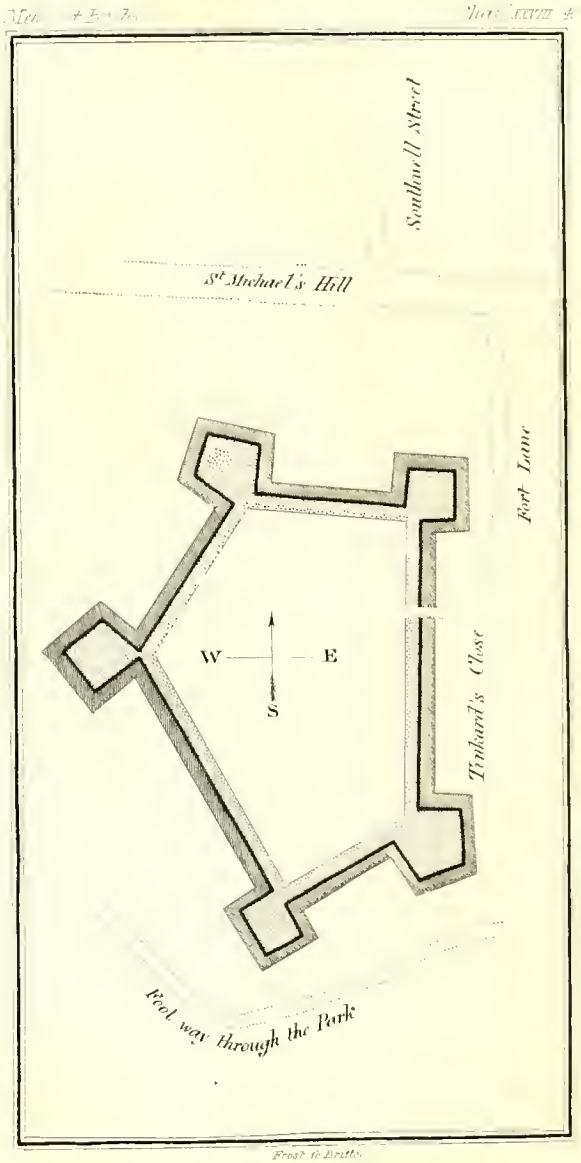



N
Berkeley Square
Wall & Ditch 12 or 14 feet deep
Brandon Hill Fort
the Mount
Plan of the Fortifications on BRANDON HILL, made in 1642-4
W
E
ambigual
a Bastion
unfinished
Path from Clifton to Bristol
The Water Fort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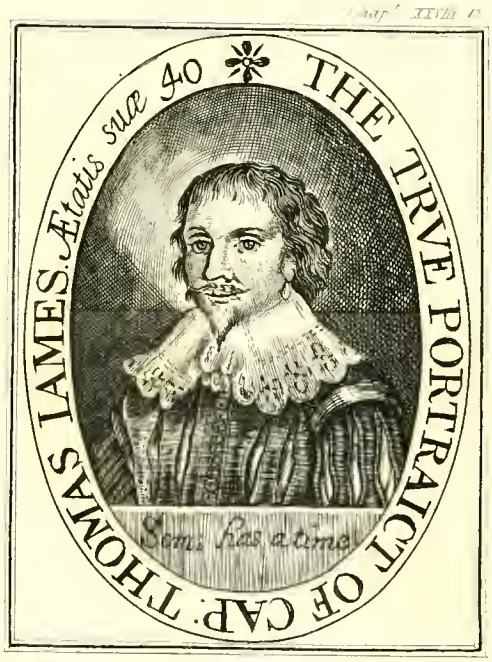
St Michael's Hill
Fort Lane
W
E
S
Tyndall's Close
Foot way through the Park

Chap. XXIX 14

Chap. XXVII 1



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Chap. XXIX. 19

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FROM THE SOUTH WEST

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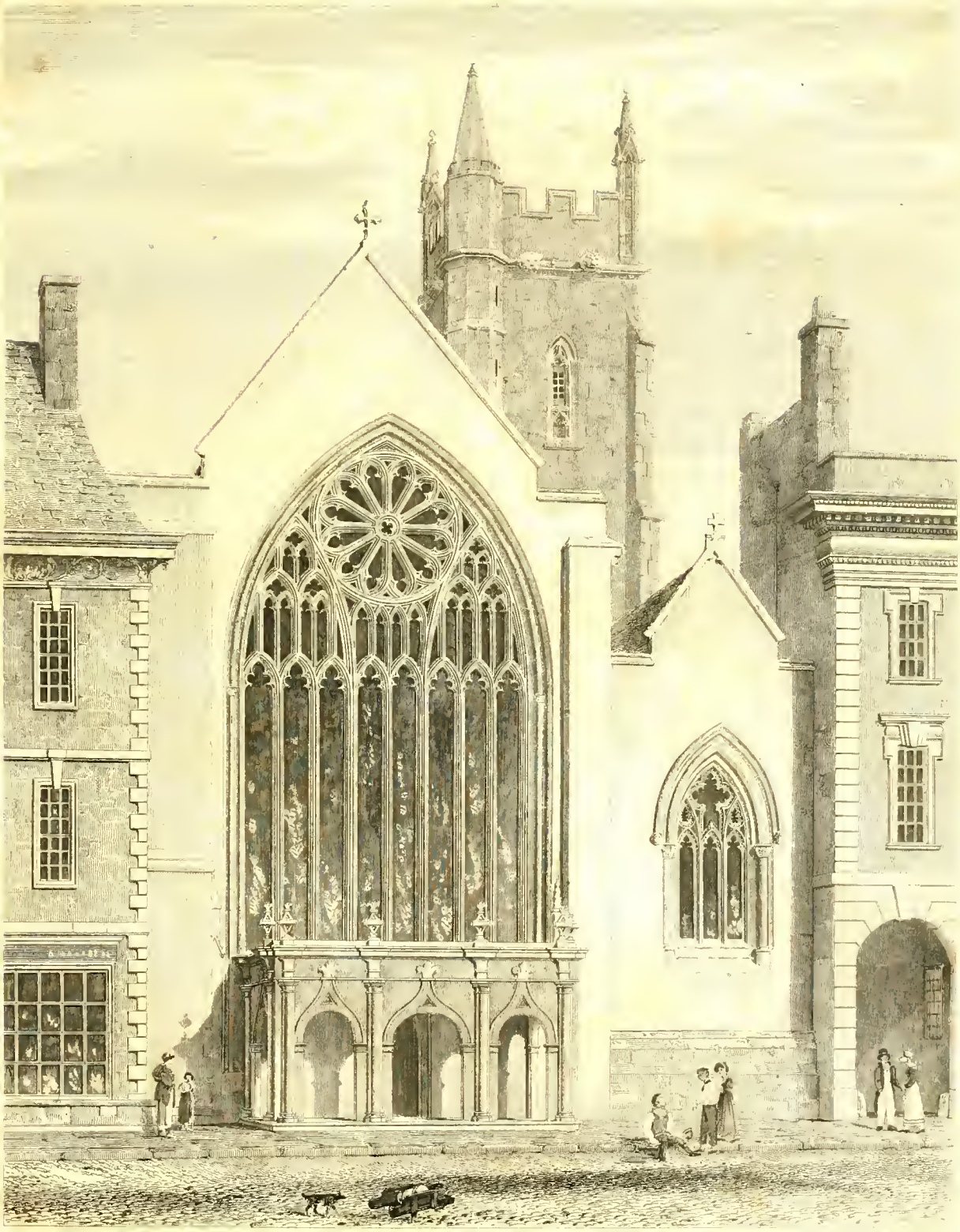

To the Right Worshipful the MAYOR ALDERMEN & COMMONALTY of the City of

Is respectfully dedicated by their obliged, humble Servant